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THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE,  
AND  
NOTES AND QUERIES,  
CONCERNING THE  
ANTIQUITIES, HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY  
OF  
AMERICA.

VOL. VI. SECOND SERIES.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.  
HENRY B. DAWSON.  
1869.





## PREFATORY NOTE.

The close of the thirteenth year of the publication of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE brings with it a reminder of the obligations we are under to many earnest and disinterested co-laborers and friends, the country over, as well as one of trials and vexations which we too often encounter in our labors, where none should exist. The first-mentioned demands from us a return of our grateful acknowledgements to those, whether contributors or *paying* subscribers, who have so steadily sustained us through the year: the other requires us to take courage from the Past; to be hopeful of the Future; to press forward, as our strength shall permit, earnestly and judiciously; and to do our duty, fearlessly, before God and man, leaving all the rest to Him, who has so long and so constantly cared for us and sustained us.

These demands we gladly recognize and gladly obey; and promising ourself, sooner or later, that hoped-for relief which only a more extended support can insure, we resume our labors, wishing all our readers a happy New Year.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.

HENRY B. DAWSON.

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## HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VI. SECOND SERIES.]

JULY, 1869.

[No. 1.]

## I.—THE PENNSYLVANIA CAMPAIGN OF 1863.

## GENERAL HUMPHREYS' REPORT.

## NOW FIRST PRINTED.

[In presenting this Report of Major-general ANDREW A. HUMPHREYS, now Chief of Engineers, U. S. A., we regret that we cannot concede a larger space to the introductory remarks of Major-general de Peyster, by whom that Report was obtained for us. We must make an exception, however, in favor of an extract from a letter to General de Peyster. It presents too vivid a picture of a masterly tactical manœuvre not to meet the public eye. As a fighting Division-commander, as a proficient in the handling of a Corps, as a consummate Chief-of-staff of the Army of the Potomac, as an intrepid gentleman, as a faithful soldier, and as a remarkable engineer, General Humphreys has no superior. His Survey and Report upon the Mississippi will be a proud memorial of his engineering capacity, as his military record, beginning with the Florida War, in 1836, is a record which is without a stain, as rich in historic deeds and services as "the sacred shield of Lancelot."

General Humphreys did not mention, in his official Report, his brief but beautiful temporary movement by the flank, in the direction of Round Top, when he moved forward, at four o'clock, to take position along the Emmettsburg-road, since it resulted in nothing and did not occupy more than from three to five minutes time. It was an interesting incident of the battle; and was prettily done. It was part of the movement of his Division into position, which Hancock and others, who saw it from the Cemetery crest, described as so beautiful a sight; the opening of the enemy's artillery upon the moving mass adding to the effect. Subsequently, Hancock often spoke of it, complimenting the commanding Division General.

Having written to General Humphreys in regard to the particulars of this elegant tactical manœuvre, he kindly answered:

"Since you wish an account of the incident here it is: When, about four o'clock, I was moving forward to the Emmettsburg-road, my first line in line-of-battle, the second line in Battalion in mass, an Aide de-camp of General Meade (the name escapes me, but the officer I know very well, Ludlow, I think—Colonel Ludlow, tall, gentlemanly, a good officer—) rode to me from the direction of the Peach Orchard, and gave me an Order from General Meade (who he said was on the ground in the direction he came from) to move at once towards the Round Top and occupy the ground there, which was vacant. Some reference was made at the time, also, I think, to the intended occupation of that ground by the Fifth Corps. I immediately gave the Order, by my Aides, for the Division to move by the left flank—a movement that was made at once, and with the simultaneousness of a single Regiment. The Order given, I turned to Colonel — (General Meade's Aid) and requested him to ride at full speed to General Meade and inform him that the execution of his Order, which I was complying with, would leave vacant the position my Division was ordered to occupy; pointing out, at the same time, the ground that would then be left vacant; and where the left of the Second Army Corps was; etc. I then turned my attention to guiding my Division by the shortest line towards the Round Top, which being done,

"to expedite matters I rode full speed towards where I supposed General Meade to be, but met Colonel — returning from him; who informed me General Meade recalled his Order; and that I should occupy the position General Sickles had directed me to take. In a second, the Division went about-face; retrod the ground, by the right flank, that they had the moment before gone over by the left flank; and, then, moved forward to their position, along the Emmettsburg-road. The whole thing was done with the precision of a careful exercise; the enemy's artillery giving effect to its picturesqueness. The Division, Brigade, and Regimental flags were flying of course. When he brought the recall of the Order from General Meade, Colonel — informed me the Fifth Corps were moving to the Round Top, etc.

"Just as the forward movement of my Division was renewed, an Aide of General Sickles, Colonel —, a Hungarian, brought me an Order from General Sickles to move to the position I had been instructed to take. To this officer, I made a brief explanation of the facts, which I was about doing by one of my Aides to General Sickles, at that very moment—the first one I could do so.

"My official Report is, of course, a lifeless affair, an exact statement of facts which have a certain value, but that which makes the thrilling interest of a battle is the *personal incident*; and of that I could, if I had some leisure, tell a good deal, but I feel fatigued, and unwell, and quite unable to attempt a description of what took place at Gettysburg, under my own eye. A battle so lifts a man out of himself, that he scarcely recognizes his identity when peace returns, and with it the quiet occupation.

"During my recent visit to Gettysburg, at the dedication of the Monument, [in July, 1869,] I walked quietly over the ground I had occupied, fought over, moved over, slept on. During the night of the second of July, I lay down on the ground about ten feet to the left of my men, my Staff being Captain McClellan, Lieutenant Humphreys, wounded, and Lieutenant Christianity. I drove out on the Fairfield (Millertown) pike or road, to the Black Horse tavern; then to the road by which my Division moved (*advancing from Emmettsburg*) and over the ground it occupied when halted, from the highest part of which I could see back, over the greater part of the distance, to the bridge across Marsh-creek; then along the road from the Black Horse-tavern which comes out at the School-house (*Potter's*) and the road by which I got on to the Emmettsburg-road, at the Peach Orchard. Along that road, Longstreet moved the next morning. I saw the keeper of the Black Horse-tavern, Bream, and his two sons, recognized them, and had a very interesting talk. I did not make myself known until I had got him to speak of my coming there with my Division. He evidently took me and my companion, Dr. Chase, of the Engineers, from our dress (grey) and my evident amusement at his narrative, for Southerners, or at least sympathizers, and colored his story accordingly: it being, also, in accord with his own sympathy. Before reaching the tavern that night, I enquired as to the character of the keeper, and learned that his sympathies were not with us, or not very strongly, at least; and I therefore relied on what a young man, by the name of Boling, (*a wounded Union soldier, home on leave*), who was there, told me of the enemy, etc.

"Bream says my troops made a great noise coming up, talking, etc., but went away so quietly he did not hear them. Now this is not true; and I told him so. I knew I was coming upon the enemy, and gave the caution to

"be quiet. What he heard was the noise of the horses, and artillery, and ambulances, crossing and wading up Marsh-run, (or Creek) which has a rocky bottom, and that unavoidable noise that troops make in crossing a deep wading-stream of irregular depth. Now the ambulances and artillery did the same thing in returning, and so did some of the Infantry; the other and greater part of the Infantry did not recross but kept along the bank.

"Bream appeared mortified and annoyed when I told him who I was, but I had a long talk afterwards with his sons.

"It must have been Colonel Hayden who threatened them and ordered supper. I did not do either; and, indeed, the more intelligent of the two sons mentioned to me, that the enemy's picket line was about two hundred feet from us, and would have given the alarm in ample time to the main body, had I attempted to surprise. I was right in not attempting it. The sons (indeed Bream himself) mentioned that I had not been gone ten minutes when a party of twenty or thirty of the enemy came up to the tavern and passed the night there. The chance of war: the day had been rainy and sultry, and the men longer for a few minutes more at each halt. Had I rode up to the Black Horse-tavern fifteen minutes later, with my party of five or six, virtually unarmed, what might not have been the result of a deliberate volley from twenty or thirty muskets or rifles at the distance of twenty feet? Myself, Captain McClellan, my son Harry, Colonel Hayden, and Doctor Ana, of Emmettsburg, and my little orderly, Denlond, were the party."

[GENERAL HUMPHREYS' REPORT.]

CAMP OF HEAD-QUARTERS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,  
August 16th, 1863.

Lieutenant-colonel O. H. HART,  
Asst. Adjt. Gen'l. Third Corps.

COLONEL:

I submit for the information of the Major-general commanding the Third Corps, the following Report of the operations of my Division, (Second (2nd) Division, Third (3rd) Corps) during the recent campaign, up to the ninth (9th) of July, on the morning of which day I was relieved from the command of the Division, having been appointed Chief-of-staff at the Head-quarters of the Army.

On the eleventh (11th) of June, about midday, while encamped near Falmouth, Va., Orders were received by me from the Head-quarters of the Corps, to march at two (2) o'clock on the Warrenton-road, which Order was complied with, the Division bivouacing for the night at Hartwood-church.

The march was resumed the next morning, at six (6) o'clock, my Division leading. Upon arriving at Morrisville, I was directed to move to the Rappahannock-river and cover that part of it from Wheatley's-ford, near Kellevs-ville, to Beverly ford, near the upper Forks; and to throw up such works and make such defensive arrangements as would render it impracticable for the enemy to cross in my front. It was past midnight of the twelfth, (12th), before my command, after a march of from twenty-two (22) to twenty-five (25) miles, was in position at all the fords, it having been posted under my own supervision.

Rifle-pits and batteries were thrown up at the crossings; and the railroad-bridge was rendered impassable.

On the afternoon of the thirteenth, (13th), the

Second (2nd) Brigade rejoined the Division, having been on picket on the eleventh, (11th), from which it was not relieved until between midnight and the morning of the twelfth (12th). On the morning of the fourteenth, (14th), before daylight, it was marched to Kelley's-ford, to relieve the detachment of the Fifth (5th) Corps, holding that ford.

On the evening of the fourteenth, (14th), in compliance with Orders from the Corps Commander, as soon as it was sufficiently dark to conceal the movements of my troops, the Division was concentrated on the railroads, and the march to Manassas junction was begun. I reached Cedar-run, near Catlett's-station, between seven (7) and eight (8) o'clock, A. M. of the fifteenth (15), where, by authority of the Corps Commander, the Division was halted for rest until two, (2), P. M., when the march was resumed. It was painful in the extreme; for, owing to the long-continued drought, streams, usually of considerable magnitude, were dried up; the dust lay some inches on the roadway; and the fields were equally uncomfortable. The suffering from heat, dust, thirst, fatigue, and exhaustion was very great. It was near midnight, when the Division reached Manassas-junction, after a march, varying in the different Brigades, from twenty-five (25) to twenty-nine (29) miles.

On the sixteenth, (16th), we remained at Manassas-junction, resting. On the seventeenth, (17th), marched to Centerville; and, on the nineteenth, (19th), to Gum-spring, where the Division remained until the twenty-fifth, (25th); when, at ten (10) o'clock, A. M., it marched to Edward's-ferry, through Fairfarm and Franklinsville; and, crossing the Potomac on the ponton bridge, about five (5) o'clock, P. M., marched on the tow-path of the canal to the mouth of the Monocacy, reaching that point about midnight, after a march not less than twenty-five (25) miles; that portion on the tow-path being rendered very fatiguing and exhausting by a heavy rain that set in at nightfall. The whole command, officers and men, were more exhausted by this march than by that of the fourteenth (14th) and fifteenth (15th).

On the twenty-sixth, (26th), the Division marched to the vicinity of the Point-of-Rocks and bivouaced on the farm of Doctor Duval, near the summit of the Katoc-tin-mountain. On the twenty-seventh, (27th), marched to the vicinity of Middleton, on the Hagerstown-pike, via Jefferson. On the twenty-eighth, (28th), marched through Frederic; crossed the Monocacy, three miles above; and bivouaced for the night, seven miles from that town, on the Woodshoro'-road.

On the twenty-ninth, (29th), marched to Taneytown, through Woodshoro' and Bruceville.

On the thirtieth, (30th), made a short march, after midday, on the road to Emmettsburg, bivouacing, about midnight, between the two places.



On the first (1st) of July, marched through Emmettsburg, and halted, one (1) mile out of the town, on the Waynesboro'-pike. While I was engaged in a careful examination of the ground in front of Emmettsburg, (which I had been requested, verbally, by the commanding General of the Army, Major-general Meade, to make,) the Division was ordered, at half past three (3½) o'clock, to move up to Gettysburg, twelve (12) miles distant, where an engagement had taken place between the two Corps of General Reynolds and General Howard—the First (1st) and Eleventh (11th) Corps—and the enemy. A Brigade, the Third, (3rd), and a Battery, Smith's, were left, in accordance with Orders, in position on the Waynesboro'-pike. I overtook the head of the Division—First (1st) and Second (2nd) Brigades, with one Battery of Artillery (Secley's)—one mile from the halting-ground, and found Lieutenant-colonel Hayden, Assistant Inspector-general, Third (3rd) Corps, with some guides there, for the purpose of pointing out the route the Division was to follow. This was on a road nearly parallel to the main-road from Emmettsburg to Gettysburg; and about two (2) miles West of it. When half way to Gettysburg, a dispatch from General Howard to General Sickles, commanding Third (3rd) Corps, was delivered to me by Captain McBlair of the Staff, in which the latter General was warned to look out for his left in coming up to Gettysburg; and, about the same time, I learned from a citizen, who had guided part of General Reynold's Command, that our troops occupied no ground, near Gettysburg, West of the road from that town to Emmettsburg.

As we approached the crossing of Marsh-run, I was directed by General Sickles, through a Staff-officer, to take position on the left of Gettysburg, as soon as I came up. For reasons that will be apparent from this statement, I concluded that my Division should, from this point, follow the road leading into the main road to Gettysburg, reaching the latter road in about a mile and a half, and at a distance from Gettysburg, of about two miles, at a point now known as the Peach Orchard. But Lieutenant-colonel Hayden was positive that General Sickles had instructed him to guide the Division by way of the Black Horse-tavern, on the road from Fairfield to Gettysburg. Accordingly, I moved the Division in that direction; but, upon approaching the Black Horse-tavern, I found myself in the immediate vicinity of the enemy, who occupied that road in strong force. He was not aware of my presence; and I might have attacked him, at daylight, with the certainty of at least temporary success; but I was three (3) miles distant from the remainder of the Army; and I believed such a course would have been inconsistent with the general plan of operations of the Commanding General. I accordingly retraced my steps and marched by the route I

have heretofore indicated; bivouacing, at one (1) o'clock A. M., on the second (2nd) of July, about one (1) mile from Gettysburg, and eastward of the Emmettsburg-road.

At an early hour of the morning, my Division was massed in the vicinity of its bivouac; facing the Emmettsburg-road, near the crest of the ridge running from the Cemetery of Gettysburg, in a southerly direction, to a rugged, conical-shaped hill, (which I find goes by the name of "Round Top") about two miles from Gettysburg. At nine (9) o'clock, A. M., the Third (3d) Brigade, with Smith's Battery, joined the Division, having been ordered up by Major-general Meade, commanding the Army. It marched by the main road from Emmettsburg to Gettysburg.

Shortly after midday, I was ordered to form my Division in line-of-battle, my left joining the right of the First (1st) Division of the Third (3rd) Corps, Major-general Birney commanding, and my right resting opposite the left of General Caldwell's Division of the Second (2nd) Corps, which was massed on the crest, near my place of bivouac. The line I was directed to occupy was near the foot of the westerly slope of the ridge I have already mentioned, from which foot-slope the ground rose to the Emmettsburg-road, which runs on the crest of a ridge, nearly parallel to the Round Top Ridge. This second ridge declines again, immediately West of the road, at the distance of five or six hundred yards, from which the edge of a wood runs parallel to it. This wood was occupied by the enemy; whose pickets were exchanging shots, from an early hour in the morning, with our pickets, thrown out beyond the road, on the westerly slope.

The front allotted to me admitted of my forming the First (1st) Brigade, commanded by Brigadier-general James B. Carr, in line-of-battle, with one (1) Regiment of the Second (2nd) Brigade on its left—the Seventy-first (71st) New York (Second (2nd) Excelsior)—commanded by Colonel H. L. Potter. The Second (2nd) Brigade, commanded by Colonel W. R. Brewster, was formed in line of Battalions in mass, two hundred (200) yards in rear of the first line; and the Third (3rd) Brigade, commanded by Colonel George C. Builing, was massed two hundred (200) yards in rear of the second line, opposite its centre.

On the East side of the Emmettsburg-road, opposite the middle of my line, was a log-house surrounded by an orchard. This I occupied with the Seventy-third (73rd) New York—Fourth (4th) Excelsior, Second (2nd) Brigade—Major M. W. Burns commanding. This Regiment was subsequently relieved by the Sixteenth (16th) Massachusetts, First (1st) Brigade.

A series of peach-orchards extended to the left, along the Emmettsburg-road, some distance beyond the point where the road from Marsh-run



crosses the Emmettsburg-road. This Marsh Run-road extended over to the Taneytown-road and Baltimore-pike, crossing the former just North of the Round Top. The ground occupied by my Division and in my front was open; communication with all parts of it had been made easy by removing such of the fences as were in the way. Seeley's Battery—K of the Fourth (4th) United States Artillery—was placed at my disposal.

Shortly after these dispositions were made, I was directed to move my Third (3rd) Brigade to the rear of the right of General Birney's Division, and make it subject to his orders for support; which was accordingly done. I was, at the same time, authorized to draw support, should I need it, from General Caldwell's Division, Second (2nd) Corps; and, by General Hunt, Chief of Artillery, was authorized to draw from the Reserve Artillery, should I require more.

About four (4) o'clock, P. M., in compliance with General Sickles's orders. I moved my Division forward so that the first line ran along the Emmettsburg-road, a short distance behind the crest upon which that road lies. At the same time, I ordered Lieutenant Seeley to place his Battery in position on the right of the log-house. As the Division moved forward in two lines, as heretofore described, the enemy opened with artillery, which enfiladed us from the left, and subsequently with artillery on our front—both with but little effect. In reply to my inquiry, whether I should attack, I was directed to remain in position: Seeley's Battery was transferred to the left of the log-house and soon silenced the Battery in our front: the position he vacated was immediately occupied by a Battery—parts of F and K, Third (3rd) United States Artillery. While engaged in supervising the posting of this Battery I was severely wounded. The Division on my left was now engaged with the enemy's Infantry, which, on my front, merely made demonstrations, but did not drive in my pickets. Colonel Sewall, commanding the Fifth New Jersey Volunteers—of my Third (3rd) Brigade—reported to me at this time, and relieved the pickets of General Graham's Brigade, on my left, some of which extended over a part of my front.

This Regiment had been posted but a short time, when a most urgent request was made, by a Staff-officer of General Sickles, that another Regiment should be sent to the support of General Birney, (Graham's Brigade), leaving it to me, however, to decide whether it could be sent. At this moment, Colonel Sewall sent me word that the enemy were driving in my pickets and were about advancing in two lines to the attack. The demand for aid was so urgent, however, that I sent Major Burns—Fourth (4th) Excelsior—to General Graham's Brigade; and, at the same time, despatched one of my Aides, Lieutenant Christiancy,

to General Hancock, commanding Second (2nd) Corps, (General Caldwell's Division having been sent to the extreme left) with the request that he would send a Brigade, if possible, to my support. Seeley's Battery had now opened upon the enemy's Infantry as they began to advance: Turnbull's Battery was likewise directed against them; and I was about to throw forward, somewhat, the left of my Infantry and engage the enemy with it, when I received orders from General Birney (General Sickles having been dangerously wounded and carried from the field) to throw back my left and form a line, oblique to and in the rear of the one I then held; and was informed that the First Division would complete the line to the Round Top Ridge. This I did under a heavy fire of Artillery and Infantry, from the enemy, who now advanced on my whole front. At this time, Colonel Sewall's Regiment returned to the line, having maintained, most gallantly, its position, on picket, with very heavy loss. Seeley's Battery remained to the last moment, withdrawing without difficulty, but with severe loss in killed and wounded, including its commander among the latter. His loss was two (2) enlisted men, killed; one (1) commissioned officer and nineteen (19) enlisted men, wounded; one (1) enlisted man, missing; and twenty five (25) horses, killed and disabled.

My Infantry now engaged the enemy's; but my left was in air (although I extended it as far as possible with my Second (2nd) Brigade) and being the only troops on the field, the enemy's whole attention was directed to my Division, which was forced back, slowly, firing as it receded. Lieutenant Turnbull fell back with the Infantry, suffering severe loss in men and horses, himself wounded. His loss was one (1) commissioned officer and eight (8) enlisted men, killed; and fourteen (14) enlisted men, wounded; one (1) enlisted man, missing; and forty-four (44) horses, killed.

The two Regiments sent me by General Hancock were judiciously posted by Lieutenant Christiancy, in support of my right. At this time, I received orders, through a Staff-officer, from General Birney to withdraw to the Round Top Ridge—an Order previously conveyed to General Carr, commanding First (1st) Brigade on the right, by General Birney, in person. This Order I complied with, retiring very slowly, continuing the contest with the enemy, whose fire of Artillery and Infantry was destructive in the extreme. Upon arriving at the crest of the ridge mentioned, the remnants of my Division formed on the left of General Hancock's troops, whose Artillery opened upon the enemy, about one hundred (100) yards distant. The Infantry joined, and the enemy broke and were driven from the field, rapidly followed by Hancock's troops and

the remnants of my two Brigades, who took many prisoners and brought off two pieces of our artillery that had been left after all the horses were killed.

Sergeant Thomas Hogan, Third (3rd) Excelsior, brought to me, on the field, the flag of the Eighth (8th) Florida Regiment, which he had captured. He deserves reward.

It was near dusk; and the contest, for the day, was closed. Its severity may be judged by the fact that the loss, in killed, wounded, and missing, of my Division—fivethousand (5,000) strong—was two thousand and eighty-eight (2,088), of whom one hundred and seventy-one (171) were officers, and nineteen hundred and seventecn (1917) enlisted men. The missing numbered three (3) officers, and two hundred and sixty-three (263) enlisted men; the greater part of whom were probably wounded: some were killed.

I append a tabular list of the loss.

As I have already stated, my Third (3rd) Brigade was ordered to the support of Major-general Birney, commanding the First (1st) Division. The accompanying Report of Colonel George C. Burling, commanding that Brigade, exhibits the disposition that was made of the Regiments of the Brigade. In succession, they, with the exception of Colonel Sewall's Regiment, were sent to aid the Brigades of the First (1st) Division. The Seventh (7th) New Jersey, Colonel Louis R. Francine commanding, and the Second (2nd) New Hampshire, Colonel Edward L. Bailey commanding, were sent to the support of General Graham's Brigade; and the Eighth (8th) New Jersey, Colonel Ramsey commanding, the Sixth (6th) New Jersey, Lieutenant-colonel S. R. Gilkyson commanding, and the One hundred and fifteenth (115) Pennsylvania, Major Drume commanding, were sent to the support of General Ward's Brigade. For the part taken in the engagement by these Regiments I must refer you to the Reports of the commanders of these Brigades. That they did their duty in a manner comporting with their high reputation, is manifest from the severe loss they met with—four hundred and thirty (436) killed and wounded. Colonel Sewall, Colonel Francine, Colonel Ramsey, and Lieutenant-colonel Price, officers distinguished for their skill and gallantry, were severely wounded. Colonel Francine's wound proved to be mortal. Colonel Bailey and Lieutenant-colonel Barr, Second (2nd) New Hampshire, were also wounded.

The fortune of war rarely places troops under more trying circumstances than those in which my Division found itself on this day; and it is greatly to their honor that their soldierly bearing sustained the high reputation they had already won in the severest battles of the War.

The fine qualities of many officers were brought out conspicuously. In some instances, their gal-

lant conduct fell under my own observation. I wish, particularly, to recommend to notice, the cool courage, determination, and skillful handling of their troops, of the two Brigade Commanders, Brigadier-general Carr and Colonel William R. Brewster; and to ask attention to the officers mentioned by them as distinguished by their conduct. My attention was attracted by the gallant bearing of Captain Le Grand Benedict, Assistant Adjutant-general, First (1st) Brigade, and of Lieutenant E. A. Belger, Aide, Staff of Second (2nd) Brigade. Lieutenant F. W. Seeley's gallantry, skill, good judgment, and effective management of his Battery, excited my admiration as well as that of every officer who saw him. I should not omit to mention the bold and determined manner in which Lieutenant Trumbull managed his Battery. Lieutenant Manning Livingston, of this Battery, was killed during the action.

Of my Staff, part of whom had gone through hotly-contested fields with me, before, I might well use the highest terms of commendation that language admits of; though, in speaking of their acts, I am painfully reminded that as yet I have been powerless to further the advancement they won, while serving with me. Most conspicuous for gallantry and untiring efforts in aiding me in forming, encouraging, and leading the troops, were Captain Carswell McClellan of the Adjutant-general's Department, my Special Aide; Captain W. H. Chester, Special Aide, mortally wounded; and Lieutenant H. H. Humphreys, Aide, wounded. I beg leave also to express my sense of the obligations I am under, for valuable services rendered me on the field, by Major Charles Hamlin, Assistant Adjutant-general; Captain A. F. Cava-da, Assistant Inspector-general; and my Aide, Lieutenant Henry Christianity: the judicious disposition, by the latter, of the reinforcements he brought me is particularly deserving of mention. The officers whose gallant and meritorious conduct, General Carr brings to my notice, are, using the language of General Carr, "Colonel "Robert McAllister, commanding Eleventh " (11th) New Jersey Volunteers, (twice wounded); Lieutenant-colonel Porter D. Tripp, commanding Eleventh (11th) Massachusetts Volunteers; Lieutenant-colonel Waldo Merriam, "commanding Sixteenth (16th) Massachusetts, " (wounded); Major Robert I. Bodine, commanding Twenty-sixth (26th) Pennsylvania Volunteers; Major Philip Kearney, Eleventh (11th) "New Jersey Volunteers, (seriously wounded, "since dead); Major McDonald, Eleventh (11th) "Massachusetts Volunteers, (wounded); Captain "Tomlinson, Twenty-sixth (26th) Pennsylvania "Volunteers (Acting Lieutenant-colonel); Captain Goodfellow, Twenty-sixth (26th) Pennsylvania Volunteers (wounded); Adjutant John



"Schoonoven, Eleventh (11th) New Jersey Volunteers, who was twice wounded, but remained in command of his Regiment; and to the following officers of my Staff, to whom my sincere thanks are due, for valuable services rendered — Captain Le Grand Benedict, Assistant Adjutant-general; Captain George E. Henry, First (1st) Massachusetts Volunteers, Acting Aide-de-camp; and Lieutenant John Oldershaw, Eleventh (11th) New Jersey Volunteers, Acting Assistant Inspector-general."

Colonel Brewster's mention of those in his Brigade, distinguished for their conduct, is as follows :

"The conduct and bearing, of both officers and men, were so good under the fatigues of the long and tiresome marches, and so gallant, brave, and steady in action, that it is almost impossible to particularize individual acts. It is enough to say, that every officer and man in the Command seemed determined to sustain the reputation of the Brigade, earned on many a hard-fought field; and how well they succeeded, is shown by the loss sustained.

"The members of my Staff, Adjutant-general J. P. Finkelmeir, Captain George Le Fort, Acting Assistant Inspector-general, and Lieutenants J. A. Smith and Belger, were very active on the field, and behaved in the most gallant manner, conveying my Orders under the hottest fire. Major Finkelmeir and Captain Le Fort were both wounded and obliged to leave the field before the action was over.

\* \* \* \* \*

"Colonel John S. Austin, Third (3rd) Excelsior, Assistant Surgeon James D. Stewart, Fifth (5th) Excelsior, and Lieutenant-colonel C. D. Westbrook, One hundred and twentieth (120th) New York Volunteers, were also wounded."

Colonel George C. Burling, commanding Third (3rd) Brigade, expresses himself in relation to the conduct of his Brigade, in the following terms :

"During the two days of fighting, both officers and men behaved with their usual gallantry. I thank Captain T. W. Eayre, Assistant Adjutant-general, Captain J. W. Crawford, A. C. S., Lieutenant Bruen, Acting Aide-de-camp, and Lieutenant Clarke, Ambulance Officer, for their gallantry and promptness in conveying my Orders—the last named was mortally wounded and died on the field."

Colonel Sewall's conspicuous gallantry in the maintenance of his post has been already mentioned. He was severely wounded, soon after his Regiment rejoined the main line.

The enemy having been driven from the field, I formed my Division on the left of Hancock's Second (2nd) Corps, along the Round Top Ridge, where it remained during the night. Parties to bring in the wounded were at once sent out.

Lieutenant Rusling, Ambulance Officer, was promptly on the ground.

At daylight, on the third, (3rd), the enemy opened a brisk artillery-fire upon my Division, which, however, soon abated. About sunrise, by order of General Birney, I moved my Division to the left and rear, to resupply ammunition, distribute rations, and bring up stragglers. My Third (3rd) Brigade joined me here. After an hour thus spent, my Division was moved to the front again and massed, in rear of the right of the First (1st) and left of the Second (2nd) Corps—a disposition which was soon changed, my Division being moved to the left, and massed in rear and support of the Fifth (5th) Corps and part of the Sixth (6th) Corps, near where the Marsh Run-road passes by the Round Top.

It remained thus posted until about half past four (4½) o'clock, when it was moved rapidly to the right and formed in mass by Battalion, in rear and support of the left of the Second (2nd) and right of the First (1st) Corps, several Batteries being in position in my front. Here it remained until dusk, losing several valuable officers and a large number of men from the enemy's artillery-fire. My Special Aide, Captain McClellen, was wounded. At dusk, the position was resumed in rear of the Fifth (5th) and Sixth (6th) Corps, where my Division remained during the fourth, (4th), fifth, (5th), and sixth (6th) of July, engaged in bringing in the wounded, burying the dead, and collecting arms.

My thanks are due to Captain S. S. Russell, Provost-marshal for the Division, for the faithful manner in which the duties of his command were performed in the battle. It was judiciously posted, but, from the nature of the ground, was subject to constant fire causing the loss of several men.

The great distance of the hospital from the field, and the necessity of my continued presence with the Division, prevented my making the visits to it which I had been in the habit of doing. My Staff-officers were sent by me to see the wounded. Surgeon Calhoun, Medical Director of my Division, was placed in charge of the Corps Hospital, owing to the absence of the Corps Medical Director; and aided by Surgeon C. K. Irvin, Acting Medical Director of the Division, and its Medical officers, gave every possible attention and skillful treatment to those whom the fortunes of the combat brought upon his hands.

The enterprise and energy of Captain Hoxsey, Ordnance-officer of the Division, entitle him to my thanks; which are also due, for the faithful performance of duty, to Captain Earle, Commissary of Subsistence, and Captain Johnson, Assistant Quartermaster.

At three (3) o'clock, P. M., of the seventh, (7th), my Division marched on the Emmettsburg-road



and bivouaced for the night at Mechanicsville, nine (9) miles South of Emmettsburg. At six (6) o'clock, A.M., of the eighth, (8th), the march was resumed for Middletown, on the Frederick and Hagerstown-pike, by way of Hamburg and the mountain pass in that vicinity; but, in consequence of the heavy rains of the night and morning, the roads being nearly impassable, the route was changed to that through Frederick; and the Division bivouaced, from two (2) to three (3) miles beyond Frederick and about four (4) miles from Middletown.

At midnight, I received directions to join the Head-quarters of the Army, at Middletown, having been announced in Orders as Chief of Staff of the Army of the Potomac—directions that I complied with at once, turning over the command

of the Division to Brigadier-general Carr.

In parting from this celebrated Division, after having commanded it for the brief period of fifty (50) days, I trust that I may be excused for expressing my admiration for its high soldierly qualities. It is impossible to pass it in review even, without perceiving that its ranks are filled with men that are soldiers in the best meaning of the term; and that it possesses, in the grade of Commissioned Officers, men whose skill, courage, and accomplishments would grace any service.

Very respectfully

Your obdt. servt.

A. A. HUMPHREYS.

Maj. Gen'l Vols. Comd'g Divn.  
in the Battle of Gettysburg.

*Tabular List of Casualties in the Second (2nd) Division, Third (3rd) Corps, in the Battle of Gettysburg, July Second (2nd) and Third (3rd,) 1863.*

COMMAND.	—KILLED.—		—WOUNDED.—		—MISSING.—		—TOTAL.—		AGGR'E.
	Com. Off.	En'd Men.	Com. Off.	En'd Men.	Com. Off.	En'd Men.	Com. Off.	En'd Men.	
Division Head-quarters.....	..	1	3	3	..	..	3	4	7
Total Division Head-quarters..	..	1	3	3	..	..	3	4	7
Seeley's Battery.....	..	2	1	19	..	1	1	22	23
Turnbull's Battery.....	1	8	1	14	..	1	2	23	25
Total of Artillery.....	1	10	2	33	..	2	3	45	48
Head-quarters, First Brigade...	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	2
First Massachusetts Volunteers..	1	15	8	75	..	21	9	111	120
Eleventh " ".....	1	22	7	89	2	8	10	119	129
Sixteenth " ".....	3	12	4	49	..	13	7	74	81
Twenty-sixth Pennsylvania Vols.	1	29	10	166	..	7	11	202	213
Eleventh New Jersey Vols.....	3	14	9	115	..	12	12	141	153
Twelfth New Hampshire Vols..	1	13	5	62	..	11	6	86	92
Total of First Brigade.....	10	105	45	556	2	72	57	733	790
Head-quarters, Second Brigade..	..	..	2	..	..	..	2	..	2
First Excelsior.....	..	20	8	85	..	4	8	109	117
Second " ".....	1	9	6	62	..	13	7	84	91
Third " ".....	..	7	7	72	..	28	7	107	114
Fourth " ".....	4	47	11	92	..	8	15	147	162
Fifth " ".....	..	12	6	68	..	3	6	83	89
120th New York Volunteers....	7	23	10	144	..	19	17	186	203
Total of Second Brigade....	12	118	50	523	..	75	62	716	778
Head-quarters, Third Brigade..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1
Fifth New Jersey Volunteers...	1	11	5	60	..	16	6	87	93
Sixth " ".....	..	1	3	29	..	8	3	38	41
Seventh " ".....	1	14	10	76	..	13	11	103	114
Eighth " ".....	..	7	7	31	..	2	7	40	47
115th Pennsylvania Volunteers..	..	3	..	18	..	3	..	24	24
Second New Hampshire Vols...	3	17	18	119	..	36	21	172	193
Total of Third Brigade.....	6	53	43	333	..	78	49	464	513

## RECAPITULATION.

COMMAND.	—KILLED.—		—WOUNDED.—		—MISSING.—		—TOTAL.—		AGGR'E.
	Com.	En'd	Com.	En'd	Com.	En'd	Com.	En'd	
	Off.	Men.	Off.	Men.	Off.	Men.	Off.	Men.	
Head-quarters 2d Div. 3d Corps	..	1	3	3	..	..	3	4	7
Artillery .....	1	10	2	33	..	2	3	45	48
First Brigade, Second Division.	10	105	45	556	2	72	57	733	790
Second Brigade, " "	12	118	50	523	..	75	62	716	778
Third Brigade, " "	6	53	43	333	..	78	49	464	513
Grand total.....	29	287	142	1448	2	227	174	1962	2136

Twenty-five (25) horses killed and disabled in Seeley's Battery.

Forty-four (44) horses killed in Turnbull's Battery.

A. A. HUMPHREYS,  
Maj. Gen'l. Vols. Comd'g Div.  
in the Battle of Gettysburg.

## II.—THE FIRST CONSTITUTION OF OHIO.

[In July, 1787, the Congress of the United States, acting under the provisions of the Articles of Confederation, enacted the widely-known "Ordinance of 1787," for the government of the Territory of the United States, lying to the North-west of the Ohio; and this may be said to have been the first movement toward the establishment of civil government within that vast region.

For the purpose of carrying that Ordinance into effect and of organizing a Territorial Government, on the fifth of October, 1787, Congress appointed General Arthur St. Clair, Governor, and Winthrop Sargent, Secretary, of the Territory; and, a few days after, Samuel Holden Parsons, John Armstrong, and James Mitchell Varnum, were appointed its Judges.

During the Summer of 1788, without respecting the opinions prevailing at that time, when the States, as such, were supposed to possess more dignity and more political rights than belonged, or could possibly belong, to an unorganized community, even when acting under supposed Federal authority, the Governor and two of the Judges of the Territory, assembled at Marietta and commenced what they conceived to be their duty of legislating for the residents of the Territory; but their enactments were disallowed by Congress, because they had been framed, without warrant in law, by those who possessed no power to enact a Law.

The organization of a new administration, under President Washington, was followed, soon after, by a re-organization of the Government of the Western Territory—General St. Clair and Messrs. Sargent and Parsons having been re-appointed, and Messrs. Symmes and Turner called to the Bench, as Judges.

In July, 1790, the Secretary, then acting as Governor, with Judges Symmes and Turner, met at Vincennes, and repeated the folly of the previous Government, by enacting other laws for the government of the inhabitants of the Territory, none of which, however, were approved by the Congress, because they had been enacted, as original Laws, and not adopted from the existing Codes of States, under the provisions of the "Ordinance of 1787," which was the organic law of the Territory.

In the Summer of 1795, a Code of Laws was adopted, unanimously, from the Codes of the several States; and, in 1799, under the provisions of the Ordinance, the Territory having five thousand white male inhabitants, the first General Assembly of the Territory was convened at Cincinnati.

In 1800, the Territory was divided; and, soon after, measures were taken to organize a State in the eastern portion of it, not, however, without so strong an opposition, both in the General Assembly and in various parts of the Territory, that the overthrow of the scheme would have been complete and emphatic, had those who promoted it, for their own purposes, submitted the proposition either to the Territorial Assembly or to the body of the inhabitants. An Act was crowded through the Congress, how-

ever, notwithstanding the general opposition which was known to exist, both in the Assembly and among the People, "to enable the People of the Eastern division of the Territory Northwest of the river Ohio, to form a "Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union, on an equal footing with the original States, and for other purposes;" and on the first of November of that year, the Convention which that Act assumed to authorize, met at Chillicothe and framed and enacted the first Constitution of the State of Ohio—a Constitution which was enacted in defiance of the known will of those whom it was designed to govern, and was thrust upon them, by force, without their consent, in order that those who plotted it might be spared from the shame which its inevitable and contemptuous rejection by "the People" would have brought upon them.

The Journal of that Convention has been considered one of the rarest, as it is one of the most interesting, Tracts connected with the history of the West; and we know of only one copy of it—that in the State Library, at Columbus, Ohio. It is a thin octavo, of forty-eight pages, shabbily printed, and bears the following title:

Journal | of the | Convention, | of the | Territory  
of the United States | Northwest of the Ohio,  
| begun and held at Chillicothe, | on Monday  
the first day of November, A. D. 1802, | and  
of the | Independence of the United States | the  
twenty-seventh. | Published by Authority. |  
Columbus : | George Nashee, State Printer. |  
1827.

In order that it may become better known, and as the first of a series of papers illustrative of the Constitutional History of the several States, we reproduce this very important Western document, complete; and we assure ourselves that our readers will be glad to see it. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

## JOURNAL OF THE CONVENTION.

BEGUN and held at the Town of Chillicothe, in the County of Ross, and Territory aforesaid, on the first Monday in November, (being the first day thereof) in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and two, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the twenty-seventh.

On which day, being the time and place appointed for the meeting of the Convention, for the purpose of forming a Constitution and State



Government, by the Act of Congress, entitled "An Act to enable the people of the eastern division of the territory North-west of the River Ohio, to form a Constitution and State Government, and for the admission of such State into the Union on an equal footing with the original States, and for other purposes," the following members appeared, who produced Certificates of their having been duly chosen to serve in the Convention, and having severally taken the oath of fidelity to the United States, and also an oath faithfully to discharge the duties of their office, took their seats, to wit:

*From the County of Adams*—Joseph Darlington, Thomas Kirker and Israel Donalson.

*From the County of Belmont*—James Caldwell.

*From the County of Hamilton*—Francis Dunlavy, John Paul, Jeremiah Morrow, John Wilson, Charles Willing Byrd, William Goforth, John Smith and John Reily.

*From the County of Jefferson*—Rudolph Bair, John Milligan and George Humphrey.

*From the County of Ross*—Edward Tiffin, Nathaniel Massie, Thomas Worthington, Michael Baldwin and James Grubb; and

*From the County of Trumbull*—Samuel Huntington.

On motion, The Convention proceeded to the choice of a President *pro tempore*, when William Goforth, Esquire, was chosen and took the Chair.

On motion, The Convention proceeded to the choice of a Secretary, *pro tempore*; whereupon, Mr. William M'Farland was chosen and proceeded to the duties of his office.

On motion, *Resolved*, That a Standing Committee of Privileges and Elections, to consist of five members, be chosen by ballot, whose duty it shall be to examine and report upon the Credentials of the members returned to serve in the Convention, and to take into consideration all such matters as shall or may be referred to them, touching returns and elections, and to report their proceedings, with their opinion thereupon, to the Convention.

And a Committee was appointed of Mr. Worthington, Mr. Darlington, Mr. Smith, Mr. Milligan and Mr. Huntington.

On motion, The Convention proceeded, by ballot, to the choice of a Door-keeper, to serve during the pleasure of the Convention; and upon examining the ballots, a majority of the votes was found in favor of Adam Betz.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee of three be appointed to prepare and report Rules for the regulation and government of the Convention; and that Mr. Reily, Mr. Milligan and Mr. Worthington, be the said Committee.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning, ten o'clock.

TUESDAY, November the 2d, 1802.

Several other members, to wit: from the County of Belmont, Elijah Woods; from the County of Fairfield, Emanuel Carpenter and Henry Abrams; from the County of Jefferson, Bazaleel Wells and Nathan Updegraff; from the County of Hamilton, John W. Browne; and from the County of Washington, Rufus Putnam, Ephraim Cutler, John M'Intire and Benjamin Ives Gilman, appeared, who severally produced Certificates of their having been chosen as members to the Convention, and having taken the oath of fidelity to the United States, and also an oath faithfully to discharge the duties of their office, took their seats.

Mr. Worthington, from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, to whom was referred the several Returns of election of members to serve in the Convention, made a Report, which he delivered in at the Secretary's table, where the same was read in the words following, to wit:

"The Committee of Privileges and Elections, to whom was referred the Certificates of the elections of the following members, viz:

"*From the County of Adams*—Joseph Darlington, Thomas Kirker and Israel Donalson, Esquires;

"*From the County of Belmont*—James Caldwell, Esquire;

"*From the County of Clermont*—Philip Gatch and James Sargent, Esquires;

"*From the County of Hamilton*—Francis Dunlavy, John Paul, Jeremiah Morrow, John Wilson, Charles Willing Byrd, William Goforth, John Smith, and John Reily, Esquires;

"*From the County of Jefferson*—Rudolph Bair, John Milligan and George Humphrey, Esquires;

"*From the County of Ross*—Edward Tiffin, Nathaniel Massie, Thomas Worthington, Michael Baldwin and James Grubb, Esquires; and

"*From the County of Trumbull*—Samuel Huntington, Esquire;

"Having carefully examined the same, find them regular and agreeably to a Law of the Territory, entitled "An Act to ascertain the number of free male inhabitants of the age of twenty-one, in the Territory of the United States, Northwest of the River Ohio; and to regulate the elections of the Representatives for the same;" and that the members aforesaid, from the Certificates to us referred, appear duly elected."

The said Report was again read, and on the question thereupon, agreed to by the Convention.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Convention proceed, by ballot, to the choice of a President.

The Convention accordingly proceeded to choose their President; and upon examining the ballots, it was found that Edward Tiffin, Esquire, was duly chosen, who accordingly took his seat in the Chair, and delivered the following Address:

"GENTLEMEN: I beg you to be assured that I  
 "duly appreciate the honor you have conferred in  
 "selecting me to preside over your deliberations,  
 "on this important occasion; the duties of the  
 "Chair will, I presume, be pleasing and easy, for,  
 "from the known characters of the gentlemen who  
 "compose this Convention, there can be no doubt  
 "but that the utmost propriety and decorum will  
 "be observed, without the aid of interference from  
 "the Chair. Whatever Rules you may adopt for  
 "the government of the Convention, shall be strict-  
 "ly observed; and in every decision which may be  
 "required from the Chair, the utmost impartiality  
 "shall be evinced."

On Motion, *Resolved*, That the Convention  
 proceed, by ballot, to the choice of a Secretary;  
 and that the person having a plurality of votes be  
 elected.

The Convention accordingly proceeded to  
 choose their Secretary; and upon examining the  
 ballots, it was found that Thomas Scott, Esquire,  
 was duly chosen, who thereupon took the oath of  
 fidelity to the United States and also an oath  
 faithfully to discharge the duties of his office.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Convention  
 proceed, by ballot, to the choice of an Assistant-  
 secretary.

The Convention accordingly proceeded to the  
 choice of an Assistant-secretary; and upon exam-  
 ining the ballots, a majority of the votes of the  
 whole number was found in favor of Mr. Will-  
 iam M'Farland, who thereupon took the oath of  
 fidelity to the United States, and also an oath  
 faithfully to discharge the duties of his office.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-  
 morrow morning, ten o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, November the 3d, 1802.

Another member, to wit; from the County of  
 Hamilton, John Kitchel, who appeared, produc-  
 ed a Certificate of his having been duly chosen as  
 a member in the Convention; and having taken  
 the oath of fidelity to the United States, and also  
 an oath faithfully to discharge the duties of his  
 office, took his seat.

Mr. Reily, from the Committee appointed to  
 prepare and report Rules for the regulation and  
 government of the Convention, made a Report,  
 which was received and read; whereupon,

*Resolved*, That the same be established as the  
 Standing Rules and Orders of the Convention.

#### STANDING RULES AND ORDERS OF THE CONVEN- TION.

1. The President shall take the Chair every day  
 at the hour to which the Convention shall have  
 adjourned on the preceding day; shall immedi-  
 ately call the members to order; and, on the ap-  
 pearance of a quorum, shall cause the Journal of  
 the preceding day to be read.

2. The President shall preserve decorum and  
 order; may speak to points of order in preference  
 to other members, rising from the Chair for that  
 purpose; and shall decide questions of order, sub-  
 ject to an appeal to the Convention by any one  
 member.

3. The President, rising from his seat, shall dis-  
 tinctly put the question in this form, viz: "You  
 "who are of opinion that" (as the case may be)  
 "say *Aye*; contrary opinion say *No*."

4. If the President doubts, or a division be  
 called for, the members shall divide—those in the  
 affirmative first rising from their seats, and after-  
 wards those in the negative. If a count be re-  
 quired by any member, the President shall name  
 two members, one from each side, to tell the  
 numbers, beginning with the affirmative, report  
 of the same being made to the President, he, ris-  
 ing from his seat, shall state the decision.

5. Any member may call for a statement of  
 the question, which the President may give sit-  
 ting.

6. The President, with five members, shall be a  
 sufficient number to adjourn; seven to call a house  
 and send for absent members, and make an Order  
 for their censure or discharge; and a majority of  
 the whole number, consisting of two-thirds of  
 the whole number elected, be a quorum to pro-  
 ceed to business.

7. When a member is about to speak in de-  
 bate or deliver any matter to the Convention, he  
 shall rise from his seat and respectfully address  
 himself to Mr. President.

8. If any member, in speaking or otherwise,  
 transgress the rules, the President shall, or any mem-  
 ber may, call to order; in which case the member  
 so called to order shall immediately sit down, un-  
 less permitted to explain; and the Convention  
 shall, if appealed to, decide on the case, but  
 without debate. If the decision be in favor of  
 the member called to order, he shall be at liberty  
 to proceed; if otherwise, and the case require  
 it, he shall be liable to the censure of the Con-  
 vention.

9. When two or more happen to rise at the  
 same time, the President shall name the person  
 who is first to speak.

10. No member shall speak more than twice to  
 the same question, without leave of the Con-  
 vention.

11. Whilst the President is putting a question  
 or addressing the Convention, none shall walk  
 out of or across the room; nor, when a member is  
 speaking, entertain private discourse or pass be-  
 tween him and the Chair.

12. No member shall vote on any question or  
 in any case where he was not present when the  
 question was put.

13. Upon calls of the Convention for taking  
 the Yeas and Nays on any question, the names of



the members shall be called alphabetically; and each member shall answer from his seat.

14. Any member shall have a right to call for the Yeas and Nays, provided he shall request it before the question be put.

15. When a Motion is made and seconded, it shall be stated by the President, or, being in writing, shall be read aloud by the Secretary; and every motion shall be reduced to writing, if the President or any member require it.

16. Any member may call for a division of the question, where the sense will admit of it.

17. Each member shall particularly forbear personal reflection; nor shall any member name another in argument or debate.

18. After a Motion is stated by the President or read by the Secretary, it shall be deemed to be in possession of the Convention, but may be withdrawn at any time before a decision or amendment.

19. When a question is under debate, no Motion shall be received unless it be the previous question, or for amending or committing the original Motion or subject in debate.

20. The previous question shall be in this form, "Shall the main question be now put?" It shall only be admitted when demanded by three members; and, until it is decided, shall preclude all amendment and further debate on the original Motion.

21. In taking the sense of the Convention, a majority of the votes of the members present shall govern.

22. If any member fails in attending to his duty, such officer as may be appointed for that purpose, by order of the Convention, shall take him into custody, for which the officer shall receive one dollar per day for the time he is traveling to and from the place of residence of the member, and until he is admitted to his seat, to be paid by the delinquent.

23. No Resolution, Section, or Article in the Constitution, shall be finally concluded and agreed upon, until the same shall have received three several readings.

24. The Convention shall resolve itself into a Committee of the whole, when deemed necessary; and, when in Committee of the whole, shall be governed by the foregoing Rules, except, that in Committee of the whole, any member shall speak as often as he may think proper.

25. The President shall appoint Committees, liable to addition or amendment, on the motion of any member, unless otherwise directed by the Convention.

26. A Motion to adjourn shall always be in order, and be decided without debate.

A Motion was made and seconded, that Arthur St. Clair, Sen. Esq. be permitted to address the Convention on those points which he deems of importance.

And on the question thereupon it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 19, Nays 14.

Those who voted in the affirmative are, Messrs. Bair, Browne, Caldwell, Cutler, Dunlavy, Gilman, Humphrey, Huntington, M'Intire, Massie, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells and Woods.

Those who voted in the negative are, Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Byrd, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Gatch, Goforth, Grubb, Kitchel, Kirker, Milligan, Wilson and Worthington.

And thereupon, Arthur St. Clair, Sen. Esq. was permitted to address the Convention.

On motion. Leave was given to lay before the Convention a Resolution on the subject of forming a Constitution and State Government; which Resolution was received and read the first time.

On motion, The said Resolution was read the second time; whereupon,

*Resolved*, That the Convention will immediately resolve itself into a Committee of the whole on the said Resolution.

The Convention accordingly resolved itself into the said Committee, Mr. Goforth in the Chair; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Goforth reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Resolution under consideration and made no amendment thereto.

The said Resolution was then amended at the Secretary's table, and read the third time; and, on the question that the Convention do agree to the same, in the words following:

Whereas, Congress did, by the Law, entitled "An Act to enable the people of the eastern division of the Territory North-west of the River Ohio, "to form a Constitution and State Government, "and for the admission of said State into the "Union, on an equal footing with the original "States, and for other purposes," [*provide*] that the members of the Convention thus duly elected, agreeably to the Act aforesaid, when met, shall first determine by a majority of the whole number elected, whether it be or be not expedient, at this time, to form a Constitution and State Government for the people within the said Territory; Therefore,

*Resolved*, That it is the opinion of this Convention, that it is expedient, at this time, to form a Constitution and State Government.

It was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 32—Nay 1.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, M'Intire, Massie, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

The vote in the negative, was

Mr. Cutler.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Convention will now proceed to form a Constitution and State Government.

On motion, *Resolved*, That a Committee be appointed, to consist of one member from each County, to prepare and report a Preamble and the first Article of the Constitution.

And a Committee was appointed, to wit:

From the County of Hamilton, Mr. Byrd; from the County of Clermont, Mr. Gatch; from the County of Adams, Mr. Darlington; from the County of Ross, Mr. Massie; from the County of Fairfield, Mr. Carpenter; from the County of Washington, Mr. Putnam; from the County of Jefferson, Mr. Milligan; from the County of Trumbull, Mr. Huntington; and from the County of Belmont, Mr. Caldwell.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the following persons be added to the said Committee, to wit:

From the County of Hamilton, Mr. Paul and Mr. Smith; from the County of Adams, Mr. Kirker; from the County of Ross, Mr. Worthington; from the County of Washington, Mr. Gilman; and from the County of Jefferson, Mr. Wells.

On motion, *Ordered*, That Mr. M'Farland, Assistant-secretary, attend the said Committee.

On motion, *Resolved*, That a Committee of two be appointed to provide fuel and stationary; also, to contract for the necessary printing for the Convention; and that Mr. Massie and Mr. Grubb be the said Committee.

Mr. Worthington, from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, to whom was referred the several Returns of elections of members, to serve in the Convention, made a Report, which he delivered in at the Secretary's table, where the same was read as followeth:

"The Committee of Privileges and Elections, to whom was referred the Certificates of election of the following members, viz: From the County of Belmont, Elijah Woods, Esq.; from the County of Fairfield, Emanuel Carpenter and Henry Abrams, Esq's.; from the County of Hamilton, John W. Browne and John Kitchel, Esq's.; from the County of Jefferson, Nathan Updegraff and Bazaleel Wells, Esq's.; and from the County of Washington, Rufus Putnam, Ephraim Cutler, John M'Intire and Benjamin Ives Gilman, Esq's., having carefully examined the same, report that, from the Certificates to us referred, the members aforesaid appear duly elected."

The said Report was again read; and, on the question thereupon, agreed to by the Convention.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow, twelve o'clock.

THURSDAY, November the 4th, 1862.

Mr. Putnam, from the Committee appointed to

prepare and report a Preamble and the first Article of the Constitution, reported a Preamble to the Constitution; which was received and read the first time: whereupon,

*Resolved*, That the Convention will immediately resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said Preamble.

The Convention accordingly resolved itself into the said Committee, Mr. Reily in the Chair; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Reily reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Preamble under consideration, and made an Amendment thereto; which he delivered in at the Secretary's table.

*Ordered*, That the said Preamble, with the Amendments, do lie on the table.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Committee appointed to provide fuel and stationary; also to contract for the printing for the present Convention, be directed to inquire of the printer what seven hundred copies of the Journal and Constitution will cost; what every additional three hundred copies will cost; and report the same to the Convention.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee of three be appointed to revise the Journal of the Convention, before it goes to the press.

And a Committee was appointed of Mr. Reily, Mr. Gilman and Mr. Donalson.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee of nine be appointed, to prepare and report a Bill of Rights and a Schedule, for the purpose of carrying into complete operation, the Constitution and Government.

And a Committee was appointed of Mr. Goforth, Mr. Dunlavy, Mr. Browne, Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Grubb, Mr. Woods, Mr. Updegraff, Mr. Cutler and Mr. Donalson.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow, twelve o'clock.

FRIDAY, November the 5th, 1862.

A Motion was made and seconded, that the Convention expunge from their Journal, the Resolution and all the proceedings relative thereto which authorized the President to enclose to his Excellency the Governor and those members of the Territorial Legislature who are not in the Convention, their opinion on the impropriety of holding another Session of the Territorial Legislature.

And, on the question, "Will the Convention agree to the same," it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 25, Nays 8.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Bair, Browne, Cutler, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, M'Intire, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson and Woods.



Those who voted in the negative, are Messrs. Baldwin, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlington, Massie, Milligan and Worthington.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the President, in behalf of the Convention, request the Governor to dissolve or prorogue the present Territorial Legislature.

Mr. Massie, from the Committee directed to inquire of the printers, what seven hundred copies of the Constitution will cost; also, what every additional three hundred copies will cost; made a Report, which was received and read the first time: whereupon,

*Ordered*, That the said Report be committed to Mr. Smith, Mr. Darlington, Mr. Massie, Mr. Cutler, and Mr. Bair.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

SATURDAY, November the 6th, 1802.

Mr. Putnam, from the Committee appointed to prepare and report a Preamble and the first Article of the Constitution, reported the first Article of the Constitution; which was received and read the first time; whereupon,

*Ordered*, That the said Article be committed to a Committee of the whole Convention, on Monday next.

On motion, *Ordered*, That forty copies of the said Article be printed for the use of the members and officers of the Convention.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee be appointed to prepare and report the second Article of the Constitution, on the supreme Executive authority.

And a Committee was appointed of Mr. Paul, Mr. Byrd, Mr. Smith, Mr. Gatch, Mr. Darlington, Mr. Kirker, Mr. Massie, Mr. Worthington, Mr. Carpenter, Mr. Putnam, Mr. Gilman, Mr. Huntington, Mr. Milligan, Mr. Wells and Mr. Caldwell.

The Convention proceeded to consider the Amendment reported on Thursday last, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the Preamble to the Constitution; and the same being read, was agreed to.

And then the Convention adjourned until Monday morning, ten o'clock.

MONDAY, November the 8th, 1802.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the first Article of the Constitution, Mr. Darlington in the Chair; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Darlington reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Article under consideration, and made some progress therein.

*Resolved*, That the Convention will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said Article.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

TUESDAY, November the 9th, 1802.

Mr. Massie, from the Committee appointed to prepare and report the second Article of the Constitution, on the supreme Executive authority, made Report; which was received and read the first time: whereupon,

*Ordered*, That the said Article be committed to a Committee of the whole Convention, to-morrow.

Mr. Smith, from the Committee to whom was referred the proposals of Mr. Nathaniel Willis and Messrs. Carpenter and Findlay, for printing the Journal and Constitution now framing, made a Report; which was received, and read the first time, and ordered to lie on the table.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, again resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the first Article of the Constitution, Mr. Darlington in the Chair; and, after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair; and Mr. Darlington reported that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said Article under consideration, and made several Amendments thereto; which he delivered in at the Secretary's table.

*Ordered*, That the said Article, with the Amendments, do lie on the table.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee be appointed to prepare and report the third Article of the Constitution, on the Judiciary.

And a Committee was appointed of Mr. Paul, Mr. Byrd, Mr. Smith, Mr. Gatch, Mr. Darlington, Mr. Kirker, Mr. Massie, Mr. Worthington, Mr. Carpenter, Mr. Putnam, Mr. Gilman, Mr. Milligan, Mr. Wells, Mr. Caldwell and Mr. Huntington.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, November the 10th, 1802.

A Motion was made and seconded, that Mr. Nathaniel Willis be appointed Printer to the Convention.

And on the question thereupon, it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 27—Nays 5.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative are

Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, M'Intire, Massie, Milligan, Morrow, Putnam, Sargent, Smith, Updgraff, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Dunlavy, Kitchel, Paul, Reily and Wells.

On motion, *Ordered*, That Mr. Baldwin be appointed to the Committee appointed to prepare and report the third Article of the Constitution, on the Judiciary.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the second Article of the Constitution, on the supreme Executive authority, Mr. Massie in the Chair; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Massie reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Article under consideration, and made several Amendments thereto; which he delivered in at the Secretary's table.

*Ordered*, That the said Article, with the Amendments, do lie on the table.

On motion, *Ordered*, That Mr. Reily be added to the Committee appointed to prepare and report a Bill of Rights and a Schedule, for the purpose of carrying into complete operation the Constitution and Government.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee be appointed to contract with Mr. Nathaniel Willis, Printer, of Chillicothe, for the printing of seven hundred copies of the Journal of the Convention, and one thousand copies of the Constitution, now framing, in octavo, on the terms proposed by the said Willis; and also, for such other printing as may be found necessary, during the sitting of the Convention, on the same terms that such printing hath heretofore been contracted for by the Legislature of the Territory; and that Mr. Darlington and Mr. Reily be the said Committee.

And then the Convention adjourned, until to-morrow morning, twelve o'clock.

THURSDAY, November the 11th, 1802.

Mr. Goforth, from the Committee appointed to prepare and report a Bill of Rights and a Schedule for the purpose of carrying into complete operation the Constitution and Government, reported a Bill of Rights; which was received and read the first time: whereupon,

*Order d*, That the said Bill of Rights be committed to a Committee of the whole Convention, to-morrow.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, twelve o'clock.

FRIDAY, November the 12th, 1802.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee of five be appointed to prepare and report the fourth Article of the Constitution, designating the qualifications of Electors.

And a Committee was appointed of Mr. Morrow, Mr. Paul, Mr. Kirker, Mr. Grubb, and Mr. Bair.

Mr. Smith, from the Committee appointed to prepare and report the third Article of the Constitution, on the Judiciary, made a Report which was received and read the first time: whereupon,

*Ordered*, That the said Article be committed to

a Committee of the whole Convention, to-morrow.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the Bill of Rights, Mr. Worthington in the Chair; and, after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair and Mr. Worthington reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Bill of Rights under consideration and made several Amendments thereto, which he delivered in at the Secretary's table.

*Ordered*, That the said Bill of Rights, with the Amendments, do lie on the table.

Another member, to wit: from the County of Trumbull, David Abbot, who appeared, produced a Certificate of his having been duly chosen as member in the Convention, and having taken the oath of fidelity to the United States, and also an oath faithfully to discharge the duties of his office, took his seat.

On motion, Leave was given to lay before the Convention a Resolution for submitting the Constitution or Frame of Government, now preparing, to the people of the eastern division of the Territory North-west of the Ohio, for their acceptance or disapprobation; which resolution was received and read the first time; whereupon,

*Ordered*, That the said Resolution be committed to a Committee of the whole Convention, to-morrow.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee of six be appointed, to prepare and report the sixth Article of the Constitution, designating the manner in which Sheriffs, Coroners, and certain other civil officers shall be chosen or appointed.

And a Committee was appointed of Mr. Kitchel, Mr. Wilson, Mr. McIntire, Mr. Abbot, Mr. Gilman and Mr. Baldwin.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee of five be appointed to prepare and report the sixth Article of the Constitution, declaring the manner in which Militia officers shall be chosen or appointed.

And a Committee was appointed of Mr. Putnam, Mr. Byrd, Mr. Massie, Mr. Worthington and Mr. Sargent.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

SATURDAY, November the 13th, 1802.

Mr. Worthington, from the Committee appointed to prepare and report the fifth Article of the Constitution, declaring the manner in which Militia officers shall be chosen or appointed, made a Report which was received and read the first time: whereupon,

*Order d*, That the said Article be committed to a Committee of the whole Convention, on Monday next.

Mr. Morrow, from the Committee appointed



to prepare and report the fourth Article of the Constitution, designating the qualifications of Electors, made a Report, which was received and read the first time: whereupon,

*Ordered*, That the said Article be committed to a Committee of the whole Convention, on Monday next.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the Resolution for submitting the Constitution or Frame of Government, now preparing, to the people of the eastern division of the Territory North-west of the Ohio, for their acceptance or disapprobation, Mr. Byrd in the Chair; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair; and Mr. Byrd reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Resolution under consideration, and directed him to report to the Convention their disagreement to the same.

On the question, that the Convention do agree with the Committee of the whole Convention, in their disagreement to the said Resolution, in the words following:

*Resolved*, That the Constitution or Frame of Government by this Convention prepared for the people of the eastern division of the Territory North-west of the Ohio, be submitted to them, for their acceptance and confirmation, in the following manner, to wit: Meetings of the people, for that purpose, shall be holden in the several Election Districts in each County, on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ next, at which Meetings the opinion of the people shall be taken by ballot: those who are for accepting the Constitution, shall give in a ballot with the word "*Yea*" wrote thereon; and those in the negative opinion, a ballot with the word "*Nay*" on it. Judges shall be chosen to preside, who shall receive, count, and certify the number of Yeas and Nays to the Prothonotary, in the same manner as provided by Law for the election of Representatives to the General Assembly; the Prothonotary, in the presence of the Sheriff and two Justices of the Peace, shall count the Yeas and Nays, and make return thereof, sealed up, to \_\_\_\_\_ on or before the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_

*And be it further Resolved*, That \_\_\_\_\_ and they are hereby appointed a Committee, who, on the \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_ next, shall meet at \_\_\_\_\_ and they, or a majority of them, shall open the Returns of the several Prothonotaries and count the number of the Yeas and Nays; and if there appears a majority of the people for accepting the Constitution, the Committee shall give notice thereof in the newspapers printed at Cincinnati, Chillicothe and Marietta; and the election of the Governor and members of the two Houses of

the General Assembly shall proceed, as provided for by this Constitution. But if it appear that there is not a majority of the people for accepting of the Constitution, then the Committee aforesaid be, and they are hereby, vested with power, in the name and by the authority of this Convention, to call another Convention for the purpose of amending this or forming a Constitution, to be confirmed by the said Convention, without further reference to the people.

It was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 27, Nays 7.

Those who voted in the affirmative are, Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, Massie, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Sargent, Smith, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative are, Messrs. Cutler, Gilman, McIntire, Putnam, Reilly, Updegraff and Wells.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the third Article of the Constitution, on the Judiciary, Mr. Smith in the Chair; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair; and Mr. Smith reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Article under consideration and made some progress therein.

*Resolved*, That the Convention will, on Monday next, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said Article.

And then the Convention adjourned until Monday morning, ten o'clock.

MONDAY, November the 15th, 1802.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, again resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the third Article of the Constitution, on the Judiciary, Mr. Massie in the Chair; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair; and Mr. Massie reported that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said Article under consideration and made a further progress therein.

*Resolved*, That the Convention will, to day, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said Article.

Mr. Worthington, from the Committee of Privileges and Elections, to whom was referred the Return of election of David Abbot, from the County of Trumbull, to serve in the Convention, made a Report, which he delivered in at the Secretary's table, where the same was read and agreed to, in the words following, to wit:

"The Committee of Privileges and Elections, having examined the Certificate of the election of David Abbot, Esquire, from the County of

"Trumbull, find the same agreeable to law; and  
"further report, that it appears from the Certi-  
"cate aforesaid, that the said David Abbot, Es-  
"quire, is duly elected as a Representative of the  
"Convention, from the County aforesaid."

The Convention, according to the order of the day, again resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the third Article of the Constitution, on the Judiciary, Mr. Smith in the Chair; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Smith reported that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said Article under consideration and made several Amendments thereto, which he delivered in at the Secretary's table.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the said Article, with the Amendments thereto, be recommitted to Mr. Byrd, Mr. Huntington and Mr. Darlington.

The several orders of the day were further postponed until to-morrow.

And then the Convention adjourned, until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

TUESDAY, November the 16th, 1802.

Mr. Kitchel, from the Committee appointed to prepare and report the sixth Article of the Constitution, designating the manner in which Sheriffs, Coroners, and certain other civil officers, shall be chosen or appointed, made a Report, which was received and read the first time: whereupon,

*Ordered*, That the said Article be committed to a Committee of the whole Convention, to-day.

Mr. Darlington, from the Committee appointed to contract with Mr. Nathaniel Willis, Printer, of Chillicothe, for the printing of seven hundred copies of the Journal of the Convention, and one thousand copies of the Constitution, now framing, in octavo; and also for such other printing as may be found necessary, reported, that the Committee had made the said contract, which he delivered in at the Secretary's table, where the same was read and agreed to by the Convention.

Mr. Byrd, from the Committee to whom was committed the third Article of the Constitution, on the Judiciary, reported an amendatory Article on the Judiciary, which was received and read the first time.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the said Article be committed to a Committee of the whole Convention, to-morrow.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the fourth Article of the Constitution, designating the qualifications of Electors, Mr. Baldwin in the Chair; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair; and Mr. Baldwin reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the

said Article under consideration, and made several Amendments thereto, which he delivered in at the Secretary's table.

*Ordered*, That the said Article, with the Amendments, do lie on the table.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the fifth Article of the Constitution, declaring the manner in which Militia officers shall be chosen or appointed, Mr. Wells in the Chair; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair; and Mr. Wells reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Article under consideration and made several Amendments thereto, which he delivered in at the Secretary's table,

*Ordered*, That the said Article, with the Amendments, do lie on the table.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee of five be appointed to prepare and report an Article comprehending the general regulations and provisions of the Constitution.

And a Committee was appointed of Mr. Smith, Mr. Huntington, Mr. Worthington, Mr. Darlington and Mr. Abrams.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee, to consist of one member from each County, be chosen by ballot, whose duty it shall be to take into consideration the propositions made by Congress, for the acceptance or rejection of the Convention, and report their opinion thereupon.

And a Committee was accordingly chosen, to wit: from the County of Adams, Mr. Darlington; from the County of Belmont, Mr. Woods; from the County of Clermont, Mr. Gatch; from the County of Fairfield, Mr. Carpenter; from the County of Jefferson, Mr. Wells; from the County of Hamilton, Mr. Byrd; from the County of Ross, Mr. Worthington; from the County of Trumbull, Mr. Huntington; and from the County of Washington, Mr. Putnam.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the sixth Article of the Constitution, designating the manner in which Sheriffs, Coroners, and certain other civil officers, shall be chosen or appointed, Mr. Gilman in the Chair; and after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Gilman reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Article under consideration, and made several Amendments thereto, which he delivered in at the Secretary's table

*Ordered*, That the said Article, with the Amendments, do lie on the table.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow, twelve o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, November the 17th, 1802.

Mr. Goforth, from the Committee appointed to prepare and report a Bill of Rights and a Sched-



ule for the purpose of carrying into complete operation the Constitution and Government, reported a Schedule ; which was received and read the first time : whereupon ;

*Ordered*, That the said Schedule be committed to a Committee of the whole Convention, to-morrow.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the third Article of the Constitution, on the Judiciary, Mr. Smith in the Chair ; and, after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Smith reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Article under consideration, and made several Amendments thereto, which he delivered in at the Secretary's table.

*Ordered*, That the said Article, with the Amendments, do lie on the table.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

THURSDAY, November the 18th, 1802.

Mr. Smith, from the Committee appointed to prepare and report the seventh Article of the Constitution, comprehending the general regulations and provisions of the Constitution, made a Report, which was received and read the first time : whereupon,

*Ordered*, That the said Article be committed to a Committee of the whole Convention to-morrow.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the Schedule to the Constitution, Mr. Byrd in the Chair ; and, after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Byrd reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Schedule under consideration and made several Amendments thereto, which he delivered in at the Secretary's table.

*Ordered*, That the said Schedule, with the Amendments, do lie on the table.

The Convention proceeded to consider the Amendments reported on the ninth instant, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the first Article of the Constitution ; and the same being read, some were agreed to and others disagreed to.

A Motion was then made further to amend the said Article at the Secretary's table, by striking out, after the word "of," in the second line of the fourth Section, the words "twenty-five ;"

And on the question thereupon it passed in the negative—Yeas 10, Nays 23.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative are,

Messrs. Baldwin, Carpenter, Darlington, Grubb, Humphrey, Kirker, Kitchel, Milligan, Morrow and Smith.

Those who voted in the negative are,

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Bair, Browne, Byrd,  
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Caldwell, Cutler, Donalson, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Huntington, M'Intire, Massie, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

Another Motion was then made, further to amend the said Article by striking out, after the word "chosen," in the first line of the fifth Section, the word "biennially," and to insert in lieu thereof the word "annually ;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 15, Nays 18.

And the Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative are,

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Baldwin, Browne, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Gatch, Grubb, Humphrey, Kitchel, Milligan, Sargent, Wilson and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative are,

Messrs. Byrd, Caldwell, Cutler, Dunlavy, Gilman, Goforth, Huntington, Kirker, M'Intire, Massie, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Smith, Updegraff, Wells and Woods.

Another Motion was then made, further to amend the said Article by striking out, after the word "than," in the sixth line of the sixth Section, these words, "one third ;"

And on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 8, Nays 25.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative are

Messrs. Abbot, Caldwell, Carpenter, Humphrey, Kirker, Milligan, Morrow and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Byrd, Cutler, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Huntington, Kitchel, M'Intire, Massie, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson and Woods.

Another Motion was then made, further to amend the said Article ; and debate arising thereon, an adjournment was called for ;

And then the Convention adjourned until three o'clock, P. M.

The Convention met at three o'clock, P. M.

A Motion was made to amend the Standing Rules and Orders of the Convention, by inserting after the word "it," in the second line of the sixteenth Rule, these words, "unless the Ayes and "Noes have been previously called for ;"

And, on the question thereupon, agreed to by the Convention.

The Convention resumed the consideration of the Amendments reported on the ninth instant, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the first Article of the Constitution : whereupon,

The sixteenth Section of the said Article being under consideration, in the words following :

"Sec. 16. Bills may originate in either House, "but may be altered, amended, or rejected by the "other,"

A Motion was made to strike out the said Section and insert, in lieu thereof, a Section in the words following :

"Sec. 16. Bills may originate in either House, but the other House may propose alterations and Amendments; and whenever the House of Representatives and Senate disagree, a conference shall be held, in the presence of both, and shall be managed by Committees to be by them respectively chosen; and, after such conference had, the points in difference, whether it be the alteration, amendment, or rejection of the Bill, shall be determined by the joint vote of the members of both Houses;"

And on the question that the Convention do agree to the same, it passed in the negative—Yeas 10, Nays 24.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Browne, Carpenter, Dunlavy, Grubb, Kitchel, Milligan, Morrow, Paul and Wilson.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Byrd, Caldwell, Cutler, Darlington, Donalson, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, McIntire, Massie, Putman, Reily, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Woods and Worthington.

Another Motion was then made, further to amend the said Article, at the Secretary's table; and debate arising thereon, an adjournment was called for;

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning, ten o'clock.

FRIDAY, November the 19th, 1802.

A Petition of sundry of the inhabitants of the County of Clermont was presented to the Convention and read, praying that those privileges which are the absolute right of all men, may be secured to them, &c.; whereupon,

*Ordered*, That the said Petition do lie on the table.

The Convention resumed the consideration of the Amendments reported on the ninth instant, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the first Article of the Constitution: whereupon,

The Amendment moved yesterday to the said Article being under consideration, which was to strike out the nineteenth Section, in the words following :

"SEC. 19. The members of the General Assembly shall receive from the public treasury, a compensation for their services, which shall not exceed two dollars per day, during their attendance on the Sessions of the respective Houses, and two dollars for every twenty-five miles travel, in going to and returning from their respective Sessions, by the most usual route: *Provided*, That the same may be increased or diminished by law; but no alteration shall take effect during

"the Session at which such alteration shall be made;" and insert, in lieu thereof, a Section in the words following :

"SEC. 19. The Legislature of this State shall not allow the following officers of Government greater annual salaries than as follows, until the year to wit:

"The Governor not more than dollars.

"The Judges of the Supreme Court not more than dollars.

"The Secretary not more than dollars.

"The Treasurer not more than

"per cent., for receiving and paying out all moneys.

"No member of the Legislature shall receive more than per day, nor more for

"every miles he shall travel in going to and returning from the General Assembly;"

And, on the question that the Convention agree to the same,

It was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 21, Nays 13.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Bair, Browne, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Sargent, Updegraff, Wilson and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Baldwin, Byrd, Cutler, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, McIntire, Massie, Putnam, Reily, Smith, Wells and Woods.

A Motion was made to amend the said Section, by adding after the word "than," in the fourth [fifth] line, these words, "twelve hundred;"

And on the question thereupon,

It passed in the negative—Yeas 13, Nays 21.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded,

Those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Baldwin, Byrd, Caldwell, Cutler, Gilman, Goforth, Huntington, Massie, Putnam, Smith, Wells and Woods.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Bair, Browne, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Grubb, Humphrey, Kirker, Kitchel, McIntire, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Reily, Sargent, Updegraff, Wilson and Worthington.

Another Motion was then made; and the question being put further to amend the said Section, by inserting after the word "than," in the fourth [fifth] line, the words, "one thousand;"

It was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 23, Nays 11.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded,

Those who voted in the affirmative, are



Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Browne, Caldwell, Carpenter, Cutler, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, M'Intire, Massie, Milligan, Putnam, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Woods and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Bair, Byrd, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Kitchel, Morrow, Paul, Reily and Wilson.

Another Motion was then made; and the question being put, further to amend the said Section, by inserting after the word "than," in the eighth line, these words, "six hundred,"

It passed the negative—Yeas 5, Nays 29.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded,

Those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Baldwin, Byrd, Gilman, Massie and Wells.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Bair, Browne, Caldwell, Carpenter, Cutler, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, M'Intire, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

Another Motion was then made; and the question being put, further to amend the said Section, by inserting, after the word "than," in the fourteenth line, these words, "two dollars,"

It was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 25, Nays 9.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded,

Those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Bair, Browne, Byrd, Carpenter, Cutler, Dunlavy, Gatch, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, M'Intire, Milligan, Morrow, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Baldwin, Caldwell, Darlington, Donalson, Gilman, Massie, Paul, Wilson and Woods.

Another Motion was then made; and the question being put, further to amend the said Section, by adding to the end of the Section a proviso, in the words following: "Provided, That no member of this Convention shall be appointed to any office created by this Constitution, until the expiration of one year after the Constitution shall take effect, except such officers as are hereby made elective by the People and to County offices,"

It passed in the negative—Yeas 3, Nays 31.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded,

Those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Paul and Reily.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Cutler, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, M'Intire, Massie, Milligan, Morrow, Putnam, Sargent,

Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson, Woods, and Worthington.

Another Motion was then made; and the question being put, further to amend the said Section, by inserting between the seventh and eight lines of the Section, the words following: "The Auditor of Public Accounts, not more than seven hundred and fifty dollars,"

It was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 17, Nays 17—

The Convention being equally divided, and Mr. President declaring himself with the Yeas.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, were as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Abrams, Browne, Byrd, Carpenter, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Humphrey, Kitchel, Massie, Morrow, Paul, Reily, Sargent, Wilson and Worthington.

NAYS—Messrs. Abbot, Baldwin, Bair, Caldwell, Cutler, Darlington, Donalson, Grubb, Huntington, Kirker, M'Intire, Milligan, Putnam, Smith, Updegraff, Wells and Woods.

Another Motion was then made; and the question being put, further to amend the said Section, by inserting, after the word "greater," in the second line of the Section, these words, "nor less,"

It passed in the negative—Yeas 5, Nays 29.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded,

Those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Baldwin, Byrd, Gilman, Wells and Woods.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Bair, Browne, Caldwell, Carpenter, Cutler, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, M'Intire, Massie, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Woods and Worthington.

The said Section was further amended at the Secretary's table; and on the question that the Convention do receive the said Section, as amended, in the words following:

"SEC. 19. The Legislature of this State shall not

"allow the following officers of Government greater annual salaries than as follows, until the year

"One thousand, eight hundred, and eight, to wit:

"The Governor, not more than one thousand dol-

"lars. The Judges of the Supreme Court, not

"more than one thousand dollars each. The Sec-

"retary, not more than five hundred dollars. The

"Auditor of Public Accounts, not more than seven

"hundred and fifty dollars. The Treasurer, not

"more than four hundred and fifty dollars. No

"member of the Legislature shall receive more than

"two dollars per day, during his attendance on

"the Legislature, nor more for every twenty-five

"miles he shall travel in going to and returning

"from the General Assembly,"

It was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 21, Nays 13.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded,

Those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Bair, Browne, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Grubb, Humphrey, Kirker, Kitchel, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wilson and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Baldwin, Byrd, Cutler, Gilman, Goforth, Huntington, M'Intire, Massie, Putnam, Reily, Wells and Woods.

The said Article was further amended at the Secretary's table; and, with the Amendments, was ordered to lie on the table.

The Convention, according to order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the seventh Article of the Constitution, comprehending the general regulations and provisions of the Constitution, Mr. Smith in the Chair; and, after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Smith reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Article under consideration and made some progress therein.

*Resolved*, That the Convention will, to-morrow, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said Article.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, nine o'clock.

SATURDAY, November the 20th, 1802.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, again resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the seventh Article of the Constitution, comprehending the general regulations and provisions of the Constitution, Mr. Smith in the Chair; and, after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Smith reported that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said Article under consideration and made several Amendments thereto, which he delivered at the Secretary's table.

*Ordered*, That the said Article, with the Amendments, do lie on the table.

The Convention proceeded to consider the Amendments reported on the tenth instant, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the second Article of the Constitution, on the supreme Executive authority; and the same being read, were agreed to by the Convention.

The said Article was further amended at the Secretary's table, and, together with the Amendments, ordered to lie on the table.

The Convention proceeded to consider the Amendments reported on the twelfth instant, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the Bill of Rights; and the same being read, some were agreed to and others disagreed to.

A Motion was then made to amend the said Bill of Rights, at the Secretary's table, by striking

out, after the word "convicted," in the fourth line of the second Section, the words following: "nor shall any male person arrived at the age of twenty-one years, or female person arrived at the age of eighteen years, be held to serve any person as a servant, under pretence of Indenture or otherwise; unless such person shall enter into such Indenture while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition of a *bona fide* consideration, received or to be received, for their service, except as before excepted;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 12, Nays 21.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Bair, Caldwell, Dunlavy, Grubb, Kitchel, Morrow, Paul, Reily, Sargent, Smith, and Wilson.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Browne, Byrd, Carpenter, Cutler, Darlington, Donalson, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, M'Intire, Milligan, Putnam, Updegraff, Wells, Woods and Worthington.

Another Motion was then made further to amend the said Section, by inserting, after the word "convicted," in the fourth line of the said Section, the words following: "nor shall there be either Slavery or involuntary servitude ever admitted in any State to be erected on the North-west side of the River Ohio, within the limits of the United States, except as above excepted;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 2, Nays 31.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Paul and Reily.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Cutler, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, M'Intire, Milligan, Morrow, Putnam, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

Another Motion was then made further to amend the said Article, by striking out, after the word "and," in the ninth and tenth lines of the third Section, the words following: "no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office of trust or profit;" and to insert, in lieu thereof, the words, "no person who denies the being of a God or a future state of rewards and punishments shall hold any office in the civil department of this State;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 3, Nays 30.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are



Messrs. Caldwell, Humphrey and Milligan.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Byrd, Carpenter, Cutler, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, McIntire, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

Another Motion was then made, further to amend the said Article by inserting a new Section, between the twenty-second and the twenty-third Sections, in the words following:

"That the laying taxes by the poll is grievous and oppressive; therefore the Legislature shall never levy a poll-tax for County or State purposes;"

And on the question that the Convention do agree to the same, it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 26, Nays 7.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Goforth, Grubb, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Sargent, Smith, Wells, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Gatch, Gilman, Humphrey, McIntire, Putnam, Reily and Updegraff.

Another motion was made further to amend the said Article; and debate arising thereon, an adjournment was called for.

And then the Convention adjourned until Monday morning, ten o'clock.

MONDAY, November the 22d, 1802.

The Convention resumed the consideration of the Amendments reported on the twelfth instant, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the Bill of Rights; and the same being further amended, was ordered to lie on the table.

The Convention proceeded to consider the Amendments reported on the seventeenth instant, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the third Article of the Constitution, on the Judiciary: whereupon,

*Ordered*, That the said Article be recommitted to a Committee of the whole Convention, to-morrow.

The Convention proceeded to consider the Amendments reported on the sixteenth instant, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the fourth Article of the Constitution, designating the qualifications of electors; and the same being read, were agreed to by the Convention.

A Motion was then made, further to amend the said Article at the Secretary's table, by striking out, after the word "all," in the first line of the first Section, the word "white;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 14, Nays 19.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded; those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Browne, Cutler, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Kitchel, Paul, Putnam, Sargent, Updegraff, Wells and Wilson.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, McIntire, Massie, Milligan, Morrow, Reily, Smith, Woods and Worthington.

Another Motion was then made further to amend the said Section, by striking out, after the word "election," in the third line, the words following: "and who have paid or are charged with a State or County tax;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 8, Nays 26.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Caldwell, Grubb, Milligan, Sargent and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Byrd, Carpenter, Cutler, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, McIntire, Massie, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson and Woods.

Another Motion was then made, further to amend the said Section, by adding to the end of the Section a Proviso, in the words following:

"*Provided*, That all male negroes and mulattoes, now residing in this Territory, shall be entitled to the right of suffrage, if they shall, within months, make a record of their citizenship;"

And, on the question thereupon, it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 19, Nays 15.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Byrd, Cutler, Darlington, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Kitchel, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells and Wilson.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Caldwell, Carpenter, Donalson, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, McIntire, Massie, Milligan, Woods and Worthington.

Another Motion was then made further to amend the said Section, by adding to the end of the Section a Proviso, in the words following:

"*And Provided also*, That the male descendants of such negroes and mulattoes as shall be recorded, shall be entitled to the same privilege;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 16, Nays 17.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Browne, Byrd, Cutler, Darlington, Dun-

lavy, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Kitchel, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Sargent, Updegraff, Wells and Wilson.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Caldwell, Carpenter, Donalson, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, M'Intire, Massie, Milligan, Reily, Smith, Woods and Worthington.

The said Article was further amended at the Secretary's table, and, with the Amendments, ordered to lie on the table.

The Convention proceeded to consider the Amendments reported on the sixteenth instant, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the fifth Article of the Constitution, declaring the manner in which Militia officers shall be chosen or appointed; and the same being read, were agreed to by the Convention.

The said Article was further amended at the Secretary's table, and, with the Amendments, was ordered to lie on the table.

The Convention proceeded to consider the Amendments reported on the twelfth instant, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the seventh Article of the Constitution, comprehending the general regulations and provisions of the Constitution; and the same being read, some were agreed to and others disagreed to.

A Motion was then made, further to amend the said Article at the Secretary's table, by striking out, after the words, "a majority," and insert, in lieu thereof, these words, "two-thirds;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yea 1, Nays 33.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, the vote in the affirmative, was

Mr. Kirker.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Cutler, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kitchel, M'Intire, Massie, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

Another Motion was then made, further to amend the said Article, by adding a new Section as the seventh Section, in the words following :

"Sec. 7. No negro or mulatto shall ever be eligible to any office, civil or military, or give their oath in any Court of Justice, against a white person; be subject to do military duty, or pay a poll-tax in this State : *Provided always*, and it is fully understood and declared, that all negroes and mulattoes, now in, or who may hereafter reside in, this State, shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizens of this State, not excepted by this Constitution;"

And, on the question thereupon, it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 19, Nays 16.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Grubb, Humphrey, Kirker, M'Intire, Massie, Milligan, Morrow, Smith, Tiffin, Woods and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Browne, Cutler, Dulavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Huntington, Kitchel, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Updegraff, Wells and Wilson.

The Article was further amended at the Secretary's table, and, with the Amendments, was ordered to lie on the table.

TUESDAY, November the 23d, 1802.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the third Article of the Constitution, on the Judiciary, Mr. Baldwin in the Chair; and, after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair and Mr. Baldwin reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Article under consideration, and made several Amendments thereto, which he delivered in at the Secretary's table.

*Ordered*, That the said Article, with the Amendments do lie on the table.

The Convention proceeded to consider the Amendments reported on the eighteenth instant, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the Schedule to the Constitution; and the same being read, were agreed to by the Convention.

A Motion was made, further to amend the said Article at the Secretary's table, by striking out, after the word "and," in the fourth line of the seventh Section, the word "eight," and to insert in lieu thereof, the word "ten;"

And, on the question thereupon, it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 19, Nays 14.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Browne, Byrd, Carpenter, Cutler, Donalson, Dunlavy, Goforth, Kirker, Kitchel, Massie, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Smith, Wells, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Baldwin, Bair, Caldwell, Darlington, Gatch, Gilman, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, M'Intire, Milligan, Sargent and Updegraff.

Another Motion was then made, further to amend the said Section, by striking out after the word "to," in the third line of the said Section, the word "four," and insert in lieu thereof, the word "five;"

And, on the question thereupon, it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 17, Nays 16.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Browne, Byrd, Carpenter, Cutler, Don-



alson, Dunlavy, Goforth, Kitchel, Massie, Morrow, Paul, Reily, Smith, Wells, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Baldwin, Bair, Caldwell, Darlington, Gatch, Gilman, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, McIntire, Milligan, Putnam, Sargent and Updegraff.

The said Section being still under consideration, in the words following :

"SEC. 7. Until the first enumeration shall be made, as directed in the second Section of the first Article of this Constitution, the County of Hamilton shall be entitled to five Senators and ten Representatives; the County of Clermont, one Senator and two Representatives; the County of Adams, two Senators and three Representatives; the County of Ross, two Senators and five Representatives; the County of Fairfield, one Senator and two Representatives; the County of Washington, two Senators and four Representatives; the County of Belmont, one Senator and two Representatives; the County of Jefferson, two Senators and five Representatives; the County of Trumbull, one Senator and two Representatives: *Provided*, That no new County shall be entitled to a separate representation, prior to the first enumeration;"

A Motion was made to strike out the said Section and to insert, in lieu thereof, a Section in the words following :

"SEC. 7. Until the first enumeration shall be made, as directed in the second Section of the first Article of this Constitution, the County of Hamilton shall be entitled to three Senators and six Representatives; the County of Clermont, one Senator and Representative; the County of Adams, one Senator and three Representatives; the County of Ross, two Senators and four Representatives; the County of Fairfield, one Senator and one Representative; the County of Washington, one Senator and three Representatives; the County of Belmont, one Senator and one Representative; the County of Jefferson, one Senator and three Representatives; the County of Trumbull, one Senator and two Representatives: *Provided*, No new County shall be entitled to a separate Representative, prior to the first enumeration;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 10, Nays 23.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative are

Messrs. Abbot, Browne, Darlington, Donalson, Gatch, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, Massie and Morrow.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Baldwin, Bair, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Cutler, Dunlavy, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, McIntire, Milligan, Paul, Putnam, Rei-

ly, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

Another Motion was then made further to amend the said Section, by striking out, after the word "two," in the third line, the word "five," and insert, in lieu thereof, the word "four;"

And, on the question thereupon, it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 26, Nays 7.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Caldwell, Carpenter, Cutler, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, McIntire, Massie, Milligan, Putnam, Sargent, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Byrd, Goforth, Kitchel, Morrow, Paul, Reily and Smith.

Another Motion was then made that the Convention do receive the said Section, with the Amendments last aforesaid;

And, on the question thereupon, it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 21, Nays 12.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Baldwin, Bair, Caldwell, Carpenter, Cutler, Gatch, Gilman, Grubb, Huntington, Kirker, McIntire, Massie, Milligan, Putnam, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Browne, Byrd, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Goforth, Humphrey, Kitchel, Morrow, Paul and Reily.

The said Article was further amended at the Secretary's table and, with the Amendments, was ordered to lie on the table.

And then the Convention adjourned until tomorrow morning, eleven o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, November the 24th, 1802.

Mr. Gatch, from the Committee to whom were referred the propositions made by Congress to the Convention, for their acceptance or rejection, made a Report, which was received and read the first time; whereupon,

*Resolved*, That the Convention will immediately resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said Report.

The Convention accordingly resolved itself into the said Committee, Mr. Goforth in the Chair; and, after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Goforth reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Report under consideration and made some progress therein; whereupon,

*Resolved*, That the Convention will, to-day, again resolve itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the said Report.



And then the Convention adjourned, until three o'clock, P. M.

The Convention met at three o'clock, P. M.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, again resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the Report of the Committee to whom were referred the propositions made by Congress to the Convention, for their acceptance or rejection, Mr. Browne in the Chair; and, after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Browne reported that the Committee had, according to order, again had the said Report under consideration; and had directed him to report their disagreement to the same.

*Ordered*, That the said Report do lie on the table.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

THURSDAY, November the 25th, 1802.

The Convention proceeded to consider the Amendments reported, on Tuesday last, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the third Article of the Constitution, on the Judiciary; whereupon,

*Ordered*, That the said Article be recommitted to a Committee of the whole Convention immediately.

The Convention accordingly resolved itself into the said Committee, Mr. Byrd into the Chair; and, after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair, and Mr. Byrd reported that the Committee had, according to order, had the said Article under consideration and made several Amendments thereto, which he delivered in at the Secretary's table.

*Ordered*, That the said Article, with the Amendments, do lie on the table.

On motion, The first Article of the Constitution was taken up and read the third time, in order for its final passage.

A Motion was made to strike out, in the nineteenth Section, the words following: "The Legislature of this State shall not allow the following officers of Government greater annual salaries than as follows, until the year One thousand, eight hundred, and eight, to wit: the Governor not more than one thousand dollars; the Judges of the Supreme Court, not more than one thousand dollars each; the Presidents of the Courts of Common Pleas, not more than eight hundred dollars each; the Secretary of State, not more than five hundred dollars; the Auditor of Public Accounts, not more than seven hundred and fifty dollars; the Treasurer, not more than four hundred and fifty dollars;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 11, Nays 21.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Baldwin, Byrd, Cutler, Gilman, Go-forth, M'Intire, Massie, Putnam, Smith, Wells, and Woods.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Bair, Browne, Caldwell, Darlinton, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Reily, Sargent, Updegraff, Wil-son, and Worthington.

The said Article was further amended at the Secretary's table; and, on the question that the Convention do receive the said Article as amended, it was resolved in the affirmative.

On motion, The second Article of the Constitution, on the supreme Executive authority, was taken up and read the third time, in order for its final passage; and, on the question, that the Convention do receive the said Article, it was resolved in the affirmative.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

FRIDAY, November the 26th, 1802.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee of five be appointed to prepare an Address to the President of the United States and both branches of the Federal Legislature, expressive of the high sense this Convention entertain of the cheerful and philanthropic manner in which they made provision for the admission of this State into the Union; and expressive of their approbation of the present administration of the general Government.

And a Committee was appointed of Mr. Go-forth, Mr. Byrd, Mr. Massie, Mr. Huntington and Mr. Baldwin.

On Motion, The fourth Article of the Constitution, designating the qualifications of Electors, was taken up and read the third time, in order for its final passage.

A motion was made to amend the said Article, by striking out after the word "election," in the seventh line of the first Section, the words following: "*Provided*, That all male negroes and mulattoes now residing in this Territory, shall, at the age of twenty-one years, be entitled to the right of suffrage, if they shall, within one year, make a record of their citizenship with the Clerk of the County in which they may reside; and, *Provided*, also, that they have paid or are charged with a State or County tax;"

And, on the question thereupon, it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 17, Nays 17—

The Convention being equally divided, and Mr. President declaring himself with the Yeas.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, were as follows:

YEAS—Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlinton, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, M'Intire, Massie, Milligan, Smith, Woods, and Worthington.

NAYS—Messrs. Abbot, Browne, Byrd, Cutler, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Kitchel, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Updegraff, Wells, and Wilson.

Another Motion was then made, further to amend the said Article by striking out the fifth Section, which follows in these words, to wit :

"SEC. 5. Nothing contained in this Article shall be so construed as to prevent white male persons, above the age of twenty-one years, who are compelled to labor on the roads of their respective Townships or Counties, and who have resided one year in the State, from having the right of an Elector ;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 13, Nays 21.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Cutler, Gilman, Goforth, Huntington, Kirker, M'Intire, Massie, Putnam, Reily, Updegraff, Wells, and Woods.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Grubb, Humphrey, Kitchel, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Sargent, Smith, Wilson and Worthington.

On motion, That the Convention do receive the said Article as amended ; it was resolved in the affirmative.

The Convention proceeded to consider the Amendments reported on, yesterday, from the Committee of the whole Convention, to the third Article of the Constitution, on the Judiciary ; and the same being read, were agreed to by the Convention.

The said Article was further amended at the Secretary's table, and, with the Amendments, was ordered to lie on the table.

On motion, The fifth Article of the Constitution, declaring the manner in which Militia officers are to be chosen or appointed, was taken up and read the third time, in order for its final passage ;

And, on the question that the Convention do receive the said Article, it was resolved in the affirmative.

On motion, The sixth Article of the Constitution, designating the manner in which Sheriffs, Coroners, and certain other civil officers are chosen or appointed, was then taken up and read the third time, in order for its final passage ;

And, on the question that the Convention do receive the said Article, it was resolved in the affirmative.

On motion, The seventh Article of the Constitution, comprehending the general regulations and provisions of the Constitution, was taken up and read the third time, in order for its final passage.

A motion was then made to amend the said Article at the Secretary's table, by striking out, after the word "contents," in the fifth line of the third Section, the words following : "No new County shall be established by the Legislature, which is not entitled, by its numbers, to a Representative ;"

And, on the question thereupon, it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 22, Nays 12.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Bair, Browne, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, M'Intire, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Updegraff, Wilson, Woods, and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Baldwin, Byrd, Caldwell, Cutler, Gilman, Goforth, Massie, Milligan, Morrow, Sargent, Smith and Wells.

Another motion was then made, further to amend the said Section, by striking out, after the word "than," in the fourth line, the word "four," and insert, in lieu thereof, the word "five ;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 11, Nays 23.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Caldwell, Cutler, Gilman, M'Intire, Massie, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Smith, and Wells.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Byrd, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Wilson, Woods, and Worthington.

Another motion was then made, further to amend the said Article, by striking out, after the word "that," in the first line of the fifth Section, these words, "after the year One thousand, eight hundred, and six ;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 12, Nays 21.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Cutler, Gilman, Huntington, M'Intire, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Updegraff, Wells and Woods.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Baldwin, Browne, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Goforth, Grubb, Humphrey, Kirker, Kitchel, Massie, Milligan, Morrow, Sargent, Smith, Wilson, and Worthington.

Another motion was then made, further to amend the said Article, by striking out the seventh Section, in the words following :

"SEC. 7. But no negro or mulatto shall ever be eligible to any office, civil or military, or give



"their oath in any Court of Justice against a white person; be subject to do military duty; or pay a poll tax in this State: *Provided always, and it is fully understood and declared*, that all negroes and mulattoes, now in or who may hereafter reside in this State, shall be entitled to all the privileges of citizens of this State, not excepted by this Constitution;"

And, on the question thereupon, it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 17, Nays 16.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Browne, Cutler, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Huntington, Kitchel, Milligan, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Sargent, Updegraff, Wells, and Wilson.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Grubb, Humphrey, Kirker, Massie, Morrow, Smith, Woods and Worthington.

A motion was made and seconded, to amend the said Article, by adding a new Section as the seventh Section, in the words following:

"SEC. 7. No negro or mulatto shall ever be eligible to any office, civil or military, or be subject to military duty."

The previous question was called for by three members, to wit: "Shall the main question, to receive the said Section, be now put?"

And, on the previous question, "Shall the main question be now put?" it was resolved in the negative.

The said Article was further amended at the Secretary's table;

And, on the question being put, that the Convention do receive the said Article, as amended, it was resolved in the affirmative.

On motion, The eighth Article of the Constitution was taken up and read the third time, in order for its final passage.

A motion was made to amend the said Article, by inserting, after the word "Indenture," in the tenth line of the second Section, these words: "of any negro or mulatto;"

And, on the question thereupon, it was resolved in the affirmative—Yeas 20, Nays 13.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Browne, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlington, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, Massie, Morrow, Putnam, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Donalson, Dunlavy, Grubb, M'Intire, Milligan, Paul, Reily, Sargent, Wilson and Woods.

Another motion was then made, further to amend the said Article, by striking out, after the

word "worship," in the eighth and ninth lines, the words, "and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office of trust or profit;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative—Yeas 6, Nays 28.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded; those who voted in the affirmative are

Messrs. Caldwell, Cutler, Gilman, Humphrey, Morrow and Putnam.

Those who voted in the negative, are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Baldwin, Bair, Browne, Byrd, Carpenter, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Goforth, Grubb, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, M'Intire, Massie, Milligan, Paul, Reily, Sargent, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson, Woods and Worthington.

The said Article was further amended at the Secretary's table.

And, on the question that the Convention do receive the said Article as amended,

It was resolved in the affirmative.

On motion, The Schedule to the Constitution was taken up and read the third time, in order for its final passage.

The said Schedule was further amended at the Secretary's table;

And, on the question that the Convention do receive the said Schedule as amended,

It was resolved in the affirmative.

And then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, ten o'clock.

SATURDAY, November the 27th, 1802.

Mr. Goforth, from the Committee appointed to prepare an Address to the President of the United States and both branches of the Federal Legislature, expressive of the high sense the Convention entertain of the cheerful and philanthropic manner in which they made provision for the admission of this State into the Union; and expressive of their approbation of the present administration of the general Government, made a Report, which was received and read the first time.

On motion, The said Report was read the second time, and, on the question thereupon, agreed to by the Convention, in the words following:

"To the President and both Houses of Congress of the United States:

"The Convention of the State of Ohio, duly appreciating the importance of a free and independent State Government, and impressed with sentiments of gratitude to the Congress of the United States, for the prompt and decisive measures taken at their last Session, to enable the people of the North-western Territory to immerge from their Colonial Government and to assume a rank among the sister States, beg leave to take the earliest opportunity of announcing to you



"this important event : on this occasion the Convention cannot help expressing their unequivocal approbation of the measures pursued by the present Administration of the general Government and both Houses of Congress, in diminishing the public burdens, cultivating peace with all nations, and promoting the happiness and prosperity of our country."

*Resolved*, That the President of this Convention do inclose to the President of the United States, to the President of the Senate, and to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, the foregoing Address.

On motion, The third Article of the Constitution was taken up and read the third time, in order for its final passage.

A Motion was made, further to amend the said Article, at the Secretary's table, by striking out, after the word "himself," in the eighth line of the ninth Section, the words following : "They shall be removable for breach of good behavior, at any time, by the Judges of the respective Courts ;"

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative, Yeas 13, Nays 20.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative are

Messrs. Browne, Caldwell, Darlinton, Donalson, Dunlavy, Grubb, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Reily, Smith, Wilson and Worthington.

Those who voted in the negative are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Baldwin, Byrd, Carpenter, Cutler, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Humphrey, Huntington, Kirker, Kitchel, McIntire, Massie, Putnam, Sargent, Updegraff, Wells and Woods,

The said Article was further amended at the Secretary's table ;

And, on the question that the Convention do receive the said Article as amended, it was resolved in the affirmative.

On motion, *Ordered*, That the Constitution now framed, be engrossed.

On motion, The Report of the Committee of the whole Convention, on Thursday last, on their disagreement to the Report of the Select Committee to whom were referred the propositions made by Congress to the Convention, for their acceptance or rejection, was taken up and read ; whereupon,

*Ordered*, That the said Report be recommitted to Mr. Putnam, Mr. Smith, Mr. Huntington, Mr. Massie and Mr. Wells ; who are to report their opinion thereupon.

Mr. Putnam, from the Committee to whom were recommitted the propositions made by Congress to the Convention, for their acceptance or rejection, made a Report, which was received and read the first time ; whereupon,

*Ordered*, That the said Report be committed

to a Committee of the whole Convention, on Monday next,

And then the Convention adjourned until Monday morning, nine o'clock.

MONDAY, November the 29th, 1802.

The Convention, according to the order of the day, resolved itself into a Committee of the whole Convention, on the Report of the Select Committee to whom were recommitted the propositions made by Congress to the Convention, for their acceptance or rejection, Mr. Wells in the Chair ; and, after some time spent therein, Mr. President resumed the Chair ; and Mr. Wells reported that the Committee of the whole Convention had, according to order, had under their consideration the said Report, and made several Amendments thereto ; which he delivered in at the Secretary's table.

The Convention proceeded to consider the said Amendments ; and the same being read, some were agreed to and others disagreed to.

The Preamble to the said Report being under consideration, in the words following :

"We, the Representatives of the people of the eastern division of the Territory North-west of the River Ohio, being assembled in Convention, pursuant to an Act of Congress, entitled "An Act to enable the people of the eastern division of the Territory North-west of the River Ohio, to form a Constitution and State Government and for the admission of such State into the Union, on an equal footing with the original States, and for other purposes ;" and having had under consideration the propositions offered by said Act for our free acceptance or rejection, do resolve to accept of the said propositions, *Provided* the following addition to, and modification of, the said propositions shall be agreed to by the Congress of the United States, viz :"

A Motion was made and seconded, to strike out the Proviso to the said Preamble, in the words following : "*Provided* the following addition to, and modification of, the said propositions shall be agreed to by the Congress of the United States, viz. :"

The previous question was called for by three of the members, to wit :

"Shall the main question, to strike out the said Proviso, be now put ?"

And, on the previous question, "Shall the main question be now put," it was resolved in the negative, Yeas 11, Nays 22.

The Yeas and Nays be demanded, those who voted in the affirmative are

Messrs. Baldwin, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Darlinton, Donalson, Gatch, Grubb, Kirker, Massie, and Sargent.

Those who voted in the negative are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Bair, Browne, Cutler, Dunlavy, Gilman, Goforth, Humphrey, Huntington, Kitchel, McIntire, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Putnam, Reily, Smith, Updegraff, Wells, Wilson and Woods.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee be appointed to prepare and report a Resolution for the ascertaining the fees of the officers of the Convention; and that Mr. Reily, Mr. Browne, and Mr. Goforth, be the said Committee.

On motion, *Ordered*, That a Committee be appointed to prepare and report a Resolution on the subject of distributing the Journals and Constitution in the several Counties; and that Mr. Dunlavy, Mr. Paul, and Mr. Blair, be the said Committee.

Mr. Reily, from the Committee appointed to prepare and report a Resolution for the ascertaining the fees of the officers of the Convention, made a Report, which was received and read the first time, and agreed to by the Convention, in the words following, to wit:

*Resolved*, That there be allowed to the Secretary of this Convention, the sum of three dollars per day; to the Assistant-secretary, the sum of three dollars per day; and to the Door-keeper, the sum of one dollar and fifty cents per day, for their services respectively, during their attendance on the Convention."

Mr. Dunlavy, from the Committee appointed to prepare and report a Resolution on the subject of distributing the Journals of the Convention and the Constitution, made a Report, which was received and read the first time, and agreed to by the Convention, in the words following:

*Resolved*, That the following number of copies of the Journal of the Convention and of the Constitution of the State of Ohio be sent by the printer, to be put in the possession of the members of this Convention, to be distributed by them, for the information of the people in their respective Counties, to wit:

"To the County of Adams, sixty copies of the Journal and eighty-eight copies of the Constitution, to be sent to Israel Donalson. To the County of Belmont, forty copies of the Journal and sixty copies of the Constitution, to be sent to James Caldwell, at St. Clairsville. To the County of Clermont, forty copies of the Journal and sixty copies of the Constitution, to be sent to Roger Warren. To the County of Fairfield, forty copies of the Journal and sixty copies of the Constitution, to be sent to Emanuel Carpenter. To the County of Hamilton, two hundred copies of the Journal and two hundred and eighty copies of the Constitution, to be sent to John Reily. To the County of Jefferson, one hundred copies of the Journal and one hundred and forty copies of the Constitution, to be sent to John Ward.

"To the County of Ross, one hundred copies of the Journal and one hundred and forty copies of the Constitution, to be sent to Edward Tiffin. To the County of Trumbull, forty copies of the Journal and sixty copies of the Constitution, to be sent to Calvin Pease. To the County of Washington, eighty copies of the Journal and one hundred and twelve copies of the Constitution, to be sent to Benjamin Ives Gilman."

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Secretary of the Convention be authorized to deliver the engrossed Constitution to the President, to be by him kept until a Secretary of State shall be elected and duly qualified; after which it shall be the duty of the President to deliver the said Constitution to the Secretary of State, to be by him filed in his office.

On motion, *Resolved*, That the Constitution be ratified by the Convention.

And, thereupon, the following members ratified and subscribed their names to the Constitution, to wit:

EDWARD TIFFIN, *President*,

*and Representative from the County of Ross.*

*From Adams-county*—Joseph Darlington, Israel Donalson and Thomas Kirker.

*From Belmont-county*—James Caldwell and Elijah Woods.

*From Clermont-county*—Philip Gatch and James Sargent.

*From Fairfield-county*—Henry Abrams and Emanuel Carpenter.

*From Hamilton-county*—John W. Browne, Charles Willing Byrd, Francis Dunlavy, William Goforth, John Kitchel, Jeremiah Morrow, John Paul, John Reily, John Smith and John Wilson.

*From Jefferson-county*—Rudolph Bair, George Humphrey, John Milligan, Nathan Updegraff and Bazaleel Wells.

*From Ross-county*—Michael Baldwin, James Grubb, Nathaniel Massie and T. Worthington.

*From Trumbull-county*—David Abbot and Samuel Huntington.

*From Washington-county*—Ephraim Cutler, Benjamin Ives Gilman, John McIntire and Rufus Putnam.

A Motion was made and seconded, that the Convention adjourn until the Tuesday of March next;

And, on the question thereupon, it passed in the negative, Yeas 8, Nays 24.

The Yeas and Nays being demanded, those who voted in the affirmative are

Messrs. Abbot, Abrams, Bair, Browne, Humphrey, Huntington, Putnam and Smith.

Those who voted in the negative are

Messrs. Baldwin, Byrd, Caldwell, Carpenter, Cutler, Darlington, Donalson, Dunlavy, Gatch, Gilman, Goforth, Grubb, Kirker, Kitchel, McIntire,



tire, Massie, Milligan, Morrow, Paul, Reily, Sargent, Updegraff, Wells and Wilson.

And then the Convention adjourned, *sine die*.

Attest,

THOMAS SCOTT, Secretary.

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#### IV.—NOTES ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN NEW ENGLAND.—CONCLUDED.

(Reprinted from *The Boston Pilot* of 1856.

BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA, LL.D.

Under the strict rule of Puritanism, Catholics were so closely prohibited that none entered as voluntary immigrants: some poor natives of Ireland were sold there as slaves; some, at a later period, came as redemptioners. From a letter addressed by Villebon to the Home Government, in 1698, it would seem that when these unfortunates occasionally visited the French settlements, as sailors or servants, their first question was for a Priest; and the French commander asked for an Irish Priest, to be stationed at St. John's, for the benefit of the Catholics of Boston.\*

We find no later traces of these Catholics; but, in 1756, Colonel Winslow, with his New England troops, by order of Government, carried off fifteen thousand Acadians, or French inhabitants of Nova Scotia, after taking them by surprise, burning their villages and farm-houses, and plundering them of everything. Most of these people were landed at various points, on the coast, in a state of utter destitution. Many of them were left in Massachusetts and the other Colonies of New England. Men, reduced from a state of ease and competence—they disdained to become menials and claimed their rights as prisoners of war, but were quartered on the towns, as paupers. The law prevented any Priest from entering the the Colony: their prayer for one to bend over their dying kindred, was rejected with scorn by men who boasted of a purer faith! and who, bigots themselves, tell us in their histories, year after year, that the "Neutrals," as they were called, were "still ignorant, bigoted Catholics, broken "spirited, poor and ignorant."†

Of these, many died of misery, leaving their

children to be brought up in a foreign language and foreign Creed; others returned to Nova Scotia, or reached Canada or Madawaska, where they founded settlements which still subsist; others sailed to France, the West Indies, or Louisiana, founding in the latter Colony, a new Acadia.\*

Long justified by the oppressors, this act was first held up to odium by a woman; and now that our poet, Longfellow, has embalmed the sufferings of these poor Catholics in undying verse, even historians must blush to record the deeds of a Winslow.

A few Catholics may have gathered at Boston or been scattered through the country; but, under the penal laws, deprived of all religious instruction, their children grew up Protestants. Among these we must number General Sullivan, whose name is blended with so many hard-fought battles of our Revolution, but whose Catholic parents seem never to have taught him to lisp the name of Mary.

With the Revolution, however, a change came. Washington had scarcely appeared in the Camp, near Boston, when he found preparations on foot for burning the Pope in effigy; and his Order shows at once his mode of treating the matter:

"NOVEMBER 5th.—As the Commander-in-chief "has been apprised of a design formed for the "observance of that ridiculous and childish cus- "tom of burning the effigy of the Pope, he can- "not help expressing his surprise that there "should be Officers and Soldiers in this Army so "void of common sense as not to see the impro- "priety of such a step, at this juncture; at a time "when we are soliciting, and have really ob- "tained, the friendship and alliance of the peo- "ple of Canada, whom we ought to consider as "brethren embarked in the same cause, the de- "fence of the liberty of America. At this junc- "ture, and under such circumstances, to be in- "sulting their Religion is so monstrous as not to "be suffered nor excused—indeed, instead of offer- "ing the most remote insult, it is our duty to ad- "dress public thanks to these, our brethren, as to "them we are indebted for every late happy suc- "cess over the common enemy in Canada."‡

Thus discouraged, the silly custom was suppressed in the Camp, but still held undisputed sway in the towns and cities.

Washington wrote, about this time, to the Catholic tribes in Maine, the once terrible foes of New England, who, under gallant Chiefs, had so often carried the war to the very gates of Boston. The hero of the Revolution invited the Penob-

\* *Paris Documents* (Boston), iii., 371; *Canada Documents*, II. viii, 68.

† This is the language of Williamson's *History of Maine*, published (*Credat Judeus Apella*) in the Year of Grace, 1835.

\* Garneau's *Canada*. Some facts may be found in Mrs. Williamson's *Neutral French*, Preface and Appendix; the more curious from the queer bigotry of the amiable writer. See, also, Walsh's *Appeal from the judgment of Great Britain*, 437.

‡ Sparks's *Washington's Writings*, iii., 144.



scots, Passamaquodies, and St. John's, to join the cause of freedom. Delegates of those tribes, at once, set out to confer with the Massachusetts Council, which met them at Watertown. Ambrose Var, the Chief of the Indians from the St. John's, was the spokesman: he was a Catholic—a man of deep religious feeling. "We are thankful to the Almighty to see the Council," was his salute. Convinced by the arguments adduced by the delegates of Massachusetts to show the justice of their cause, these Indians promised to adhere to the Americans in the coming struggle, and aid them the best in their power. They made but one request: "We want a black-gown, or French Priest. Jesus we pray to; and we will not hear any prayer that comes from Old England." The General Court of Massachusetts expressed its satisfaction at their respect for religion; and declared themselves ready to get a French Priest; but truly added that they did not know where to find one. The Penobscots followed the example of the Passamaquodies and other Eastern tribes: they too joined the Americans; they too asked for a Priest; and they too obtained the promise of one from the very body which had made the Missionary's life, treason, and, scarce fifty years before, tracked one to death like a wild beast of the forest.

The Indians joined the American causes sincerely. How important their accession was we may judge from the words of the historian, Williamson.

Numbers of the Abnakis joined the American Army; and Orono, the Penobscot Chief, bore a Commission which he ennobled by his virtues and bravery. They had long been without a Priest; but their Church still remained to maintain their faith. This fell a sacrifice to the English, who destroyed it during the War; but the Penobscots never wavered in their faith. In all his changes, from the forest and wigwam to the Camp and the City, from the society of the Catholic children of the forest to that of the more polished Congregationalists of New England, Orono was ever faithful to his religion. When urged to frequent Protestant places of worship, as he had no longer any of his own, he exclaimed; "We know our religion and love it: we know nothing of your's."

Soon, too, the alliance with France brought whole Catholic fleets and armies across the Atlantic. Count d'Estaing entered the harbor of Boston, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1778, and remained till November. During this interval, many of the Boston people witnessed Divine service performed for the fleet, and were favorably impressed with the piety and respect of the officers and crews.

When the fleet arrived at Newport, Rhode Island hastened to wipe off her Statute-book the clause excluding Catholics.

At Boston, too, either on the occasion of the Festival of All Souls, or on the death of some officer, a funeral procession traversed the streets, with a crucifix at its head and Priests solemnly chanting; while the Selectmen of Boston joined in the ceremony, giving this public mark of respect to the faith of their allies.\*

When the War had been brought to its happy termination, the few poor Catholics at Boston felt more courage and began to hope for the presence of a Clergyman. "They were a few Frenchmen and Spaniards, and two or three Irishmen, chiefly laborers." Ere long, a Chaplain in the French Navy resolved to settle in Boston. His name was Claude Florent Bouchard de la Potherie; and, although a stranger, he obtained faculties of Bishop Carroll. Thus authorized, he took an apartment, in the latter part of 1788, in the western part of the town, and officiated there; but, finding this inconvenient, he soon obtained possession of a small Church and school, raised about a century before, by French Protestants, but long abandoned. To this Church he gave the name of "Holy Cross," a name still preserved as that of the Cathedral of Boston, and issued a pompous pastoral letter, styling himself "Doctor of Divinity, Prothonotary of the Holy Church of the Holy See of Rome, Apostolic Vice Prefect and Missionary Pastor at the Catholic Church at Boston, North America," and addressing himself to "all faithful Christians intrusted to our care." This was the more ridiculous as our "Apostolic Vice Prefect" was destitute of necessary vestments and church-ornaments; and his flock consisted of only some hundred and twenty souls. The French Consul was, however, a man of zeal; and, together with other French residents, he appealed to the Archbishop of Paris to aid their rising Church. This good Prelate was not insensible to the wants of his distant countrymen: he contributed liberally to meet their need; but cautioned them against wandering Priests, adding that the Abbé de la Potherie was not a proper Pastor, his faculties having been withdrawn in Paris, on account of his misconduct.

Bishop Carroll had already become alarmed at his imprudence, and delegated the Rev. Wm. O'Brien, of New York, to examine the charges against him: these having been all substantiated, on the twentieth of May, 1789, de la Potherie was suspended from all pastoral duties. He did not, however, yield, but made many gross accusations against the venerable Carroll—accusations which he even sent to Rome. Such was the unpropitious commencement of the Catholic Church, in Boston.†

\* *Rivington's Gazette*, New York.

† *The Resurrection of Laurent Ricci*, Philadelphia; 1789, a violent pamphlet. ‡ Dedicated to the new Laurent Ricci, in "America," the Rev. John Carroll, Superior of the Jesuits.

Well might the poor Bishop, in grief of heart, exclaim: "Mr. Thayer will have much to do to 'repair the scandals committed by this man.'" Such was the first predecessor of a Matignon and a Cheverus!

This was not the only scandal. Bishop Carroll intended to place at Boston the Rev. Mr. Thayer, then momentarily expected from Europe, and of whose conversion we shall soon speak. To furnish Boston with a Pastor, in the meantime, was a matter of difficulty; but the Rev. Louis Rousselet, a French Priest, arrived, well recommended, and acquainted with the English language. Unaware that he was under censure from his last Bishop, Dr. Carroll gave him faculties, in 1790; but was compelled to dismiss him the same year or early in the next.\*

Before this, however, the Rev. Mr. Thayer had arrived. His conversion, the first of the kind in this country, had excited general attention; and great hopes had been raised of his ministry at Boston.

John Thayer had been born in that town; and had belonged, through his father, Cornelius, to one of the oldest and most wide-spread families in Massachusetts.† Like many others of his family, he studied for the Church, and became a Congregational Minister. From the position of his family, he was soon made Chaplain to the Governor; but he had not been two years in the ministry, when "I felt a secret inclination to travel," says he. "I nourished the desire and 'formed a resolution of passing into Europe to learn the languages which are most in use, and to acquire a knowledge of the Constitution of States, of the manners, customs, laws and governments of the principal Nations, in order to acquire by this political knowledge a greater consequence in my own country, and thus to become more useful to it. Such were my humane views, without the least suspicion of the secret designs of Providence, which were preparing me for more precious advantages." He sailed to Europe in the latter part of 1781; spent nearly a year in France; preached in

England; and then proceeded to Italy. Here he sought to study the manners and customs of the country and, as part of his plan, their religion. Having a high idea of the science and learning of the Jesuits, he sought one of that suppressed Order, to give him clear information as to Catholic doctrine. He found one; and the result of their conference was that Mr. Thayer was very much shaken in his opposition to Catholicity.

At this time, Benedict Labre, the holy pilgrim, died; and all Rome was in motion. The preparations for his obsequies attracted Thayer's attention. To his inquiry what was the cause of the agitation, he was answered that the "Holy Beggar" was going to be buried. Thinking it a strange country where beggars were interred like princes, he began to make inquiry; and the holy Labre, his life, his wretched attire, and still more the miracles ascribed to him, afforded him endless occasions for ridicule. Provoked by a taunt to examine one of the miracles, he made inquiries and was thunder-struck to find that the proof of the cures was as complete as any chain of evidence could be. On the twenty-fifth of May, 1783, he made his solemn abjuration at Rome; and was received into the Church. Resolved to dedicate himself to the service of the altar, he returned to Paris and entered the Seminary of St. Suplice. After the usual course, he was ordained, in 1787; and while awaiting an opportunity to return to his native land, an opportunity less frequent in its occurrence than now, he proceeded to London. Too zealous to remain inactive, he obtained faculties from the Vicar Apostolic of the London District and, for more than two years, labored with the most wonderful success, at Southwark, converting many Protestants and reviving the faith of the Catholics by his austere life, his charity, and his eloquence. He had written to Doctor Carroll, then Prefect Apostolic, it would seem; and having received a reply, he sailed to the United States and reached Baltimore, in 1790. Receiving full faculties from Bishop Carroll, he proceeded to Boston, where he arrived in January, 1791.\* He at once began to share the labors of Mr. Rousselet; and was well received by his family and all his old friends, as well as by the Clergy. On the first

\* (footnote) in the United States, also to the Friar, Monk, Inquisitor, William O'Brien," was probably by de la Potherie. This unfortunate clergyman sailed to Guadaloupe, then held by the English, but soon reconquered by the French. The guillotine of the Revolution was soon erected; and Rousselet lay with many others in prison. This dreadful situation recalled him to a sense of duty: he acknowledged his character and the censures which he had incurred; but stated truly that, in their present necessity, he could not absolve them, and urged them to prepare for death. "But as for me," said the unfortunate Priest, "I must go into eternity without having the efficacious graces of the sacraments applied to my poor soul." Many profited by the opportunity and were soon with him led out to die. Campbell's *Early History of the Catholic Church in Boston*; *United States Catholic Magazine*, viii, 103; *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, v, 433.

† See *Family Memorial*, by Ezra Thayer. He speaks of the illustrious convert, on page 125.

\* M. Nagot, in his *Tableau General des Principales Conversions qui ont eu lieu parmi les Protestants depuis le Commencement du xix Siecle*, at page 101, gives this date; the writer of the sketches in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, viii, 116, following the *Boston Catholic Observer*, says 1790; the *Description of Boston*, in 1794; and *The Massachusetts Historical Collections*, I, iii, 264, say he began his Mission, June 10, 1792. Mr. Nagot is apparently correct; the date, June 10, 1792, may be that when he became sole Pastor. The *Annals of Salem*, by John B. Felt, p. 605, say he came to Boston, in 1789. See *Spaulding's Sketches of Kentucky*, 78; *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, I, ii, 28.



Sunday after his arrival, he preached to a crowded Church, so great was the curiosity to see and hear him. A dangerous illness, however, prostrated him; and for a time rendered him helpless. Recovering, he again renewed his apostolic labors. The little flock in Boston did not require his constant attendance; and he visited several other towns, preaching and announcing to all, the long prohibited faith of Christ. His labor here met with less success than in Boston, where his flock gradually increased. His efforts now roused up opponents: a series of controversial Lectures given in his Church, attracted general attention; and the Rev. George Leslie, Pastor of a Church at Washington, New Hampshire, opened a controversy on the Infallibility of the Church.

Much of Mr. Thayer's time was spent in conference and controversy; but he was gradually gaining ground, and had hopes of erecting a new Church at Salem. His colleague, Rousselet, he soon found to be unworthy of his post, by his forming a schism in their little Church. Mr. Thayer, "young and of an ardent and enthusiastic temper, was extremely zealous in his Missionary career," and hailed, with joy, the arrival of Bishop Carroll, in 1792. What a change had been effected we learn from his Letters. "It is wonderful to tell what great civility has been done to me in this town, where, a few years ago, a Popish Priest was thought to be the greatest monster in creation. Many here, even of the principal people, have acknowledged to me that they would have crossed to the opposite side of the street rather than meet a Roman Catholic, some time ago." Much good as Mr. Thayer had done, he feared that his course would create a bad feeling, and concludes: "I am sorry not to have here a Clergyman of amiable, conciliatory manners, as well as of real ability."

The French Revolution had now, however, broken out; and thousands of the best Clergy of France were exiled from their native land. Four eminent Priests, victims of the same prosecution, landed together, in Baltimore, on the twenty-fourth of June, 1792: the Rev. Francis Matignon, Regius Professor of Divinity in the College of Navarre, the Rev. Ambrose Maréchal, the Rev. Gabriel Richard, and the Rev. Francis Ciquard, Director of the Seminary of Bourges.

Rejoiced at this accession to his Clergy, Bishop Carroll resolved to send two of them to New England. Mr. Matignon was sent to Boston, and began by devoting himself to the study of English, entering on the duties of the ministry, on the twenty-eighth of August, 1792.

The destination of the Rev. Mr. Ciquard was

different; and we must again revert to the Indians of Maine. The Kennebec tribe had, as we have seen, dwindled away by emigration, disease, and war; but the Penobscots, Passamaquodians, and Indians of the St. John's, were still numerous. Although destitute of Missionaries since the withdrawal of Father Germain, they had, as we have seen, still clung to their faith; and, on joining the Americans in the Revolution, solicited a Priest. Hearing that there was a black-gown at Boston, they wrote to Mr. Thayer, through their agent, Mr. Allen; and the letter, shown to the Bishop on his visit, first informed him of the existence of those of his children in Maine. Soon after his return to Baltimore, he received a crucifix from them, a relic of one of the old Missionaries, and another letter imploring a Priest.\*

The reply was as follows:

"BRETHREN AND BELOVED CHILDREN IN JESUS CHRIST:—I received, with the greatest pleasure, the testimony of your attachment to your holy religion; and I venerated the sacred crucifix sent by you as expressive of your faith.

"Brethren and Children: I embrace you with the affection of a father, and am exceedingly desirous to procure for you a worthy teacher and minister of God's holy sanctuary, who may administer to young people, to your sons and daughters, the Sacrament of Baptism, and instruct them and you in the law of God and the exercises of a Christian life; may reconcile you to your Lord and Maker, after all your transgressions; and may perform for your women, after childbearing, the rites ordained by the Church of Christ.

"Brethren and beloved Children:—As soon as I received your request, and was informed of your necessity, I sent for one or two virtuous and worthy Priests, to go and remain with you; that you may never more be reduced to the same distressful situation in which you have lived so long. But, as they are far distant, I am afraid they will not be with you before the putting out of the leaves again. This should have been done much sooner, if I had been informed of your situation. You may depend upon it that you shall be always in my heart and in my mind; and if it please God to give me time, I shall certainly visit you myself.

"Brethren and beloved Children: I trust in that good God who made us all, and in his blessed Son, Jesus Christ, who redeemed us,

\* *United States Catholic Magazine*, viii., 196; *Brent's Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll, first Bishop of Baltimore*. Baltimore, 1813, p. 148. This crucifix is said to have been Father Rale's; but this was probably a mistake, like that of making Father Rale their last Missionary. He never was on the Penobscot at all.

"that all the Indians, Northward and Eastward, will be made partakers of the blessing which my desire is to procure for you; and I rejoice very much that you and they wish to be united to your brethren, the Americans. You have done very well not to receive amongst you those Ministers who go without being called or sent by that authority which Jesus Christ has established for the government of His Church. Those whom I shall send you will be such good and virtuous Priests as instructed your forefathers in the law of God, and taught them to regard this life only as a preparation for, and a passage to, a better life in heaven.

"In token of my fatherly love and sincere affection, I send back to you, after embracing it, the holy Crucifix which I received with your letter; and I enclose it in a picture of our holy Father, the Pope, the head on earth, under Christ, of our divine religion; and this my answer is accompanied likewise with nine medals, representing our divine Lord, Jesus Christ and his most Holy Mother. I desire that these may be received by the Chiefs of the River St. John, Passamaquoddy and Michmacs, who signed the Address to me. They came from, and have received the blessing of, our same Holy Father, the Vicar of Jesus Christ in the government of his Church.

"That the blessing of God may come down upon you, your women and children, and remain for ever, is the earnest prayer of your loving father, friend, and servant in Christ.

"† JOHN, Bishop of Baltimore.\*

"BALTIMORE, Sept. 6, 1791,"

Thus, the descendants of the converts of the Jesuits, Recollects, and Missionary Priests of Quebec, passed under the spiritual care of the Bishop of Baltimore. The Rev. Mr. Ciquard was selected to be their spiritual guide; proceeded to Old Town, on the Penobscot; and, soon after his arrival, restored the Mission founded by Mr. Thury, and labored there, with zeal and success, for some years.† Meanwhile, he instituted very wise rules for the direction of the Indians; and had much to struggle with in order to bring them to anything like regularity. Wishing, however, to join his fellow Sulpitians, at Montreal, he passed to the English side, and became Pastor of the Indians on the St. Lawrence-river. This was a severe blow to Bishop Carroll, as it left this interesting portion of his flock without a spiritual father.

\* Brent's *Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, 150.

† In my *History of the Catholic Missions*, I state that he left in 1794. This is according to a communication from the late accurate scholar, Rev. J. B. Ferland, of Quebec; but the writer in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, says it was in 1797.

Mr. Thayer and Mr. Matignon still continued their labors at Boston; but the former was soon to leave his native town for ever. In spite of his zeal, devotedness and genuine piety, he was misunderstood and compelled to renounce his Mission. The Catholics of New York earnestly desired to have him: he officiated for a time in Albany: but he was finally sent, in 1799, to Kentucky.\*

The Rev. Mr. Matignon was not, however, alone; among the French Clergy whom he had left in England, was one in whom he had the greatest confidence. This was the Rev. John Cheverus, a native of Mayenne, and Rector there, when the Revolution broke out. He wrote to him, in 1795, urging him to come to a field so destitute of evangelical laborers, and adducing every motive which he thought could influence his friend. M. Cheverus yielded; and, having fortunately found a vessel sailing for Boston, embarked, and reached that town, on the third of October, 1796, to the great joy and consolation of Mr. Matignon. Immediately after his arrival, he wrote to Bishop Carroll, and was appointed to the Indian Mission. He accepted it cheerfully: "Send me where you think I am most wanted," he wrote, "without making yourself anxious about the means of supporting me. I am willing to work with my hands, if need be; and I believe I have strength enough to do it."† He reached Pleasant Point, on the thirtieth of July, 1797, and immediately took up his abode in the little house erected for him. "My house," he writes gaily, "(and with pride I say it, for it is a long time since I was in a house of my own)—my house is about ten feet square and eight feet high, and the Church is as large again, but not a great deal higher. In both are no other material than bark, and a few logs of wood, and sticks set crossways to support the bark; no windows of course—the only opening is the door. This makes the Church dark; and I can hardly read at the altar. The only piece of furniture in the house, is a large table made of rough boards. The altar-piece is made of two pieces of broadcloth—the one of scarlet and the other of dark blue."‡

Such was the state of this Mission, and such the residence of the future Cardinal.

The Indians had received him with great joy and with volleys of musketry. He addressed them on his arrival; and, the next day, offered up a solemn Mass for the dead, the Indians, to his surprise, chanting the Latin responses quite accurately. "What courage and patience," he exclaims, "in the first Missionaries."

Guided by the letters of Mr. Ciquard, whose

\* Bishop Spalding's *Sketches of Kentucky*.

† *United States Catholic Magazine*, viii., 195.

‡ *United States Catholic Magazine*, viii., 196.



experience had rendered his advice most precious, M. Cheverus laid down rules for his flock; and set to work to repair the evil done by long privation of Pastors. In the following year, he ascended the St. Croix, with some of his Indians, and reached Old Town, on the Penobscot, in June, 1789.

Here, beside the ruins of their old Church, he found a new one of bark, with the cross of the former one above the door, and the bell hung to a post, hard by, still regularly sounding the Angelus. The vestments and church-plate had been all carried to Canada; and the only ornaments of the Church were a crucifix and a couple of statues.

Here he remained some time, confessing, teaching, baptizing, and endeavoring, above all, to restore their piety and love of religion.\*

Mr. Allen, who had been first interpreter of these Indians, was still their firm friend, and obtained of the General Court of Massachusetts, in 1797 or 1798, a grant of two hundred dollars a year to a Missionary who would reside alternately at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy.†

Having thus placed these Missions in a fair way of prosperity, M. Cheverus proceeded to Demariscotta Bridge, or Newcastle. Here, some Catholic families from Ireland—the Kavanagh, Cottrill, and others—had settled, and invited the Missionary to visit them. He said Mass and preached in a barn of the Hon. Matthew Cottrill; encouraged the people to persevere in their religion and raise a Church, as soon as possible; and promised his best endeavors to get them a resident Clergyman. They were not remiss: the next year, a store was bought and fitted up as a Chapel.\* These families were the nucleus of the now thriving Catholic Diocese of Portland; and still remain there. The Kavanagh family has given a Governor to the State.

Returning to Boston, M. Cheverus devoted himself to his labors there, and was rejoiced, the next year, to welcome the Rev. James R. Romagne, a townsman of his own, appointed by Bishop Carroll to the Indian Missions. Of this clergyman we can only say that his long apostolate among these tribes endeared him alike to all, to Catholic and Protestant, white and red man. He restored piety and religion, corrected abuses, encouraged industry, and trained all to God. Worn down, at last, by frequent infirmities, he left his Mission, and returned to France.

M. Cheverus, soon after his return to Boston, opened a subscription for the purpose of raising funds with which to build a Church ade-

quate to the accommodation of the Catholics, daily on the increase, naturally and from immigration. The first subscriber was JOHN ADAMS, then President of the United States; and the subscription-list was soon filled with the most honorable names in the community, Protestant as well as Catholic. A lot of land on which had stood a distillery, was purchased, in December, 1799; and M. Cheverus proceeded to consult with some architects upon the plan of a Church, adapted to the form of the lot and conformable to the amount he expected to realize for the projected edifice. After mature reflection, he decided that, instead of a large, elegant, and majestic specimen of church architecture, such as may be found in large and wealthy Catholic communities, it should be of a grave, austere, and religious character, and its accommodations be adapted to the wants of the worshippers. He did not push on the work with that haste which makes no calculation; but only proceeded as fast as the contributions came in. The land having been paid for, leaving a balance on hand, ground was broken on the seventeenth of March, 1800. The Spanish Consul assisted at the celebration. The foundations of the Church were at once laid, and a beginning made in raising the walls; but, as soon as the funds in hand became exhausted, he stopped the work, and forbade another stone to be laid until new resources should be obtained. It was to no purpose that offers of credit were made, alike by the wealthy Protestants and Catholics, and that he was importunately urged to permit the building to proceed, with assurances that payment might be made at his own pleasure. He never would consent to it. To each and every such generous offer, he honorably answered: "The funds depend on the 'generosity of others; and, as I cannot be answerable for them, I will not expose any one 'to loss.'" To this rule he adhered; and, under its operation, the work was frequently suspended for short periods, yet in three years and a half the edifice was so far completed, within and without, that it was ready for consecration. So much for the stern integrity, equity, and wisdom of not contracting imprudent debts. An auspicious commencement had the Church of the Holy Cross in Boston! The new temple for the worship of the Almighty God, was consecrated on St. Michael's Day, the twenty-ninth of September, 1803, by Archbishop Carroll. The first Pastor was the Rev. Dr. Matignon, but the chief labor at the Parish devolved upon M. Cheverus. In 1808, he was appointed Bishop; and consecrated in 1810. Bishop Cheverus having been transferred to France, he became, there, Archbishop of Bordeaux and also a Cardinal, Bishop Fenwick was placed over the Diocese of

\* *United States Catholic Magazine*, viii., 246.

† *United States Catholic Magazine*, viii., 217.

‡ Greenleaf, *Sketches of the Ecclesiastical History of Maine*, 185; *United States Catholic Magazine*, viii., 220.

Boston, in 1825. Bishop Fitzpatrick was appointed Bishop-coadjutor, in 1844, and succeeded as Bishop of Boston, on the death of Bishop Fenwick, in 1846. He presided over the Diocese till the thirteenth of February, 1866; and the present Bishop, Right Rev. John J. Williams, was consecrated on the eleventh of March, 1866.

#### V.—HOW HISTORY IS CORRUPTED, AND HOW IT MAY BE CORRECTED.

[The following correspondence, only a portion of which has hitherto been published, will serve to illustrate "how history is corrupted;" and it will serve, also, to show how history may be "set right," when those who are directly interested in the terms of the record are earnest, honorable, and honest.

It is to be regretted that the official Reports of Admiral Farragut were so loosely prepared, originally, since they have served to mislead those who have hitherto written on the operations to which they relate; but it is not less gratifying that the gallant Admiral did not hesitate, when his attention was subsequently called to the subject, to make the proper corrections.

A portion of this correspondence has already appeared in *The Army and Navy Journal*; and we are indebted to that office for the use of the cut illustrating "THE CORRUPTED DIAGRAM."—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

#### I. LETTER FROM ADMIRAL BAILEY TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 25, 1869.

Hon. A. E. BOREE, Secretary of the Navy.

SIR: I have the honor to inclose, herewith, original and certified copies of a correspondence which I have had with Admiral D. G. Farragut, relating to the Battle below New Orleans, and to request that the letters, marked from A to E, be placed on the files of the Navy Department, as furnishing a correction of that officer's Report with an accompanying Diagram, heretofore made to the Department.

The object of my addressing Admiral Farragut is now gained by the admission, on his part, of the correctness of my statements, that the fleet under his command went up the Mississippi-river to attack and pass Forts Jackson and St. Philip, in order of battle, "line ahead," or single file; that I led the fleet into the Battle at the head of, and in command of, the Vanguard Division; and that the *Hartford*, flag ship, with Admiral Farragut on board, followed my Division, he being thus ninth in line, and at the head of the rest of the fleet in the order represented by the list of vessels which I hereto annex.

After this frank admission by my distinguished commander, I have only the regret remaining, that the error into which he was led, was not discovered and corrected at an earlier date, thereby, possibly, affecting my position in the service.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, your obedient servant,

THEODORUS BAILEY,  
Rear-admiral, U. S. Navy.

[ENCLOSURES REFERRED TO IN ADMIRAL BAILEY'S LETTER.]

#### A.—Rear-admiral Bailey to Admiral Farragut.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 1, 1869.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL: I feel compelled to call your attention to an oversight of which I spoke to you some time since, and which has afforded me and other officers the keenest annoyance, by historical statements growing out of the omission to make the desired correction.

You recollect that when the *Colorado*, under my command, was found (after lightening her) to draw too much water to be got over the bar into the Mississippi-river, I applied to you for the command of a Division of Gunboats, and coveted the honor of leading, under your orders, the attack on New Orleans and its defenses. Having been assigned by you to the command of a Division of your fleet, with your concurrence, and at the request of Commander S. P. Lee, I hoisted my divisional-flag on board the steam Sloop-of-war *Oneida*, commanded by him. On the twentieth of April, 1862, you issued a General Order, with a programme directing the fleet to pass the forts and ascend the river in two columns, abreast—you, in your flag-ship, the *Hartford*, at the head of one column, and I at the head of the other. About this time, Commander Lee expressed a regret that he had invited me to lead my Division in his vessel, the *Oneida*, alleging, as a reason, that I would get the credit for what might be achieved by his vessel. Lieutenant-commanding Harrison immediately begged me to hoist my divisional-flag on board of his little Gunboat, the *Cayuga*, and give him a chance to lead the Division, which, on going on board of your flag-ship and stating the facts, you kindly consented to my doing; and, on giving the gallant Harrison the opportunity he sought, the *Oneida*, Commander Lee, was assigned a position further astern. After the chain and booms, constituting the enemy's obstructions, were cut by Captain Bell and Lieutenant Caldwell, it became apparent that if the fleet went up in two columns, abreast, according to your written Order and programme of the twentieth of April, the parallel columns of vessels would likely get foul of the obstructions on either side, and the whole fleet hove into confusion under the fire of the enemy's forts, especially as you had determined to make a night attack (two o'clock in the morning). Therefore, with your proverbial foresight and sagacity, you ordered me to get my Division of eight vessels under way as soon as the dusk of the evening should obscure the movement from the enemy, and anchor them, line ahead, near the East bank; and you gave me a further verbal Order, directing me that when the signal should be made (two red lights) from the *Hartford*, to



lead up, with my Division, and to receive, but not answer, the fire of Fort Jackson, which I was directed to leave to you to take care of when you should come up—as you expressed it, “I will take care of Fort Jackson.” I was then to open on Fort St. Philip and pass it; but you directed that, in case, at any time you should come up in the *Hartford*, we should leave room for you on the port or West side. I accordingly passed up at the head of my Division, in the *Cayuga*, receiving, but not returning, the fire of Fort Jackson. After passing the obstructions, I ordered the helm put a-port and led close to the levee, and under the guns of Fort St. Philip, thinking that the guns of that fort would be trained and sighted for mid-river, and that they would consequently overshoot me, which they did, their shot and shell riddling our masts, spars, sails and rigging, with comparative little damage to the hulls. At this time, something occurred to the *Pensacola*'s machinery, which caused a detention of the vessels of my Division astern of her. Losing sight of them, we in the *Cayuga*, alone, encountered the Rebel iron-clads, *Louisiana* and *Manassas*, and their flotilla of Gunboats, and maintained, unaided, a conflict with the Gunboats, until Boggs, in the *Varuna*, came up, and after delivering a broadside, which came into the *Cayuga* instead of the enemy in conflict with us, he passed up the river, out of sight. The *Oneida*, Commander Lee, came up, soon after, and fired into a Steamer that had already surrendered to us of the *Cayuga*, being her third prize. I then ordered Lee to go to the assistance of Boggs of the *Varuna*, then engaged with two of the enemy's Steamers, up the river, which had been drawn off from their attack on us of the *Cayuga*, to follow and head off Boggs of the *Varuna*. After seeing our *Cayuga*'s third prize in flames, we steamed up the river and captured the Chalmette Regiment, encamped on the West bank of the river, opposite the Quarantine-hospital. This Rebel Regiment of Infantry I had the honor to hand over to you, for your disposition, when you came up the river, after your severe contest with the forts and fire-ships below.

To give a history of all the incidents of the Battle within my observation, or the part which each vessel of my Division took, would make this communication too long.

The great object of this letter is to call your attention to the fact that, in the hurry of making up your Dispatches, after the Battle, you sent home the written Order of the twentieth of April, which has been published and has passed into history, instead of your verbal Order of the twenty-third, which was the one in accordance with which the fleet passed up the river and the Battle was fought.

This error has resulted in an inextricable his-

torical muddle, as the history of the Battle has been written on the basis of the published programme of the twentieth of April, never carried out; the formation and position of the attacking force is, therefore, entirely misunderstood by the historians—one (Rev. Mr. Boynton's) history not even mentioning my name; although it did those of officers commanding vessels under me. My name was merely inserted, as commanding a Division, at the instance of a friend, who discovered the omission too late to make a further correction. The Resolution of the United States Senate, of the sixth of June, of which two thousand copies were ordered to be printed, perpetuates the error of our passing the forts in two columns, abreast. Mr. Greeley, in his *American Conflict*, and other authors, are led into the same misstatements. Lossing's *Pictorial History* erroneously describes the *Cayuga* as retiring from the fight on account of her damages, whereas she was continually in action, notwithstanding she was much cut up, with forty-two shot-holes. The *Varuna*, which had passed us while heavily engaged, went up the river and drew off three of the *Cayuga*'s assailants; the fight of the *Varuna* with two of which, is treated as the great event of the Battle; while the leading up and heavy single-hand fighting of the *Cayuga*, Harrison's Gun-boat; her taking the surrender of three enemy's Steamers and of the Chalmette Regiment of Infantry; and the cutting of the telegraphic communication between the forts and New Orleans, and other circumstances, are not mentioned. Now, as I do not wish to be compelled, even in justice to myself or to the officers of my Division, to go into the system of correcting history by pamphleteering or newspaper articles, now so common, I must ask of you to correct this error, which I know you will not hesitate to do, seeing how much annoyance it is giving your friends and followers; or, if you still have any delicacy in doing this, as you appeared to have when I spoke to you before, in consequence of a Regulation of the Department that you seemed to consider in the way, may I ask if you see any impropriety in my requesting a Board of Inquiry, in order to get the facts on record, since the truth of history, my duty to my officers, and that to my family, require that I should see it done while I am here to do it.

I have the honor to be, respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

THEODORUS BAILEY,

Rear-admiral, U. S. Navy.

To Admiral D. G. FARRAGUT, U. S. Navy.

B.—Admiral Farragut's Reply.

NEW YORK, April 3, 1869.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL: I have received your letter of the 1st, and am really at a loss to under-

stand how you, or even historians, can take the views you express in relation to the part in the memorable fight on the Mississippi, in 1862.

I have just re-read my Report of the sixth of May and your two Reports following, and cannot conceive how you could be more prominently mentioned to the Department.

In the former, you are reported as "leading the "right column in the Gunboat *Cayuga*;" as having "preceded me up to the Quarantine Station;" and as having "captured the Chalmette Regiment;" and every possible credit is given you for the manner in which you conducted your line, and preceding us, to attack the Chalmette forts.

As to historians, I can, of course, do nothing. I have read but one account to which you allude (Dr. Boynton's); and that, in reference to Mobile Bay, in which several mistakes occur, goes to prove that historians are not always correct.

I do not see how it is possible for me to give you greater credit for your services than is embodied in that Report, where your name is always prominent; but, if you think that full credit has not been done you, which I confess I regret to learn, you have, of course, a perfect right to make your appeal to the Department: for my own part, I always maintain the conviction that whatever errors may be made in the records of historians and others, posterity will always give justice to whom justice is due.

Very truly, yours,

D. G. FARRAGUT, Admiral.

Rear-admiral T. BAILEY, U. S. Navy.

P. S. By referring to pages 334 and 335-337, of Draper's *History*, you will find that he gives you all the credit claimed by your own Report, as well as that given you by mine.

D. G. F.

#### C.—Response of Rear-admiral Bailey.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 27, 1869.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL: I have received and carefully read your letter of the third, in reply to mine of the first instant, and admit all you say about prominently mentioning my name to the Department. But you remark: "As to historians, 'I can do nothing.'" This is so; but the difficulty is, that the historians derived their erroneous account of the Battle from your Report of the sixth of May, 1862, and from the Diagram which you sent to the Department, as the true order of sailing into the Battle with the Forts. Those who have written on the subject are not to be blamed for using the official Reports of the occurrences; but, in seeking for the correction of that Report, I hope to prevent similar error and confusion in the future. I do so with the greatest reluctance, as a duty to the officers under my immediate command and to myself; and I appeal to your sense of justice whether I could do less.

You state, "I have just re-read my (*your*) Report of the sixth of May, and your (*my*) two Reports following, and cannot conceive how you could be more prominently mentioned to the Department." "In the former, you are reported as leading the right column in the Gunboat *Cayuga*; and as having preceded me to the Quarantine Station."

How could there have been a "right" and a left column, practically, when I led my Division to the attack and passage of the Forts, an hour before you lifted anchors in the *Hartford* and your centre Division? What I did, was done by your orders and inspiration; and to you the world has given the credit of the attack and its success, as fully as it gave to Lord Nelson the credit of the Battle of the Nile; but, did it detract from his glory, that the Report of the Battle described how it was fought, and the exact position of his own vessel and those of his subordinates?

This matter has been the subject of much discussion among officers then commanding vessels in my Division: all say that no vessel of your centre Division came up abreast of, nor lapped, their vessels. Practically, the effect of your verbal Order was, to divide the fleet into four Divisions, viz:

1st. The Mortar fleet, Commander Porter.

2d. The first Division of the Gunboats, under my command, to which were added the two Sloops-of-war, *Pensacola* and *Mississippi*, of which the Gunboat *Cayuga* (with my divisional-flag) was the leading vessel.

3d. The centre Division, with your flag on the *Hartford*; and

4th. The rear Division, bearing the flag of Captain H. H. Bell.

The first, centre, and rear Divisions went up to the attack in single file, or line ahead. I went up, at the head of my Division, at two, A. M., or as soon thereafter as it took the *Pensacola*, the next vessel astern of the *Cayuga*, to purchase her anchors—supposed to be about twenty minutes. You followed, without lapping the sternmost vessel of my Division; and the Division of Gunboats commanded by Captain Bell followed in the wake of your Division. The fact practically was, that the First Division, the Mortar fleet, covered the advance; the Second was the vanguard; the Third, the main body of the fleet; and the Fourth, the rear; and that, the advance being made up a river and line ahead, the Diagram does not give any idea of the action other than to produce confusion and error. How could it be otherwise, when no vessel of the Third Division lapped any one of the Second?

I enclose a copy of this (to us) unfortunate Diagram, as attached to your Report of the Battle, which you will notice places the *Cayuga*, my flag-Gunboat, third in line of my Division; whereas,



according to your own statement, of two columns abreast, that Gunboat should have been recorded as first in line, leading. I would ask of your friendship and your fairness, whether this Diagram gives the faintest idea of the action; and whether, if the names of the vessels were altered, it would not apply equally well or better to many other Battles.

#### "ORDER OF FLEET.

"2d Div. Gunboats, Capt. Bell, Com'g. 1st Div. Ships.

" * Winona, Lt. Com'g Nichols.	" * Itasca, Lt. Com'g Caldwell.	" * Pinola, Lt. Com'g Crosby.	" * Kennebec, Lt. Com'g Russell.	" * Iroquois, Commander DeCamp.	" * Sciota, Lt. Com'g Donaldson.	" * Richmond, Commander Alden.	" * Brooklyn, Captain Craven.	" * Hartford, Comdr Wainwright.
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

"1st Div. Gunboats, Capt. Bailey Com'g. 2d Div. Ships.

" * Wiasahickon, Lt. Com'g A. Smith.	" * Kineo, Lt. Com'g Ransom.	" * Katahdin, Lt. Com'g Preble.	" * Varuna, Commander Boggs.	" * Oneida, Commander Lee.	" * Cayuga, Lt. Com'g Harrison.	" * Mississippi, Commander M. Smith.	" * Pensacola, Captain Morris."
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"
"	"	"	"	"	"	"	"

As an evidence how far the *Cayuga* was ahead of the rest of the fleet, the first news received at the North was announced in the New York *Times* of Sunday, the twenty-seventh of April, 1862, thus: "An important report from the Rebels.—"One of our Gunboats above Forts Jackson and San Philip. WASHINGTON, Saturday, April 26th. The Richmond *Examiner* of the 25th, announces that one of our Gun-boats passed Forts Jackson and San Philip, sixty miles below New Orleans, on the 24th. The report was telegraphed to Norfolk, and brought to Fort-ress Monroe, under a flag of truce, and received "from there to-day by the Navy Department."

The next Rebel telegram announced the arrival of the fleet before the city. The *Cayuga*, in the interval, had captured the Chalmette Regiment, five miles above the Forts, and cut the telegraphic communication, so that the fleet were not again reported until they arrived opposite the city.

Now, my dear Admiral, you have entirely misconceived the object of my addressing you. It is not to complain that you have not mentioned me prominently in your Dispatch; but it is because, in your Report of the Battle, dated the sixth of

May, and the accompanying Diagram, you do not give the circumstances of the fight, as they occurred, but those which would apply to your former plan, which was abandoned. From that Report, the reader would infer that the fleet went to the attack of the Forts in two columns, abreast, when it was done in single column, line ahead; that the *Hartford* was the leading vessel, when, in reality, it was the ninth in line astern of the *Cayuga*, in a single line, or line ahead; and that there was no left or right of line, but single file.

That you should for a moment leave so erroneous a Report or record uncorrected, is a matter of surprise to your officers; and that you should not have made the correction as soon as your attention was called to it, is still more embarrassing to us.

They know that, under your orders, I led the vanguard of your fleet, not as represented on the Diagram you have filed, but in an entirely different order, and received forty-two certificates in the way of rebel shots striking my vessel, in corroboration to what is known to every one of our gallant companions in that engagement.

I have delayed my reply, both because I have been occupied, and since have heard you were ill, which I deeply regretted, and because I wished to be certain that I said nothing, in haste, that would be annoying to you or improper in me to say; and I hope you will now see the matter as I and others do, and make the correction, so necessary to justice, in your Report, dated the sixth of May, 1862, and substitute a Diagram of the actual positions your vessels and officers occupied in the line of attack, in place of those now on the files of the Navy Department.

I have the honor to be, respectfully, your obedient servant,

THEODORUS BAILEY, Rear-admiral.

Admiral D. G. FARRAGUT, U. S. Navy.

D.—Admiral Farragut's rejoinder.

NEW YORK, May 19, 1869.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL: I have received your two letters,\* the first one of which was not given to me

\* As Admiral Bailey's letter of the twenty-seventh of April, alone, of the two referred to in the text, appeared in *The Army and Navy Journal*, we wrote to him concerning what we conceived might possibly have been an accidental omission in this series of exceedingly interesting letters; and we have been informed by him, in reply, that, because it was not considered important, the first of the two letters, referred to by Admiral Farragut, was not filed in the Department nor furnished for publication to our contemporary. From the following copy of the letter referred to, which we print from the original draft, our readers will perceive how important a part it evidently played in securing this notable correction of the records of the War, and how poorly historical students could afford to have done without it.

[Admiral Bailey's third letter to Admiral Farragut.]

"WASHINGTON, D. C., May 18, 1869.

"MY DEAR ADMIRAL: I was much pleased on calling upon "the Honorable Secretary of the Navy, this morning, to hear that you had recovered your health so far as to report for duty, and that the present Administration have

until to-day, as my physician has advised a total suspension of business until I should become fully convalescent, which, I am happy to say, is now the case. It affords me pleasure to make the correction you desire, in the Diagram of the Mississippi Battle, as I now fully comprehend what you wish in this matter. In fact, I cannot understand how this sketch of the first proposed order of battle—wherein you are placed *third* instead of at the head of the column—should have been attached to the Report, in lieu of one which was afterward adopted.

By referring to this Report, you will observe that the Diagram accompanies a General Order, issued four days before the action, as a preparatory plan of attack, which was subsequently changed. But still, I cannot understand why, even in this sketch, you should not have been placed at the head of the starboard column.

This Diagram, as you are aware, was the original plan, to be changed, as a matter of course, as circumstances might justify; and the vessels were placed according to the rank of the officers respectively commanding them; but it should not have been made part of the Report of the final action, as, on reflection, I decided that, when the chains were parted, the plan of "line ahead" should be adopted, as the best calculated for the preservation of the vessels and for avoiding all chances of fouling. Therefore, when the time arrived, and the signal given, the order of sailing was changed to line of battle; the verbal instructions to which you allude, carried out; and you led, at the head of your Division; and it has always afforded me the greatest pleasure to say that you performed your duties most fearlessly and gallantly.

For this reason, I was, at the outset, a little surprised that you should have apparently complained of my Report; but my examination of the printed Diagram has fully satisfied me of the justice of your appeal.

"recognized your distinguished rank and services by giving you the well-earned position of Commander-in-chief of the fleets and squadrons of the Navy, with a suitable Staff and duties. I take pride in having been the second in command under you, and in having contributed my earnest efforts to the success of your first great victory, viz.: the passage of the Forts and capture of New Orleans—having commanded the Vanguard of your fleet on that occasion;—also, in advocating, at all times, and, on all occasions, your well-deserved reputation of being the great Naval Admiral of the War and of the present Age.

"I hope that the letters which I had the honor to address you, under dates of the 1st and 27th of April, will be taken as they were meant, as a desire merely to correct the truth of History by placing on file an accurate account and Diagram of the Order and Manner that the fleet under your command advanced to attack and passed Forts Jackson and St. Philip, on the morning of the 24th April, 1862.

"That you will do so, and thus correct the truth of history, I hope I have no reason to doubt.

"My regards to Mrs. Farragut and Loyal.

"Your Obed't Serv't,

"THEODORUS BAILEY,  
"Rear Admiral."

I shall, therefore, forward to the Department a correct sketch of the final attack, as we passed up the river.

I am, very truly,

Your friend and obedient servant,

D. G. FARRAGUT, Admiral U. S. N.  
Rear-admiral T. BAILEY, Washington.

E.—Order of the Fleet on the morning of the 24th of April, 1862, 2 o'clock A. M. on proceeding up to the attack and passage of Forts Jackson and St. Philip.

*The first and leading Division, under the command of Captain Theodorus Bailey, as follows:*

- \* Cayuga, Division flag-gunboat, Lt. Com. N. B. Harrison.
- \* Pensacola, Capt. H. W. Morris.
- \* Mississippi, Capt. M. Smith.
- \* Oneida, Commander S. P. Lee.
- \* Varuna, Commander Charles S. Boggs.
- \* Kathadin, Lt. Commanding G. H. Preble.
- \* Kineo, Lt. Commanding Ransom.
- \* Wissahickon, Lt. Commanding A. N. Smith.

*Centre Div'n, Admiral Farragut, following.*

- \* Hartford, flag-ship, Commander Wainwright.
- \* Brooklyn, Capt. T. T. Craven.
- \* Richmond, Commander James Alden.

*Third Division following, under command of Capt. H. H. Bell.*

- \* Sciota, Divisional flag-gunboat, Lt. Commanding Donaldson.
- \* Iroquois, Commander DeCamp.
- \* Kennebec, Lt. Commanding Russell.
- \* Pinola, Lt. Commanding P. Crosby.
- \* Itasca, Lt. Commanding Caldwell.
- \* Winona, Lt. Commanding Nichols.

The Mortar Fleet under Porter remained below the Forts, to operate from that direction, also the Sloop-of-war *Portsmouth*, Commander S. Swartwout. Attest.

THEODORUS BAILEY, Rear Admiral.

## II.—LETTER FROM ADMIRAL FARRAGUT TO THE SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

NEW YORK, May 24, 1869.

SIR: My attention having been called by Rear-admiral Bailey to an incorrect sketch which accompanied my Report of the sixth of May, 1862, upon the passage of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, I have the honor to forward herewith, a corrected Diagram, showing the position of the vessels at the time they passed through the obstructions, after the chains had been separated. This will demonstrate that Rear-admiral (then Captain) Bailey led the fleet, in the *Cayuga*, up to the attack on the Forts, as had been previously ordered,

Distinguishing pennants,  
Red.

Distinguishing pennants,  
Blue.

Distinguishing pennants,  
Red and White.



he taking St. Philip with his Division, while I reserved Jackson for the remainder of the Squadron, under my command.

The skeleton lines show how the vessels moved up from the original position of two lines into the line ahead.

This correction has not been made before, because I was not aware of the existence of the mistake—the Diagram being, evidently, a clerical error and in opposition to the text, in which I distinctly state that Rear-admiral Bailey not only led, but performed his duty with great gallantry, to which I called the attention of the Department.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,  
D. G. FARRAGUT, Admiral U. S. N.

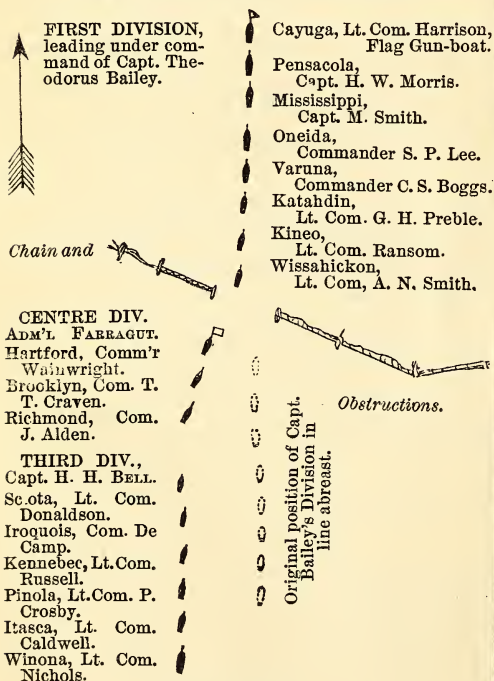
Hon. A. E. BORIE,

Secretary of the Navy, Washington.

[ENCLOSURE REFERRED TO BY ADMIRAL FARRAGUT.]

*The "Corrected Diagram."*

*Order of the Fleet in passing up to the attack of Forts Jackson and St. Philip, April 24th, 1862.*



Very respectfully,

D. G. FARRAGUT.

VI.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

THE COSTUME OF WILLIAM PENN.

To the Editors of the *Sunday Dispatch* :

Sometime since, in the *History of Philadelphia*, it was suggested that William Penn's costume, as generally represented in pictures, was incorrect. I always thought that it too much resembled the Doctor Johnson's dress, by that formal stiff cut and style of George II. era, extending down to the early days of George III. Penn died in 1718, in George I's reign, when the fashions were on the change, as we find by portraits and pictures in the time of Georges II. and III., especially the full-bottomed wig of Dr. Johnson, his square-cut coat, tight short sleeves, lappets on the pockets, breeches and knee-buckles, large round buttons, flapped waistcoat below the hips, low collar and white narrow scarf round the neck, the ends falling on the breast, etc.

William Penn received his Charter and came to this country in the reign of Charles II., when the shape dress of Elizabeth or James I. costume was yet worn, or rather when that style of dress was undergoing a modification, which came in gradually, through the influence of the Puritan sects and other primitive sectarians of simple and severe principles. In this, the then early sect of Quakers doubtless participated. But, at all events, the full-bottomed wig, as given to Penn—in West's Treaty-picture—should not, in my opinion, be so given. The flowing curled wigs came in the reign of Charles II. Pepys, a chronicle writer of merit and truth, says: "The Duke of York [afterwards James II.] first put on a 'periwig, February 15, 1663-4, and King Charles II., on 18th of April. The fashion was introduced from the Court of Versailles." The best way to trace costumes and their changes is to look at the portraits of the first and second Charles', and examine the Vandyke delineations. They wore the loose doublet, with something like tabs at the bottom of the surcoats; loose slashed sleeves; loose breeches, tied with ribbons below the knees; (the *chausseur*) or stockings of some colored silk. There were no neckties, like those given to Penn, in 1682. They then wore the ruff flat on the shoulders and breast as you see it in the portraits of Vandyke, and so named, by the actors of the theatres, "Vandykes." Holbien, the artist of Germany, has left the costume and head-gear of Henry VIII's time. He was followed by Rubens and Vandyke, Lely and Kneller. Hogarth has given the costume of his day

with graphic truth and clearness. I am of opinion Penn could not have been dressed, in 1862, as drawn by West. I consider the dress and wig, with hat, incorrect, as exhibited in the paintings of Penn at his first arrival here. C. D.

—*Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch.*

CHICAGO THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AGO.—The *Chicago Republican* gives an interesting sketch of the growth of that city, during the past thirty-five years. It says:

"Up to 1833, no large amount of emigration had settled here. Not a few of the adventurous men from the older States, whose traces are the foundation history of points, far and wide, throughout the Northwest, had, at the outset come here, and hence, in disgust, gone to other locations then deemed more promising. Many of them have lived to tell what they might have done in Chicago, but did not. In 1832, there were not a dozen families in Chicago. There were strong deterring reasons against settlement here. The Sauk War was the terror of the frontier; and fear sat all abroad upon the scattered settlements."

\* \* \* "The same year, came up the lake the last vessels of a tall young officer, afterwards widely known on the world's best pages, as Lieutenant-general Winfield Scott, who brought his force from Sackett's Harbor, and met on the voyage a foe more grizzly than the red man of the border, losing one hundred of his men by the Cholera. So the Cholera and the Indians together made a very bleak prospect for Chicago, in 1832. It cleared up." The malady and the savages were beginning to be held less in awe, a twelvemonth later, such is the elasticity of human nature; and, in 1833, the framework of the town began seriously to be laid.

"The Business Directory of the place, in 1833 and 1834, would not be a long one. Then, as now, the main business section was on the South side. The postoffice was near where it was sought to restore it when, a few years since, the site of our present postoffice was in discussion. It was in a log building, on the sharp angle of Lake and South Water-streets."

\* \* \* "In 1828, Mr. Archibald Clybourne laid the foundation of the cattle-trade in Chicago, by securing the contract, under Government, to supply, with fresh beef, the posts at Chicago, Mackinaw, Green Bay and Fort Winnebago (now Portage, Wisconsin.) Mr. Clybourne bought his cattle in central Illinois, in Sangamon, Morgan, Fayette and Macoupin counties, already, at that time, beginning to develop their qualities as a great cattle region. Between Chicago and Sangamon township, about fifteen miles from where Springfield now

"is, there were a few cabins at Ottawa, a settlers' place at Washington, Tazewell-county, and another at Salt Creek, fifteen miles from Sangamon. And these were all; and between them rolled the great prairies undisturbed by a presage of coming civilization. The Chicago cattle-dealer had a long and weary ride to pick up, here and there, his herd."

#### THE GRAVE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S MOTHER.

—It is stated that, in the wild woods of Spencer-county, Indiana, unmarked by slab and unprotected from desecration by animals, is the grave of the mother of President Lincoln. The neighbors declare there is no doubt with reference to its identity. Mrs. Lincoln was buried between two oak trees, only separated from each other at a distance sufficient to allow the grave to be dug lengthwise, between them. The trees and the grove remain to-day as when first the pious woman was buried, only that the trees are a great deal larger, and the grave has sunken to such an extent as to destroy all appearance of a grave.

—THE oldest hotel in Elizabeth, New Jersey, is the First Ward Hotel, at the foot of Elizabeth-avenue. Thirty-five years ago, the *Cinderella* steamboat used to ply between Elizabeth and New York, from the dock opposite it; and, at the time, there were less than a dozen houses on the "Point," as it was called.

A RECORD OF Y<sup>e</sup> OLDEN TIMES.—"BROOK-FIELD, VERMONT, 1815. *March*: The fore part very hot and clear, and the snow went off with a great flood.

"*April*: Cold and cloudy.

"*May*: Cold and very backward. The 10th, the snow fell six or eight inches deep; and lay on forty or fifty hours. Very cold, froze hard, trees not changed their winter color. Not one to fifty had any hay. Generally done planting corn. Grain sowed three weeks ago not come up yet.

"*May 29*: Very cold and wet, woods green, ground froze, apple trees not yet leaved.

"*June 6, 1816*: The fifth very hot, the sixth very cold, and snowed all day long. The ground and other things began to freeze at one of the clock in the day time. Plum trees in full bloom. Black Ash not leaved out yet.

"*June 8*: Froze all day. Ground covered with snow all day. Ground froze five or six nights. All the trees on the high land turned black.

"*June 11*: The apple trees have wilted, and the ground is froze.



"June 25: The Black Ash begins to look 'green.'"

The above records seem to have been made in Brookfield, by Rufus C. Hovey, who was Grandfather to the Hoveys now resident of Albany.—*Barton (Vt.) Standard.*

LINCOLN AND SECESSION.—The New York *Evening Express* vouches for the credibility of a gentleman who says, in its columns, that when Judge Campbell of South Carolina was in Washington attempting to arrange terms for the separation of his State from the Union, President Lincoln prepared a Proclamation giving his assent. The writer says that shortly after the breaking off of the effort to avert the dire catastrophe of War, a gentleman having free access to the private office of President Lincoln repaired to the Capitol of South Carolina and deposited with a high official of that State, a manuscript Proclamation by President Lincoln, duly prepared and ready for his signature, announcing to the American people that, rather than plunge the country into a Civil War, the Executive Government of the United States acquiesced in the dismemberment of the Union. With this was a column editorial article, in slip form, with corrections supposed to be Mr. Lincoln's, reciting freely the words of the instrument, vindicating the Executive act, and challenging for it the approval of the American people. That the document was not published was due to the intense feeling evolved by the firing on the *Star of the West*.

## VII.—NOTES.

### LOCAL HISTORICAL WORKS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK AND OTHER STATES.

We aim to present, ere long, a catalogue of the local histories in this and other States, and will thank our correspondents for copies, or for information respecting them, that justice may be done to the labors of those who thus aid in accumulating material for the general historian. Such local publications are invaluable to men, like Macauley, who wish to look thoroughly through the popular movements in social and political progress.

A writer in one of the daily newspapers—a journal exemplary in its general accuracy, and its mistakes therefore being more serious—has made some erroneous statements about books concerning the local history of the State of New York. In an obituary notice of the late Mr. Joshua V. H. Clarke, author of a *History of Onondaga-county*, published in 1850, the biographer says:—

"The *History of Onondaga* was the first lo-

cal history ever published in this State: Pome-roy Jones and two pioneers followed it with a history of Oneida; F. B. Hough with several histories of northern Counties; French completed a State Gazetteer; and the work of collecting early history still goes on in the different Counties with unabated zeal."

Now, so far from being "the first local history ever published in this State"—so far from its having been the pioneer work that started so many other similar undertakings—several local histories were published in this State several years before; and Mr. Clarke's book about Onondaga was itself one of the consequences of the feeling aroused by other previously-printed local histories—especially by the volume published by Mr. Henry O'Rielly, *twelve years before*, entitled *Settlement in the West, or Sketches of Rochester and Western New York*—a book which, thirty-one years ago, (1838,) was commended as an example by the leading journals of Mr. Clarke's own City and County, as well as by many other papers through the State, including New York City, as well as Albany, Buffalo, &c., the *N. Y. Evening Post* itself, as well as the *Commercial Advertiser*, being among the number.

The Onondaga-county newspapers furnish conclusive evidence on this matter. For instance—The *Syracuse Whig* of 1838 announced the publication of Mr. O'Rielly's volume, which it styled *A Statistical History of Rochester and Western New York*, and mentioned "the deserved popularity of the work."

The *Onondaga* (Syracuse) *Standard*, at a late period of the same year, (1838,) was still more emphatic in its commendation, giving a long article to an analysis of the contents of the work, saying,

"Under this unpretending title, Mr. O'Rielly of Rochester has given to the public one of the most interesting and valuable volumes that has ever been presented to the citizens of this State, particularly those of the Western part of it." \* \* \* "It is one which should find an extensive sale among all those who wish to understand the history of our country. No library, whether public or private, in this country, can be perfect without it. In reading it, the thought has occurred to us, Why cannot Onondaga furnish the materials for a book as interesting as the *Sketches of Rochester*? Old Onondaga has been the theatre of a thousand spirit-stirring events; and nothing is needed but the pen of a worthy chronicler of those scenes—one that can make the actors in them live and breathe again before us—to produce a volume, second only, if inferior at all, to these invaluable *Sketches of Rochester*. Can not such a person be found?"

In fact and in short, it was the warm approba-

tion bestowed on O'Rielly's pioneer volume that aroused popular feeling in favor of local histories in Onondaga itself, if not in other sections. So far, therefore, from being the originator of such volumes in this State, Mr. Clarke followed the example furnished by O'Rielly in his book about Rochester and Western New York, twelve years before, as shown by the statements of the Onondaga-county journals above quoted.

In this connection, we must quote a few words from a recent number of the *Rochester Daily Express*, concerning the proposal of Mr. Dewey, a publisher in that city, to re-issue O'Rielly's pioneer volume, along with another, to be prepared by the same author, bringing down the history to the current year:—

"We are glad to learn," says the *Express*, "that Henry O'Rielly, Esq., has resolved to act upon the suggestion sometime since made by ourselves and others, and re-publish his valuable History of Western New York, originally issued in 1838, and now for many years out of print, and constantly becoming more valuable to those who feel any interest in the early history of this part of the State. Mr. O'Rielly devoted much time and painstaking to the preparation of his original work, which includes in its scope the whole district then known as Western New York. \* \* \* The O'Rielly History was the first of its kind in this State, if not in the United States, and has been the parent of hundreds of kindred works."

Some pamphlets about different towns on Long Island and other parts of the State, were printed earlier; but the remarks above made have reference only to volumes including matters of other than a merely local interest. If these town-publications (written by Mr. Silas Wood, Mr. Sol. Southwick, Mr. H. O'Rielly, and several others) were counted, Mr. Clarke's book about Onondaga-county would be placed still further in the rear as to date, though its interest would not be impaired thereby.

It is to correct the error of Mr. Clarke's biographer, in claiming too much for him, to the prejudice of others, and not to under-value Mr. Clarke's labors, even though they were not the first in that line, that we make these remarks. We may add, that our quotations of Onondaga and Rochester newspapers are made from a pamphlet issued by Mr. Dewey in reference to Mr. O'Rielly's original work and its extension to the present time—a matter that we meant to have mentioned when we were favored by Mr. Dewey with a copy of his Prospectus.

**NATURALIZATION FEES.**—Foreigners were naturalized in New York, before the Revolution, by special Act: each paid on being so naturalized,

the following fees: To the Speaker of the Assembly, *ten* shillings; to the Judge before whom he was sworn, *six* shillings, and to the Clerk of the Court, *three* shillings; for the certificate of having taken the oaths, *six* shillings. Total, \$3.12½. N.

**EXPENSE OF HANGING A PIRATE IN CHAINS.**—John Anderson, a pirate, was hanged in chains in New York, or its environs, in 1769. Thomas Ludlow, Jr., was the Marshal; and his bill for charges attending the execution amounted to £46. 1s. 11d., equal to One hundred and fifteen dollars. N.

**LETTER FROM THE REV. EBENEZER PEMBERTON, PASTOR OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, NEW YORK, TO REV. DR. DODDRIDGE, OF NORTHAMPTON, ENGLAND.**

NEW YORK, Dec. 16, 1743.

It was with the greatest pleasure I received your kind and obliging letter, and earnestly desire that the Moravians may ever show themselves worthy of that charitable opinion you entertain of them; with us they are endeavoring to draw off the affections of the people from the soundest and most zealous Ministers in these parts. Had they fallen under any persecution in this Government, I should, to the utmost of my power, have opposed it; for everything of this sort I am fully convinced is contrary to the natural liberties of mankind and diametrically opposed to the genius of the Gospel. The imprisonment you mention in your letter, was in the Government of Connecticut, a Colony bordering on New York, and was of the most favorable kind: two of their preachers being only confined in the officer's house, till inquiry was made into their circumstances; and, upon giving security for their good behavior, they were in a day or two dismissed. This short confinement they underwent, I doubt not, was unjust; and it is melancholy for me to be obliged to say, that the Government of Connecticut is daily going much greater lengths than these, in persecuting—not the Moravians—but the most zealous Ministers in their communion, for preaching without the bounds of their respective Parishes. By a late law they have enacted, that every Minister who does not belong to their Government, who shall presume to preach in any of their towns, without the consent of the Minister of the Parish and a vote of the major part of the Society, shall be transported from Constable to Constable, to the place whence he came; and if any Minister that belongs to their Government transgress in the same manner, he forfeits all his salary. This is certainly going on with a high hand, and I am greatly afraid will lay a foundation for the loss



of their civil privileges, which are by far the most valuable of any of the American Plantations. \* \* \* E. PEMBERTON.

### VIII.—QUERY.

NEW ENGLAND'S SALAMANDER DISCOVERED.—Can any of your readers inform me where copies of this tract are to be found? Mr. John Carter Brown has one in his library; but none of the original edition is to be found in either the Historical Society's Library, the Boston Athenæum, the Public Library of Boston, the Antiquarian Library at Worcester, or several other places where I have inquired. Is it a "very rare" book; and what is its probable value? VASSAL.

### IX.—BOOKS.

#### RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

#### A.—PRIVATELY PRINTED BOOKS.

1.—*Historical Sketch of the Lower Dublin (or Pennepack) Baptist Church, Philadelphia, Pa., with Notices of its Pastors, &c.* By Horatio Gates Jones, of Philadelphia. Morrisania, N Y: 1839. Octavo, pp. viii, 39.

In the number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for August, 1868, we published a historical sketch of this ancient Baptist-church—the oldest in Pennsylvania—and it has been reproduced in this form, in very handsome style, for the private use of the author and some of the Deacons of the Church.

It is a very pretty little affair; and will be welcomed by the Baptists of Pennsylvania and Delaware, as the only public record of the oldest Church thereabouts.

The edition numbered one hundred and fifty copies.

2.—*Town of Southold, Long Island. Personal Index prior to 1698, and Index of 1698.* Compiled and copied for the purpose of having corrections suggested and greater fullness and accuracy attained and preserved, especially as to the first or early settlers of the town, including all named in or prior to the list of 1698. By Charles B. Moore. New York: John Medo, Printer. 1838. Octavo, pp. 145.

We have received from its pains-taking author, a copy of this very important work; and we have pleasure in calling the attention of all who are interested in the local History or the Genealogy of Long Island, to its exceeding great merit.

The first forty-eight pages of the volume are occupied with an Index of the names of those residents of Southold, "prior to 1698," which

appear on the Records; and the remainder of the volume is taken up with an Index of the names of those who lived there in 1698, as found in the Census of that year.

The plan of the work is to arrange the names alphabetically, but separately, in each Index, for more convenient reference; but each name is accompanied with a description of the origin and family of the person referred to, as far as they are known; the place and date of his birth, marriage, and death; the names of his several children; and, arranged chronologically, references to that person, wherever his name appears in the Records and histories of the period, on Long Island and elsewhere.

The importance of this work will be apparent to every one; but few can tell the immense amount of time and patient toil which have been expended in preparing it. Mr. Moore is entitled, therefore, to the gratitude of all students of the history of that period, whether of Long Island or the Continent; and it is to be hoped that he will be enabled to perfect his yet incomplete plan, by completing two other similar Indices.—one of 1730, the other of 1775—which he is now engaged on.

He invites correspondence on the subject, for the correction and the more perfect preparation of his lists; and we trust that all who can assist him will promptly do so.

The volume was printed, we understand, for private circulation only.

3.—*Analytical Alphabet for the Mexican & Central American Languages.* By C. Hermann Berendt, M. D. Published by the American Ethnological Society. New York: Reproduced in *fac-simile* by the American Photolithographic Company. (Osborn's Process.) 1899. Octavo, pp. ii, 6, with eight pages of lithographic *fac-similes*.

This is another attempt to form an Alphabet which shall correctly convey to those who shall see it, the pronunciation of a language which properly belongs to it.

We have little faith in the practicability of these, so called, analytical alphabets; and, in the case before us, we rather incline to the opinion that the labor of learning and remembering the alphabet will be greater than that of learning and remembering the pronunciation of the languages in question, if written in the alphabet of the well-known Spanish.

This little affair is a private edition, altered from another, issued by the Ethnological Society, which we shall notice in another place. The difference between the two editions consists only in the greater fullness, in this, of the Memoir of the Author and in the addition of the Society's Constitution and a portrait of the Doctor.

It was printed for private circulation only; and the edition numbered less than fifty copies.

4.—*Memoir of George Livermore*. Prepared agreeably to a Resolution of the Massachusetts Historical Society. By Charles Deane. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son. 1869. Octavo and Quarto, pp. 60.

The subject of this *Memoir* was one of our nearest and dearest personal friends; and no more welcome addition could have been made to the cherished mementoes of those who have gone before, than these of Mr. Livermore, with which we have been favored by his respected widow.

Our acquaintance with Mr. Livermore originated in one of his earnest searches for scarce books, wherein we were enabled to relieve his anxiety, from our duplicate copies, of the publications of "The Club;" and it ripened into an intimacy which we often recur to, with sadness and yet with pleasure—sadness, because it was so quickly terminated; pleasure, because it was never marred by the least shadow, never forgotten, even in his last days.

Mr. Livermore was our senior, by about twelve years, and his circumstances in life were still farther removed from ours; yet his personal intercourse with us and his private correspondence—even that portion of the latter which was sent from his "throne, [his] bed," during his last sickness—possessed more of the characteristics of a family relationship than that of a distant, and not long-time, acquaintance. Indeed, it was a marked peculiarity in all his intercourse, that he recognized the manhood of man, generally, rather than his mere wealth or his naked social position; and among those whose friendship he evidently most tenderly cherished were some of smaller means and smaller fame, as the world goes, than many who clustered around him, both in Boston and elsewhere. In short, he was possessed of a most lovely character; and with him were very few of those more rugged traits which mark the ordinary man of business, and still less of that selfish conceit and exclusiveness which mark the intercourse of too many of our merely abstract scholars.

He was one of the most untiring of Bibliopoles; but his love of books was no mere love of possession, such as the sordid miser cherishes, as he gloats over his ever inactive treasures: he was one of the most energetic of business-men; but there were clearly-defined and cheerfully-recognized limits to the claims which his counting-room and the market had on his time and his attention: what he owed to Cambridge, to Massachusetts, to the Union, to his fellow-men, the world over, was discharged with no stinted measure and no begrudging spirit.

The memorial before us was prepared for the venerable Massachusetts Historical Society, of which the deceased was one of the most active members, by Charles Deane, who was one of the

most intimate of his personal friends; and it reflects great credit on its excellent author.

The octavo edition is a very neat specimen of book-making—as all that is done by John Wilson & Son is apt to be—but the quarto edition, printed on tinted paper, with rubricated titles, is truly elegant. Both editions were printed for private distribution among the friends of the family.

5.—*In Memoriam*. A Discourse preached November 1st. 1868, on the occasion of the erection of tablets in the old church at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in memory of its former Pastors: John Sergeant, Jonathan Edwards, Stephen West, and David D. Field. By Rev. Nathaniel H. Eggleston. New York: 1869. Octavo, pp. 35.

The ancient Church, at Stockbridge, was originally an Indian Mission-church; and the first on its roll of members is Ebenezer Poohpooone, the Indian interpreter. Its first Pastor was John Sargeant; the second was the distinguished author of the *Treatise on the Freedom of the Will*; the third was the nearly as widely-known author of the treatise on Moral Agency; and the fourth was the distinguished historian of Middlesex and Berkshire.

Few Churches can boast such a succession of greatness as this; and, in November last, it erected tablets within its Meeting-house, to commemorate the greatness of those who, under God, have been the authors of its own standing among the Churches of New England.

In this Sermon, which was delivered on that occasion, the peculiar traits which distinguished each of these successive Pastors and the leading incidents of their respective lives were faithfully presented to the audience; but what strikes us most forcibly is a well-prepared apology for the uncommon practice of putting up such remembrancers within places of Puritanic public worship, which the preacher seems to have considered necessary, before, his Berkshire audience, in order to reconcile it to what seems to have been looked on by some as a Catholic innovation.

The pamphlet is a very handsome one, from the press of Messrs. Baker & Godwin; and it was evidently prepared for private circulation among the congregation and friends of the deceased Pastors.

6.—*History set right*. Attack on New Orleans and its Defences, by the fleet under Admiral Farragut, April 24, 1862. New York: Office of *The Army and Navy Journal*, 1869. Small octavo, pp. 16.

In this little tract, evidently printed for private circulation, that portion of the correspondence between Admirals Farragut and Bailey, concerning the leading ship in the attack on New Orleans, which was printed in *The Army*



and *Navy Journal*, has been re-produced, for greater convenience in handling.

As our readers will find in another part of this number of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, all that this tract contains, beside two very interesting papers which are not contained in it, we refer them to those pages of our own work for a knowledge of the contents of this.

We need not say that we consider this correspondence as among the most important connected with the history of the recent War, especially with the additions which it is our privilege to make to it; and we are glad that it has been issued, even in this imperfect version, in a form which will be preserved and separately catalogued.

There is no attempt at beauty in this little affair; yet it is very neatly printed.

#### B.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

7.—*Eleventh Annual Report of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, for the year 1868-9. In two Parts.* New York: John W. Amerman. 1869. Octavo, pp. (Part I.) xii, 98, (Part II.) 152.

Our readers are aware of the high estimate which we have placed on the Annual Reports of the Chamber of Commerce; and the volume before us is not less valuable than those which have preceded it.

The first Part is taken up with the current record of the Chamber's doings; but the Second Part is crowded with "Trade Reports," for 1868, of the Sugar, Molasses, Coffee, Petroleum, Naval Stores, Cotton, Hides, Leather, Boots and Shoes, the Whale Fishery, Tobacco, Dry Goods, Salt, Wines and Liquors, Foreign Wool, and Tea trades; and these are followed by twenty-eight distinct articles on the "Statistics of Trade and "Commerce," every line of which is big with interest to every business-man and to every one who has anything to do with commercial affairs.

We wish our space permitted us to present some of the ugly facts, in business matters, which are revealed in this volume; but we suppose that few would regard them nor take warning from the important lessons which they teach.

8.—*Life and Providence: A Sermon preached on the third Lord's Day in March, 1869, before the First Congregational Society in Somerville, in commemoration of the twenty-fifth Anniversary of the gathering of the Society.* By Richard Manning Hodges, of Cambridge. With an historical Appendix. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 36.

Somerville was invested with the rights of a town, in March, 1842; but not until March, 1844, does any movement seem to have been made to organize a Church within its limits. This was done by the Rev. R. M. Hodges; and, in August following, the corner-stone of a church-edifice was

laid. In September, 1845, "a church proper, or "body of communicants," was organized; in February, 1846, Mr. Sargent succeeded to the Pastorate; in November, 1849, Mr. Pope became the Pastor; in July, 1852, the meeting-house was burned; in April, 1854, a second meeting-house was dedicated; in May, 1859, Mr. Lowe was settled as Pastor; in December, 1866, Mr. Barber was settled as Mr. Lowe's successor; in October, 1867, the second meeting-house was burned; in January, 1869, a third was dedicated; and, in March last, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the original gathering of the people was appropriately celebrated, by the same preacher who originally gathered in the unprovided-for townsmen.

In the Sermon, Mr. Hodges presented the Present of the Church and the world in contrast with those of the Past, at the period of the original gathering of the people, and with those of the Future, as they may be at the close of another quarter of a century; and he exhibited faithfully the grounds for thankfulness in all, in view of the progress of events which tend to the improvement of the condition of mankind.

A brief Historical Appendix closes the work; and the First Society of Somerville proceeds on its second quarter-century, stronger in faith and stronger in hope than it has ever been.

The tract is a very handsome one, from the press of John Wilson & Son.

9.—*The System of Public Instruction in the State and City of New York.* A memorial addressed to the State Legislature and the School Authorities by the German American Citizens of the City of New York, May, 1869. New York: E. Steiger. [1869.] Octavo, pp. 15.

Our German neighbors are dissatisfied with our Public Schools; and they evidently suppose they can improve them. Possibly they can do so: but we think they cannot, by the mode presented in this tract.

They start with the old story about the welfare of the Republic depending on the moral and intellectual culture of her citizens,—which is all nonsense—and they argue from that, that the Republic must therefore provide, at the public cost, for the moral and intellectual cultivation of those citizens—as reasonably as the blouses of Paris sometimes demand labor from the Government, because labor is necessary for their support, and their support is essential to the Empire.

They demand a higher class of Schools; they demand a series of Training Schools for educating persons for Teachers; they demand the introduction into our schools of the school-systems of Germany and Switzerland; they demand new school-books; they demand instruction in the German language; they demand compulsory measures for securing a general attendance of all children, between seven and fourteen years of

age; they demand the exclusion of music, reading of the Scriptures, roll-calls, etc., from the system; they demand instruction in gymnastics; they demand the establishment of the German "Kindergartens"—certainly very modest, and very considerate toward the tax-payers. But this is not all. They propose to *clothe* the scholars, also, *at the public expense*; and those whose parents live in the country are to be *boarded*, free of cost to themselves, in order that they may attend the proposed High-schools.

What a pity it is that our German friends cannot forget that they were once Germans and remember that they are now Americans.

10.—*Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. 1867-1869. Published at the charge of the Peabody Fund. Boston: Printed for the Society. 1869. Octavo, pp. xvi, 519.

In this handsome volume, the Massachusetts Historical Society has continued the publication of its records, embracing those between April, 1867, and April, 1869—together with various papers, original and documentary, which have come under its notice.

Among the last-named are an Agreement of Amity between Uncas and the Colony of Connecticut; letters written by Hugh Peter, John Adams, John Lathrop, D.D., General Greene, Benjamin Franklin, Nathan Dane, and General Schuyler: eulogies of Chief-justice Shaw, Charles G. Loring, Governor Andrew, William Jenks, D.D., Judge Story, President Sparks, Dean Milman, Professor Felton, and George Livermore; a paper by Mr. Amory on the Seals of Massachusetts; one on Flint's Pond, by Mr. Brigham; one by Mr. Ames, on the Property Qualification for Voting, in the Province Charter; etc.

The volume contains much that is interesting, but not much that is important.

11.—*Yale College in 1869*: some statements respecting the late progress and present condition of the various departments of the University, for the information of its graduates, friends, and benefactors. By the Executive Committee of the Society of the Alumni. June 1, 1869. *Sine loco*, sine anno. Octavo, pp. 28.

*Obituary Record of Graduates of Yale College deceased during the academical year ending in July, 1869, including the record of a few who died a short time previous, hitherto unreported.* [Presented at the Meeting of the Alumni, July 21, 1869.] *Sine loco*, sine anno. Octavo, pp. 291-334.

Two pamphlets prepared for circulation at the recent Commencement of Yale College, the first of which was for the information of the Graduates and friends of that venerable institution, concerning the wants of the College, its resources, its hopes, and its anxieties; the last, as a Record of the lives and services of those, among its Graduates, who, during the past year, had finished their course, and departed this life.

They are important portions of the annals of that celebrated institution of learning.

12.—*The History and Development of Races*. Annual Address before the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Tuesday evening, Feb. 23, 1869. By Hon. Harlow S. Orton. Madison, Wis.: Atwood & Rublee. 1869. Octavo, pp. 33.

A very ambitious attempt to compress into an hour's speech what would require a year to do justice to—the history and development of the various races of mankind.

How well the author succeeded in making himself understood may be readily imagined.

13.—*Analytical Alphabet for the Mexican & Central American Languages*. By C. Hermann Berendt, M.D. Published by the American Ethnological Society. New York: Reproduced in fac-simile by the American Photolithographic Company. 1869. Octavo, pp. Title-page, 4, with eight pages of fac-simile.

We have already noticed the private edition of this interesting tract in another part of this number; and as there is only a very little and unimportant difference between that and this, which is the Society's edition, we do not feel called upon to repeat, in this place, what we have already said in another, concerning the work.

14.—*Valedictory Address to the Graduating Class of the School of Medicine of the University of Maryland, delivered at the Holiday-street Theatre, Baltimore, March 3, 1869*, by S. T. Wallis, Esq. Published by the Society. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet, & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 27.

A very excellent Address, by a distinguished Lawyer, to a graduating Class of young Physicians.

There is nothing in it but solid good sense; and if the young men shall be inclined to profit by it, they will be better men and more successful Physicians than the greater number of their contemporaries.

It is very beautifully printed.

15.—*The double anniversary: '76 and '63*. A fourth-of-July Address delivered at Quincy, Massachusetts, by Charles F. Adams, Jr. Boston: W. P. Lunt. 1869. Octavo, pp. 22.

There is nothing very remarkable in this Address, whether considered in its words or its sentiment—indeed, from an *Adams*, we have a right to expect, in *Quincy*, on the *fourth of July*, very much more than was heard when this Address was delivered.

16.—*Catalogue of the Wesleyan University, 1868-9*. Middletown: M.DCCC.LXVIII. Octavo, pp. 36.

A very handsome pamphlet, from the press of Rand & Avery, Boston, in which are presented the lists of the Corporation, the Trustees and Visi-



tors, the Committees, the Faculty, and the Students; the Course of Study; and other matters usually found in such works.

17.—*An Address delivered at Glen Cove, Long Island, at the celebration of the second centennial Anniversary of the settlement of that village.* By Henry J. Scudder, Esq. May 25, 1868. With an Appendix. Glen Cove: Printed for the Committee. 1868. Duodecimo, pp. 195.

In May, 1868, the village of Glen Cove, formerly known as Musquito Cove, celebrated its two-hundredth birthday. Salutes were fired, parades were organized, and public exercises, in a neighboring grove, commemorated the event, as such events should be commemorated; and in this beautiful volume we have a complete record of those long-to-be-remembered proceedings.

The Address, by Mr. Scudder, was written with good taste and was evidently received with entire approbation. The after-dinner speeches, also, were short, apt, and well-received; and we find nothing recorded which marred the pleasure which seemed to prevail throughout the village.

One portion of this record pleases us. The entire credit of organizing this celebration evidently belongs to "a young citizen of Glen Cove, 'who is quite an antiquarian'; and it is very evident, also, that the laboring oar of the entire affair was held by the same young man. Yet, strange as it may seem, in this our day, nowhere, in this record, do we see his head above those of his neighbors; and nowhere does he figure as a leader of the people. Let our readers know, therefore, that young JACOB T. BOWNE, whom we are glad to know as a personal friend, set this good example to his fellow New-Yorkers; and that a diligent imitation of that example, by other young men, in other villages, throughout the State and the Union, will bring more honor to themselves and more credit to their homes and kindred than they are now in the habit of producing.

As a beautiful specimen of book-making—except in some portions of the arrangement of the material—this little volume will continue to be well known, even when those who organized this celebration shall have been forgotten.

18.—*The Cornell University Register.* 1863-9. Ithaca: Printed for the University. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 92.

We need not repeat what we have said before concerning the Cornell University; nor need we describe what is so well known, concerning the peculiarities of that institution, to all our readers.

The very neat little volume before us, for which we are indebted to our early and never-tiring friend, William A. Woodward, Esq., is the Annual, which yearly conveys to the world the proposed work of the University, the *personnel*

of its Faculties, its lists of Students, its Resources and its Wants, its Courses of Studies, and whatever else may be desirable for any one to know, concerning the institution and its surroundings.

As we said, this Register is neatly printed; but a little more care in the proof-reading would have saved the appearance of such evident errors as that, on page 42, which makes the students *go to breakfast just thirty minutes before they are aroused from their last nap.*

#### C.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATION.

19.—*Annual Report of the Surveyor General of the Commonwealth, for the Year ending November 30, 1868.* Harrisburg: B. Singerly, State Printer. 1869. Octavo, pp. 41.

We notice this volume merely to bring before our readers the fact that it contains a very important *Map, showing the various purchases made from the Indians, &c., in that State, and a list of Prices of Lands in Pennsylvania at various periods*—both interesting in historical quarters.

20.—*Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638-1674.* Compiled and translated from the original Dutch Records in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N. Y. By E. B. O'Callaghan. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1868. Octavo, pp. xxxii, 602.

This is another of the series of volumes which the State Government in New York is quietly printing, for the advancement of knowledge in the history of that Commonwealth, and for the relief of students of that history from much of the more tedious of their labors.

In an elaborate Preface, Doctor O'Callaghan has presented a synopsis of the history of the Colony and of the Colonial Government, under the Dutch—in which, also, the system of Laws in Fatherland is carefully noticed—and among the Ordinances, for the illustration of them, there are interspersed frequent elaborate Notes. A very minute Index closes the volume; and, to those who are interested in the history of this State, few volumes are really more important.

21.—*Rules and Directions of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania. Legislative Directory. Together with useful Political Statistics, List of Post Offices, County Officers, &c.* By John A. Small, Resident Clerk of the House of Representatives. Harrisburg: B. Singerly, State Printer. 1869. 16mo. pp. title-page, 412.

This is the Legislative Manual of the State of Pennsylvania, containing the usual statistics, rules of order, etc., which are found in such volumes, and which serve so well to assist the working student, in his tiresome search for hidden truths.

Of course every thing which relates to Pennsylvania is here; and we learn from it, also, that E. B. Washburne of Illinois, is Secretary of

State of the United States, and *A. T. Stewart* of *New York*, its Secretary of the Treasury.

#### D.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

22.—*My daughter Ellinor*. A novel. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869. Octavo, pp. 257. Price \$1. 25.

This is one of those volumes of fiction which the great world devours so greedily and the Harpers so well know how to supply. It is an American work; with American scenes and characters; and is full of the exciting incidents which are everywhere so welcome among those who use this class of works.

It is well-printed and will find a wide sale.

23.—*The Law of Love, and Love as a Law, or Moral Science, Theoretical and Practical*. By Mark Hopkins, D.D., LL.D., President of Williams College. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. xix,

In our March number, we briefly noticed this volume, and promised to return to it; and we embrace this opportunity to do so.

The bold navigator who attempted to find a Northwest passage to Cathay, though he failed to accomplish the object of his search, did not make a fruitless voyage, for he incidentally added to the stock of geographical knowledge. Dr. Hopkins has boldly attempted to penetrate the *terras incognitas*, the undiscovered regions, of Moral Science; and, though he may have failed to accomplish his principal object, his attempt has not been fruitless, for he has thus, incidentally, conferred benefits on others who wish to study the science. He may have fallen into the mistake of placing before his readers, "enjoyment" instead of holiness, or to this exclusion, as the chief end of man; still this elementary error is, in some degree, compensated by his statement of important truths, though in some cases viewed in new and peculiar terms.

This book has the excellences and the defects to be expected from the author's aiming at originality in his theory rather than at the clearer and more attractive exhibition of well known truths. It shows logical acumen in stating metaphysical distinctions and philological accuracy in the use of terms rather than strong practical sense, founded on observation and consciousness. It is deductive rather than inductive. It puts us in mind of the spider, spinning its fine gossamer web from its own bowels, rather than of the bee collecting its fragrant honey from many flowers. It is crystalline from accretions in the author's mind rather than conglomerate from the debris of other works. It thus has the merit of being related in its parts to one whole, and the demerit of not being very closely related to certain great truths in the science, of which other masters have treated. It thus differs widely from Professor

Porter's recent work, *The Human Intellect*, being superior to it in one aspect and inferior in another. Each might with advantage borrow the excellencies of the other—the one gaining learning and the other originality.

The general object aimed at by the author is a noble one; and he has pursued it with marked ability, in an excellent spirit, if not with any great success. On the assumed results of intellectual science, he has endeavored to erect his structure of Moral Science, building on his own definitions and axioms, making his own classification, using his own terminology; still, we question whether he has made practical duties much more clear or much more inviting to many minds.

He must have enjoyed great satisfaction in analysing certain abstract moral truths into their elements, just as the natural philosopher analyzes the light of the sun into the seven primary colors of the spectrum; still, the light of the sun, undecomposed, is more useful than the brilliant colors of the rainbow. We are not sure but that a brilliant theorist in Moral Science, in composing elementary truths into a beautiful system, enjoys as much delight as the poet in composing a grand epic. Hickok and Hopkins may have enjoyed as much in their creations as Halleck and Holmes in theirs. The prophet who has a dream, let him tell his dream, whether in science or in poetry.

The substance of this volume was presented, in the form of Lectures, at the Lowell Institute, Boston. The intelligent and appreciative audience there could hardly fail to call forth the highest efforts from such a Lecturer, though they could scarcely furnish so good an opportunity for "the advancement" of knowledge as for its diffusion. A popular audience requires popular treatment. A popular Boston audience requires that the Lecturer should conform his statements somewhat to their notions. Boston has been famous for its vagaries in morals, ever since wearing long hair has been practised; ever since eating mince-pies at Christmas, was discovered to be sins; ever since banishing certain Episcopalians and murdering or whipping at the cart-tail certain Quakers were discovered to be duties; ever since the Colonial Legislature provided for the exportation of Indian slaves and the importation of Negro slaves; ever since resisting the provision of the Federal Constitution for the restoration of fugitive slaves and burning the Ursuline Convent, under the sanction of "the higher law" were discovered to be patriotic; ever since the destruction of private property, under the sanction of the Maine-liquor law, was discovered to be love to one's neighbor. Whether, in sympathy with some of his audience, the author, in the latter part of his book, omitted certain topics or modified his statements concerning others, consciously or unconsciously, we should not dare to affirm;



that there are evident deficiencies in the work, any one who has studied the great masters of Moral Science must perceive.

But, beside these popular errors, "the idols of 'the Market,'" that the multitude worship, there are "the idols of the den"—namely, the creations of his own mind, to which he was more exposed to be led astray, aiming as he did at originality. If, in the fullness of his fame, he has indulged the ambitious dream of inventing a new theory of morals, a *novum organon*, which can be illustrated on a black-board, and which can reveal what duty is, in all possible cases, what is this but another instance of "that last infirmity of noble 'mind'?"

Having cheerfully accorded to the author the merit of having written a very able work, some portions of which are swelling with vitality and radiant with beauty, though some other portions have all the repulsiveness of a dry skeleton, we are prepared to state certain exceptions which we take to it.

I. The author seems to make enjoyment the ultimate end of moral action and the chief end of man, thus degrading right or holiness from its true position. Steering clear of the doctrine of moral intentions, he seems to embrace the opposing doctrine of utilitarianism, or something like it. *Incidit in Scyllam, cūpiens vitare Charybdim.*

II. He seems to confer upon "ends" the high prerogative of giving their own moral character to means, whatever the means may be—thus ignoring our moral intentions and stepping towards the doctrine that the end sanctifies the means.

III. On page 270, Dr. Hopkins says: "The 'above view is opposite to that of Mr. Jefferson, 'as expressed in the Declaration of Independence, where it is said, 'Governments derive 'their just powers from the consent of the governed.'" Why does Dr. Hopkins single out Mr. Jefferson for his attack, unless he wishes to use the *argumentum ad invidium* against a solid truth? Why does he not attack John Locke, a moral and intellectual philosopher, who was an oracle in New England, in 1776, as he was among the statesmen, divines, and colleges there, for more than a hundred years? He held firmly the same doctrine, against the minions of arbitrary power. Why does he not attack Robert Hall, a great divine and casuist, who asserts that "Government is a creature of the People?" (*Works* i. 54.) This central doctrine of the "Declaration," that the People is the source of all just authority, and the doctrine logically connected with it, that it has a right to abolish the Government when it judges best, Dr. Hopkins repudiates, and thus condemns the Revolution of 1776. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston, in Com-

mittee, selected Jefferson as holding the most gifted pen, to express their views and the views of the several Colonies. It is hardly fair to make him the scapegoat for this imputed sin of all the thirteen States.

IV. Dr. Hopkins, if we understand him, not only repudiates the central doctrines of the Declaration of Independence, but also the compacts of the Federal Constitution as the basis of Government. His language is: "Such a doctrine 'may please the popular ear and be accepted 'when there is no strain upon the Government; 'but when, as in our late struggle, there is 'such a strain, the instinct of the Nation, sets 'aside all doctrines of mere contract or consent, 'and practically asserts an authority resting on 'a deeper basis.'" By this language, taken with the drift of his remarks, we understand him to approve of the "Nation's" setting aside the Federal Constitution so far as it stood in its way, thus approving of perfidy and perjury. He may reply, that he does not say the *reason* of the Nation, but the "*instinct*," thereby meaning that the brute passions of the Nation set aside all doctrines of their contract and consent. We cheerfully admit the correction.

But Dr. Hopkins says that "civil government 'is a divine institution,' 'precisely' like parental government. This we deny. The relation between parents and children is *peculiar*. 'Blood 'is thicker than water.'" Would not Dr. Hopkins say that the Congregational Church in Williamstown is a *divine institution*? But it rests entirely on covenant or contract between the members, which, in certain contingencies, may be dissolved at the will of the parties. Would he not say that marriage is a divine institution? But it rests on a contract which may be dissolved in certain contingencies. The Federal Government rests entirely on contract between the States, which in certain contingencies may be dissolved. Civil Government is a divine institution; so it is a human institution, as well. Why does he magnify the divine side and ignore the human? Does Dr. Hopkins mean to say that after we have taken an oath to support the Federal Constitution, "a 'contract,' we are at liberty, 'when the Government is under such a strain as it was in 'the late struggle, to set that oath aside as no 'longer binding?'" There is an expression on page 8 which seems to imply that there is a law "higher" than the obligation to keep an oath to support the Federal Constitution; when the very object of the oath is to prevent those who take it from setting aside the contract, if there should be a temptation to set it aside. "Thou shalt not *follow* a multitude to do evil," is the command of God. It was as wrong for the United States to break a covenant as it was for the children of Israel. We fear that Dr.

Hopkins sympathizes with Sir Robert Filmar, who believed in "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," rather than with John Locke, the great Apostle of Liberty, his successful antagonist.

We do not learn from this book on morals whether it would be wrong to break a contract, to violate an oath, to falsify the truth, to evade a promise, if, by so doing, an important "end" could be gained. We fear that covenant-breakers would endeavor to find an apology for themselves in its teachings, notwithstanding the maledictions God has pronounced upon them. We fear that when "truth has fallen in our streets," and falsehood, the great national sin, is rampant in politics, in commerce, in social life, in religion, we shall forget the declaration, "thou wilt destroy those that seek leasing."

V. On page 275, Dr. Hopkins uses the following language: "There is also an object which must be regarded as legitimate, which largely gives tone to the measures adopted under every form of government, and that is its own preservation. Whatever has a right to be, has a right to *all the means necessary* to its permanence and well-being. Hence despotic Governments must maintain standing armies." Here, despotic Governments seem to be justified in using standing armies, on the ground that they have a right to be. The declaration that a Government "has a right to *all the means necessary* for its maintenance and well-being," is a practical absurdity, justifying tyranny and outrage. Here, we have an instance in which the "end," assumed to be good, is made to sanctify the means—"all the means, necessary:" good means or bad. Every Government thinks that it has a right to be. The Government of Charles I., or of James II., is here justified, practically, in using all means, good or bad, necessary for its permanence.

The true statement is this. The Federal Government, formed by the Constitution, has a right to be, until abolished by a vote of three-fourths of the States; but it has a right to use *Constitutional* means, not *all* means, necessary for its permanence. The Government of Virginia or of Massachusetts "has a right to be;" but it has no "right to *all the means necessary* to its permanence," but only to those that are Constitutional. Or, if we reason from abstractions, like Dr. Hopkins, civil liberty has a right "to be," and therefore has "a right to *all the means necessary* for its permanence." This doctrine of *necessity*, the tyrant's plea, has a double application—for the oppressed as for the oppressor. Historical facts seem to be eschewed by Dr. Hopkins, as they were by Massachusetts during the late War, even those embodied in her own Constitution. But errors committed in the paroxysm of popular phrensy, should not, by casuists, be made chronic.

Besides the passages noticed, we have marked half a dozen others for annotations. These passages are, for the most part, in the last portion of the book, which is much inferior, in ability, to the first portion. While the author confines himself to the abstract, he is often admirable: when he touches the concrete, he sometimes is as weak as other men.

VI. On page 256, he makes a mistake in quoting from Prior's *An English Padlock*.

"Be to her faults a little blind,

"Be to her follies very kind."

This reading of Dr. Hopkins, taken with his comments upon it, is not very complimentary to the wife, for it implies that she has only "faults" and "follies" to be noticed by the husband. What Prior did say is:

"Be to her *virtues* very kind,

"Be to her faults a little blind."

On page 17, he makes a mistake as to a quotation of the eighteenth Chapter of Genesis, (*verse 25*.) "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" This, Dr. Hopkins says, is "the appeal of God to Abraham;" whereas, it is an appeal from Abraham to God.

We venture to express the opinion that Dr. Hopkins owes it to his own high standing before the public, to re-cast the last part of the book, and bring it up to a level with the first, in thought and expression. F.

24.—*From the Hub to the Hudson*: with sketches of Nature, History, and Industry, in North-western Massachusetts. By Washington Gladden. Boston: The N. E. News Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 149.

Mr. Gladden, who is the Pastor of the Congregational Church at North Adams, Mass., was lately a resident of this town and one of our near neighbors. He is widely known as one of the most promising of our country's essayists; and, wherever he is personally known he is respected.

In the little volume before us, he has sung the glories of Western Massachusetts, not by unmeaning and unfounded flattery, but in a calm, dispassionate presentation, in an excellent little handbook, of its beauties and its general good qualities.

The Chapters are devoted to reviews of the trips, respectively, from Boston to Greenfield, thence to North Adams, and thence to the Hudson; and the vicinity of Greenfield and that of North Adams, respectively, enjoy the author's very careful attention.

This is not a mere toy, idly telling the distances from town to town and leaving all else, except the taverns and boarding-houses, to be guessed at; but a sensible, scholarly presentation of the notable events in their history and the notable scenes in their vicinity, which serve to make



the different towns on this route enjoyable to an intelligent tourist. There is, beside, no formal stiffness of the style in this book; but the reader is made easy and comfortable, as he should be, when he seeks refreshment in country scenes like these.

Altogether, whether as a mere hand-book for those who travel or as a "local" to be placed on the shelves of a library, this little book is worthy of all praise.

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25.—*Elements of Astronomy*. Designed for Academies and High Schools. By Elias Loomis, LL.D., New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 254.

We have run over this new school-book with much pleasure. The different subjects treated of are carefully, but not too elaborately, explained; and no more technicalities are employed than seem to be absolutely necessary. There is, therefore, more than usual clearness in the definitions of terms; and the judicious illustrations serve still more to make the author's meaning distinctly understood.

The volume is neatly printed and substantially bound.

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26.—*The Illustrated Annual of Phrenology and Physiognomy*. 1870. By S. R. Wells. New York: S. R. Wells. Duodecimo, pp. 67. Price 25 cents.

This little volume contains, fifty engravings of leading Editors—Bryant, Greeley, Bennett, Brooks, Marble, Dana, Raymond, etc.—with articles on the Male and Female Form; Why Children Resemble their Parents; Grant and his Cabinet, with portraits; Physiognomy in Politics, or "Faces and Places;" Science of Conjugal Selection; Happy Marriages; Temperament in Wedlock; American Artists; The Sleep Walker; Brain Waves; Psychological; Sir Edward Landseer; Lorenzo Dow and Peggy his wife; Royal Ladies of the French Empire, with portraits; Guizot, the Statesman; How to choose a Helpmeet; What is a man? and much more which we have not room to notice.

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27.—*The True Woman*: a series of Discourses by Rev. J. D. Fulton, Tremont Temple, Boston. To which is added *Woman vs. Ballot*. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 16mo. pp. 212, 48. 1869. Price 50 cents.

This volume is one of a series of "Tracts for the People;" and it were well if "the People" would buy and read it.

Mr. Fulton considers Woman, successively, "as God made her," as "a helpmeet," as "a tempter," in her "Glory of Motherhood," in her "work and mission," in the worship of the Virgin Mary, and in her claim to the Ballot. He evidently considers the mission of man to differ from that of woman; that God himself

has assigned to her the peculiar sphere of life to which she is best adapted, and in which she can best discharge her duty; that Society owes her protection and honor; that she owes Society deference and a due respect to her own mission among men.

Mr. Fulton is noted, we believe, for his fearlessness; and in the little volume before us, he certainly presents his ideas with great clearness and tact.

The volume is a neat one, and deserves a better binding than it has received from its publishers.

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28.—*No Sects in Heaven; and other Poems*. By Mrs. E. H. J. Cleaveland. New York: Clark & Maynard, 1869. 16mo. pp. 95. Price \$1.25.

The leading poem, which gives the title to the volume, is so widely known and has been so generally admired that our readers need no description of it. Its rare poetical beauty and its sympathy with the catholic sentiment which seems to be prevalent, now-a-days, among those who are *not* professors of religion, will secure for it, in its present form, a hearty welcome; and its very beautiful dress will surely provide for it a place on many a center-table. Indeed, its rubricated title and borders, its beautiful letter-press, and its tasty binding, render it one of the most beautiful little books of the day.

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29.—*The Controversy between true and pretended Christianity*. An essay delivered before the Massachusetts Methodist Convention, held in Boston, October 15th, 1863. By Rev. L. T. Townsend. Published by vote of the Convention. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869. 16mo. pp. 82. Price 25 cents.

This little work is a very excellent summary of the grounds of controversy now waging in New England between the Evangelical and the Liberal branches of professing, so-called, Christians.

It discusses the questions; Who and what are the parties to the controversy? What are the points at issue? Are all Evangelical Christians called upon to join in the contest? In what spirit should the controversy be conducted? These questions it discusses with great ability, from the Evangelical standpoint; and we know no tract, on the same subject, which may be more usefully circulated among the people.

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30.—*Dolly Dimple Stories. Dolly Dimple at School*. By Sophie May. Illustrated. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869. 24mo. pp. 168.

One of a series of pretty little story-books which the smallest of our little ones has pronounced to be excellent in quality. It certainly is a handsome little affair; and, we suspect, that our "Carrie's" judgment concerning its contents is about correct.

THE

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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AUGUST, 1869.

[No. 2.

## I.—THE PENNSYLVANIA CAMPAIGN, OF 1863.

*GENERAL BUFORD'S REPORT.*

NOW FIRST PRINTED.\*

HEAD-QUARTERS, FIRST CAVALRY DIVISION,  
CAVALRY CORPS, ARMY OF THE POTOMAC,  
August 27th, 1863.

LIEUT.-COL. C. ROSS SMITH,  
Chief of Staff, Cavalry Corps.

COLONEL :

I have the honor to make the following Report of the operations of the First Cavalry Division, from its crossing the Potomac at Edward's Ferry, on the twenty-seventh of June, to its crossing of the Rappahannock, on the first of August.

After passing the Potomac on the upper pontoon bridge, the Division marched over almost impassible roads, crossing the Monocacy near its mouth, by a wretched ford, and bivouacked on the East side of the mountains, three miles from Jefferson, being halted there by the whole train of General Stahl's Division blockading the road through the mountains.

JUNE 28th. The Division moved through Jefferson, and went into camp near Middletown, for the purpose of shoeing and refitting.

JUNE 29th. The Reserve Brigade was detached and moved to Mechanicstown. The First and Second Brigades moved through Boonsboro, Cavetown, and Monterey Springs; and encamped near Fairfield, within a short distance of a considerable force of the enemy's Infantry. The inhabitants knew of my arrival and the position of the enemy's camp, yet not one of them gave me a particle of information nor mentioned the fact of the enemy's presence. The whole community seemed stampeded and afraid to speak or to act, often offering as excuses for not showing some little enterprise, "The rebels will destroy our houses if we tell anything." Had any one given me timely information and acted as guide, that night, I could have surprised, and captured

or destroyed, this force, which proved, next day, to be two Mississippi Regiments of Infantry and two guns.

JUNE 30th. The two Brigades moved out very early to go to Gettysburg, via Fairfield: at the latter place, my advance ran upon the force referred to: I determined to feel it and drive it, if possible; but, after a little skirmishing, found that Artillery would have to be necessarily used: resolved not to disturb them, for fear cannonading, from that quarter, might disarrange the plans of the General Commanding. Fairfield was four or five miles West of the route assigned me; and I did not wish to bring on an engagement so far from the road I was expected to be following. I immediately turned my column towards Emmetsburg, without serious molestation; and was soon on my proper road and moving on Gettysburg, where I had reason to suppose I would find some of General Stahl's Cavalry. We entered Gettysburg in the afternoon, just in time to meet the enemy entering the town, and in good season to drive him back before his getting a foothold. He withdrew towards Cashtown, leaving his pickets about four and a half miles from Gettysburg. The night of the thirtieth was a busy night for the Division: no reliable information of value could be obtained from the inhabitants; and but for the untiring exertions of many different scouting parties, information of the enemy's whereabouts and movements could not have been gained in time to prevent him from getting the town before our Army could get up.

By day-light, on the first of July, I had gained positive information of the enemy's position and movements; and my arrangements were made for entertaining him until General Reynolds could reach the scene.

On the first of July, between eight and nine A. M., reports came in from the First Brigade, (Colonel Gamble's) that the enemy was coming down towards Cashtown, in force. Colonel Gamble made an admirable line-of-battle, and moved off proudly to meet him. The two lines soon became hotly engaged—we having the advantage of position; he in numbers. The First Brigade held its own for more than two hours, and had to be literally dragged back a few hundred yards,

\* We are indebted to the kindness of our friend, General J. Watts de Peyster, for the manuscript copy of this important Report, which is now first presented to the world.



to a position more secure and better sheltered. Tidball's Battery, commanded by Lieutenant Calif, Second Artillery, fought on this occasion as is seldom witnessed—at one time the enemy had a concentric fire upon this Battery, from twelve guns, all at short ranges—Calif held his own, gloriously; worked his guns deliberately, with great judgment and skill; and with wonderful effect upon the enemy.

The First Brigade maintained this unequal contest until the leading Division of General Reynolds' Corps came up to its assistance; and then most reluctantly did it give up the front. A portion of the Third Indiana found horse-holders; borrowed muskets; and fought with the Wisconsin Regiment that came to relieve them. While this left of my line was engaged, Devin's Brigade, on the right, had its hands full. The enemy advanced upon Devin by four roads; and on each was checked and held, until the leading Division of the Eleventh Corps came to his relief. After the fall of General Reynolds, whose advance troops partially drove back the enemy and made heavy captures of prisoners, the enemy brought up fresh troops and engaged General Doubleday's command, which fought bravely, but was greatly outnumbered and forced to fall back. Seeing our troops retiring and their need of assistance, I immediately rushed Gamble's Brigade to Doubleday's left, and dismounted it in time to render great assistance to our Infantry and to check and break the enemy's line. My troops, at this place, had partial shelter behind a low stone-fence, and were in short carbine range. Their fire was perfectly terrific, causing the enemy to break and rally on their second line, which made no farther advance towards my position. Shortly after this, I placed my command on our extreme left, to watch and fight the enemy should he make another attack, and went to Cemetery Hill for observation. While there, General Hancock arrived; and, in a few moments, he made superb disposition to resist any attack that might be made. My Division bivouacked, that night, on the left of our position, with pickets extending almost to Fairfield. The zeal, bravery and good behavior of the officers and men, on the night of the thirtieth of June and during the first day of July, was commendable in the extreme. A heavy task was before us; we were equal to it; and shall all remember, with pride, that at Gettysburg we did our country much service.

JULY 2nd. The Division became engaged with the enemy's sharp-shooters on our left, and held its own until relieved by General Sickles's Corps, after which it moved to Taneytown and bivouacked for the night. The next day, the third of July, it moved to Westminster, to guard the trains of the Army, at that point.

JULY 4th. The Division marched towards

Frederick; drew supplies; and remained all night.

JULY 6th. The whole Division (the Reserve Brigade having joined, the night before) marched at four, P. M., towards Williamsport, to destroy the enemy's trains which were reported to be crossing the Potomac, into Virginia; at about five, P. M., when near St. James College, the enemy's pickets were discovered, driven in, and preparations made to capture the town. The enemy was driven handsomely to within half a mile of his trains, at the town, when he came out, strong enough to prevent further progress. General Merritt's Brigade, with Graham's Battery, was on the right; Colonel Gamble's First Brigade on the left; and Colonel Devin's Second Brigade on the left rear, as reserve. The enemy made an attack upon Gamble, who had posted his men under shelter and who held his fire until the rebel line came within short carbine-range, when he opened upon it, doing terrible execution, and driving it back into its stronghold. This was repeated with singular success. In Merritt's front, the enemy made no direct attack, but were so obstinate that General Merritt could not dislodge them without too much sacrifice. The enemy, however, attempted to turn our right, with a Brigade of Infantry. This attempt was most admirably foiled by General Merritt. While our hottest contest was in progress, General Kilpatrick's guns were heard in the direction of Hagerstown; and as they grew nearer, I sent word to him to connect with my right, for mutual support. The connection was made; but was of no consequence to either of us. Just before dark, Kilpatrick's troops gave way, passing to my rear by the right; and were closely followed by the enemy. It now being dark, outnumbered, and the First and Reserve Brigades being out of ammunition, Devin was ordered to relieve Gamble and a portion of Merritt's troops. This being done, I ordered the command to fall back; Devin to hold his ground until the entire road to the Antietam was clear. Devin handsomely carried out his instructions; and the Division bivouacked on the road to Boonsboro'. The expedition had for its object the destruction of the enemy's trains, supposed to be at Williamsport. This, I regret to say, was not accomplished. The enemy was too strong for me; but he was severely punished for his obstinacy. His casualties were more than quadruple mine. Colonel Chapman, with his Regiment, dashed off to the road leading from Falling Waters to Williamsport, and destroyed a small train of grain; and returned with about forty mules and their harness. At Williamsport, Captain Graham fought his Battery with marked ability, and to the admiration of all witnesses. The officers and men behaved with their usual courage, displaying great unwillingness to fall

back, and requiring repeated orders before they did so.

JULY 7th. The Division moved to Boonsboro', the Reserve Brigade camping well in advance, on the Hagerstown road, after having a successful Cavalry brush with the enemy's advance, of which I have as yet received no Report.

JULY 8th. The enemy attacked at five, A. M., and the fighting lasted until about five, P. M.—he was driven back about four miles, when the Division bivouacked for the night.

JULY 9th. Attacked the enemy at four, P. M.; and drove him handsomely, about two miles.

JULY 10th. Attacked the enemy at eight, A. M. and drove him through Funkstown, to his entrenchments beyond Antietam, when he came out with a heavy force of Infantry and Artillery, and gave battle. The Division held the crest on our side of the town like veterans, until its ammunition was exhausted. Howe's Division of the Sixth Corps was in easy supporting distance; but had no orders to aid me. At three, P. M., I could no longer reply with carbines, for want of cartridges, and consequently ordered the Division to fall back. A Brigade of the Sixth Corps then began to advance but did not occupy the position that I had when I left the field. There was splendid fighting, on the part of the Division, on the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth. There was no faltering nor hesitation. Each man went to work determined to carry anything in reason. For the particulars, I refer you to the Reports of the Brigade Commanders.

JULY 11th. The First and Second Brigades moved, in the afternoon, to the vicinity of Bakersville. The Reserve Brigade was detached.

JULY 12th and 13th. Remained at Bakersville, and pushed pickets to within eight hundred yards of the enemy's entrenchments, at Downville.

JULY 14th. At seven, A. M., the Division was ordered to advance; and at half past seven, it was discovered that the enemy had evacuated during the night. The few remaining scouts were run into the rear-guard of Lee's Army, which was soon seen in front of Kilpatrick, who had advanced from the North. Kilpatrick was engaged. I sent word to him that I would put my whole force in, on the enemy's rear and flank, and get possession of the road and bridge in their rear. The Division succeeded in getting the road, and attacked the enemy in flank and rear, doing him great damage, and scattering him in confusion through the woods and ravines. Our spoils, on this occasion, were one ten-pounder, Parrott-gun, one Caisson, over five hundred prisoners, and about three hundred muskets. General Merritt came up in time to take the advance, before the enemy had entirely crossed, and made many captures. The enemy's bridge was protected by over a dozen guns,

in position, and sharp-shooters on the Virginia side. As our troops neared the bridge, the enemy cut the Maryland side loose; and the bridge swung to the Virginia side.

JULY 15th. The Division moved to Berlin.

JULY 16th. Moved camp to Petersville.

JULY 17th. Remained at Petersville.

JULY 18th. Crossed, during the afternoon, and encamped near Purcellville.

JULY 19th. Marched through Philomont and encamped on Goose-creek, near Rectors-cross-roads.

JULY 20th. Marched to Rectorstown; detached General Merritt, with his Brigade, to hold Manassas Gap; Gamble to hold Chester Gap; and Devin, with all the train, moved to Salem.

JULY 21st. Merritt in Manassas; Gamble near Chester Gap, finding it already in possession of a superior force of the enemy. General Merritt and Colonel Gamble each had a fight and made captures—for particulars of which, see their Reports.

JULY 22d. Wagon train sent to Warrenton, in charge of the Sixth New York Cavalry. Devin moved towards Barbee's-cross-roads.

JULY 23d. Whole Division concentrated at Barbee's-cross-roads, and remained until the twenty-sixth, when the Division took position at Warrenton and Fayetteville, picketing the Rappahannock-river, from Sulphur Springs to Kelley's-ford.

During the whole Campaign, from the twenty-seventh of June to the thirty-first of July, there has been no shirking, nor hesitation, nor tiring, on the part of a single man, so far as I have seen—the Brigade Commanders report none.

To General Merritt, Colonel Gamble, and Colonel Devin, Brigade Commanders, I give my heartfelt thanks for their zeal and hearty support. Neither of them ever doubted the feasibility of an order, but, on its reception, obeyed its dictates to the letter. My Staff—Captains Norris, Keogh, Wadsworth, and Bacon; Lieutenants Mix, Penn, Gaskill, Dean, Morrow, Wing, and Gilchrist—were always on hand; gave me much valuable information from where the fire was hottest; and were of immense assistance in conveying Orders and seeing that they were obeyed, on the field of battle. During the Campaign, they were all under heavy fire, on different occasions; and, for coolness and gallantry cannot be excelled in this Army. Lieutenant Jerome, Signal Corps, was ever on the alert; and through his intrepidity and fine glasses, on more than one occasion, he kept me advised of the enemy's movements, when no other means were available.

Surgeon Hard, Surgeon-in-chief to the Division, deserves great credit for his zealous and untiring attention and labors with the sick and



wounded. Through his exertions, their sufferings have been greatly alleviated, their wants supplied, and many lives saved. Many wounded soldiers are indebted to him for his timely aid on the battle-field, who, but for his energy, would have shared the fate of many poor fellows who had less attentive Surgeons.

\* \* \* \* \*

I am, very respectfully,  
Your obedient Servant,  
JNO. BUFORD.  
Brigadier-general Vols.  
Commanding.

## II.—THE BOOK OF MORMON.

COMMUNICATED BY REV. E. D. NEILL.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEAR SIR,  
To-day, Mr. Redick McKee, a gentleman of great intelligence and integrity, now one of the National Bank Examiners, placed in my hand the enclosed communication prepared for the *Washington (Pa.) Reporter*, relative to the Mormon Bible. In the next generation, when the delusion of the Latter Day Saints will be better understood, all facts relative to these people will be sought for; and I transmit the article to you, in the hope that you may consider it worthy of preservation in your valuable HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Very respectfully,  
EDWARD D. NEILL.

MR. H. B. DAWSON,  
MORRISANIA, N. Y.

### I.

[From *The Washington Reporter* of April 8, 1869.]

#### WHO WROTE THE BOOK OF MORMON?

Some time since, I became the owner of *The Book of Mormon*. I put it into the hands of Mr. Joseph Miller, Sr., of Amwell township. After examining it, he makes the following statement concerning the connection of Rev. Solomon Spalding with the authorship of *The Book of Mormon*.

Mr. Miller is now in the seventy-ninth year of his age. He is an Elder in the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. His judgment is good, and his veracity unimpeachable. He was well acquainted with Mr. Spalding, while he lived at Amity. He waited on him during his last illness. He made his coffin, and assisted to bury his remains where they now lie, in the Presbyterian graveyard at Amity. He also bailed Mr. Spalding's wife when she took out Letters of Administration on his estate.

Mr. Miller's statement may be relied on as true.

J. W. HAMILTON.

[MR. MILLER'S STATEMENT.]

When Mr. Spalding lived in Amity, Pennsylvania, I was well acquainted with him. I was frequently at his house. He kept what was called a tavern. It was understood that he had

been a preacher; but his health failed him and he ceased to preach. I never knew him to preach after he came to Amity.

He had in his possession some papers which he said he had written. He used to read select portions of these papers to amuse us of even-ings.

These papers were detached sheets of foolscap. He said he wrote the papers as a novel. He called it *The Manuscript Found*, or *The Lost Manuscript Found*. He said he wrote it to pass away the time when he was unwell; and, after it was written, he thought he would publish it as a novel, as a means to support his family.

Some time since, a copy of *The Book of Mormon* came into my hands. My son read it for me, as I have a nervous shaking of the head that prevents me from reading. I noticed several passages which I recollect having heard Mr. Spalding read from his *Manuscript*. One passage, on page 148, (the copy I have is published by J. O. Wright & Co., New York) I remember distinctly. He speaks of a Battle; and says the Amalekites had marked themselves with red on their foreheads to distinguish them from the Nephites. The thought of being marked on the forehead, was so strange, it fixed itself in my memory. This, together with other passages, I remember to have heard Mr. Spalding read from his *Manuscript*.

Those who knew Mr. Spalding will soon all be gone and I among the rest. I write, that what I know may become a matter of history; and that it may prevent people from being led into Mormonism, that most seductive delusion of the devil.

From what I know of Mr. Spalding's *Manuscript* and *The Book of Mormon*, I firmly believe that Joseph Smith, by some means, got possession of Mr. Spalding's *Manuscript*, and possibly made some changes in it and called it *The Book of Mormon*.

March 26, 1869.

JOSEPH MILLER, SR.

### II.

[From *The Washington Reporter*, Washington, Pa., Wednesday, April 21, 1869.]

#### SOLOMON SPALDING AGAIN.

WASHINGTON, D. C. April 14, 1869.

MESSRS EDITORS.—Here on business with the Government, I have accidentally found, in the *Wheeling Intelligencer* of the 8th instant, an article copied from your paper, under the caption, "Who wrote *The Book of Mormon*?" The statement of Mr. Joseph Miller, Sr., enclosed in the communication of your correspondent, J. W. Hamilton, carries me back, in memory, to scenes and occurrences of my youth, at the

pleasant old Village of Amity, in your County; and are corroborative, in some measure, of their conjectures as to the real author of that curious production, the "Mormon Bible."

With a view to throw some additional light upon a subject which, in the future, if not at present, may possess historical importance, I have concluded to employ a leisure hour in giving you some of my recollections, touching the *Lost History Found*, and its author.

In the Fall of 1814, I arrived in the village of "Good Will;" and, for eighteen or twenty months, sold goods in the store previously occupied by Mr. Thomas Brice. It was on the Main-street, a few rods West of Spalding's tavern, where I was a boarder.

With both Mr. Solomon Spalding and his wife, I was quite intimately acquainted. He was regarded as an amiable, inoffensive, intelligent old gentleman, of some sixty winters; and as having been formerly a Teacher or Professor in some eastern Academy or College; but I was not aware of his having been a preacher or called "Reverend." He was afflicted with a rupture, which made locomotion painful, and confined him much to his house. They possessed but little of this world's goods; and, as I understood, selected Amity as a residence, because it was a healthy and inexpensive place to live in.

I recollect, quite well, Mr. Spalding spending much time in writing on sheets of paper (torn out of an old book), what purported to be a veritable history of the nations or tribes, who inhabited Canaan when, or before, that country was invaded by the Israelites, under Joshua. He described, with great particularity, their numbers, customs, modes of life; their wars, stratagems, victories, and defeats, &c. His style was flowing and grammatical, though gaunt and abrupt—very like the stories of the "Maccabees" and other apocryphal books, in the old bibles. He called it *Lost History Found*, *Lost Manuscript*, or some such name; not disguising that it was wholly a work of the imagination, written to amuse himself, and without any immediate view to publication.

I read, or heard him read, many wonderful and amusing passages from different parts of his professed historical records; and was struck with the minuteness of his details and the apparent truthfulness and sincerity of the author. Defoe's veritable Robinson Crusoe was not more reliable.

I have an indistinct recollection of the passage referred to by Mr. Miller, about the Amalekites making a cross with red paint on their foreheads, to distinguish them from their enemies in the confusion of battle; but the manuscript was full of equally ludicrous descriptions. After my removal to Wheeling, in 1818, I understood (from

Dr. Cephas Dodd, perhaps), that Mr. Spalding had died and his widow had returned to her friends in northern Ohio or western New York. She would naturally take the manuscript with her. Now, it was in northern Ohio, probably in Lake or Ashtabula-county, that the first Mormon prophet, or imposter, Jo. Smith, lived and published what he called *The Book of Mormon*, or the "Mormon Bible." It is quite probable therefore, that, with some alterations, *The Book of Mormon* was, in fact, *The Lost Book or Lost History Found*, of my old landlord, Solomon Spalding, of Amity, Washington-county, Pennsylvania.

I have also a recollection of reading, in some newspaper, about the time of my removal to California, in 1850, an article on this subject, charging Jo. Smith, directly, with purloining or, in some improper way, getting possession of a certain manuscript which an aged clergyman had written for his own amusement, as a novel, and out of it making up his pretended Mormon Bible. Smith's converts or followers were challenged to deny the statement. Both the date and the name of the paper I have forgotten. Possibly, in your own file of the *Reporter*, some notice of the matter may be found to verify my recollection.

Many changes have occurred in old "Cat Fish's Camp," as well as in "Amity," since I first knew them. Mr. Joseph Miller, Sr., is I presume, my old friend, Jo. Miller, with whom, in 1815, I had many a game of house-ball, at the East side of Spalding's tavern. If so, and this article meets his eye, he will recollect the stripping who sold tape and other necessities in the frame house, nearly opposite old Ziba Cook's residence, in Amity. He was then in the prime of life; always in good humor; told a story well; a good shot with a rifle; and the best ball-player in the crowd. When he and I happened to be partners, we were sure to win. I wish him many happy days in a green old age.

If any of these desultory recollections of the olden time can aid, in any way, the truth of history and the suppression of a miserable imposture, use them as you deem proper, either in print or in the waste basket.

Respectfully,  
REDICK M'KEE.

### III.—ELDER WILLIAM BREWSTER.

By REV. EDWARD D. NEILL.

A few facts, not mentioned by Hunter, in *Founders of New Plymouth*, gleaned from the Calendars of British State Papers and other sources, are perhaps worthy of preservation.

The father of Elder Brewster was named William; and he was Postmaster of Scrooby.



Upon his death, Secretary Davison appears to have requested that his son might have the place. Stanhope, who had charge of the postal affairs of England, wrote on the twenty-second of August, 1590, to this effect:

"Regrets he cannot comply with his request. On the death of old Bruster, one Samuel Bevercotes had written to him for the place of Postmaster at Scrooby, with which he complied. States his reasons for not conferring the place upon young Bruster who had served in that place for his father old Bruster."

On the back of this letter are notes, in Davison's hand, showing why young Brewster ought to have been appointed at his father's death.

Hunter states that Brewster subsequently became Postmaster.

William and his son, Edward, in 1609, became members of the Virginia Company, just formed; and this year, Stephen Hopkins and family and other non-conformists, sailed in the fleet of Gates and Somers, for Virginia. A little later, Captain Edward Brewster sailed with Lord De la Warre, and returned to England about the time that the London Company granted Patents to John Wyncopp and associates. In August, 1619, Naunton, one of the Secretaries of State, writes that Brewster was frightened back into the Low Countries; and that his son had conformed to the Church.

Robert Wrothe, in his *Abortive of an Idle Hour*, published in 1620, says:

"They say a new plantation is intended  
"Neere or about the Amazonian river;  
"But sure that mannish race is not quite ended.  
"O! that gravest Jove, of all good gifts, the giver,  
"Would move King James, once more to store  
"that clyme,  
"With the MOLL CUT PURSES of our bad time."

King James, about this period, made Virginia a penal Colony. Bradford, alluding to the efforts of the Plymouth and London Company, to secure the Leyden people for their Plantations, says Mr. Weston was inclined to adventure with the Plymouth Company. "Some disliking went to Guiana, others again would adventure nothing unless they went to Virginia."

#### IV.—JOURNAL OF A TOURIST THROUGH THE EASTERN STATES, 1796.

BY THOMAS CHAPMAN, ESQ.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS GRANDSON, GEORGE TEMPLE CHAPMAN, ESQ., OF NEW YORK.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1ST. Left my Family at Elizabeth Town, and proceeded to New York,

where I stopt 5 Days to settle some Business with Mr. Colding and my Eldest Son previous to my departure for the Eastern States.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6TH. Departed from New York at 11 o'Clock in the forenoon, and rode to Mr. Heaton's at Frogs Neck, where I staid all night.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 7TH. Left Mr. Heaton's; passed through East Chester and New Rochelle, two small Villages; and proceeded to Stamford, a large Village in Connecticut, where I slept all night at Mr. Webb's Tavern; both Webb and his Wife are civil & Accommodating to Strangers; this Town is 43 miles from New York.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 8TH. Quitted Webb's and rode 10 miles to Norwalk; where I dined at Mr. Gregory Tavern, a neat clean House. Afterwards proceeded 12 miles to Fairfield, a pleasant Town; and staid all night at Mr. Penfield's, an excellent Tavern; from the City of New York, untill within 2 or 3 Miles of Fairfield, the Country in general is very broken and Stoney, the Soil appears thin and light. On my coming down Stairs in the Morning a hand Bill was put into my Hand, givin an acco<sup>t</sup> of a most Atrocious and Wicked Murder & Robbery, committed the preceeding Evening, between 9 & 10 o'Clock, at New Field, four miles distant from Fairfield, at a Store belong<sup>g</sup> to Messrs.

The Villans went into the Store where there was only an Apprentice Boy. They knocked out his brains with a Hammer and cut his Throat from Ear to Ear, tooke away 700 Dollars in Bank Notes, and 200 in Cash, and afterwards set Fire to the Store, but the Fire being perceived soon afterwards by the Neighbourhs, it was quickly extinguished without doing any other Injury besides damaging a part of the Goods in the Store.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9TH. Sett off from Fairfield in the Morn<sup>g</sup> and passed through New Town, where I saw several people Assembled about the store where the Murdered Boy lay. They had not then discovered the perpetrators of the horrid Act, altho every exertion was made and making for their detection. From New Town to Stratford, a pleasant Town, is 4 Miles; & from thence to Milford, a large Stragling Village, is 4 Miles more. Here I dined at M<sup>r</sup> Butlers Tavern; staid untill 3 o'Clock; and journey'd on 10 Miles to New Haven, where I arrived at 5 o'Clock in the Evening, & put up at the Coffee House kept by M<sup>r</sup> Smith, a Widow. With a very few exceptions, all the Country I travelled over to Day was Level and the Soil Tolerably good. The Farmers in this part of the Country are only just begining to cultivate Clover and other Artificial Grasses, wch will be a considerable Advantage to the Country when generally Introduced.

The Remaining two Days at New haven gave

me an Opportunity of seeing every part of the City, wch perfectly accords with the description given of it by Winterbottom. Standing on a Sandy Soil, New haven possesses an Advantage wch few Country Towns in United States Enjoy, namely, of being free from Mood & Mire after Rain. The Houses are Built and finished with great Taste and neatness, they are mostly of Wood, and being painted White, makes a strong & beautifull Contrast with the green Trees before them, for every Street has two Rows of Trees planted from one End to the other. I went on Sunday Afternoon in Company with two of Mr Crugers Sons and some other Gentleman to the Colleige Chapel, where we heard a very sensible and Affecting Sermon delivered by the President Dwight, of Yale Colleige. As upwards of 30 Senior Students who taken their Degrees where to leave Colleige after the Commencement the following Wednesday, The Presidents Address was more in the Style of a farewell Lecture, filled with good and Salutory Instructions for their future conduct & behaviour than a Sermon. The Chapel was exceedingly crouded with both Gentlemen & Ladies. The Inhabitants of New Haven are very partial to Doctor Dwight, and think him a first rate Orator in the Pulpit—but I must confess their Sentiments does not Accord with myne. He ends his periods very Abruptly; has little or no variety in the Tones of his Voice; is in too great haste, and never Pauses at the Conclusion of any particular Division of his Subject, but altho I do not Admire Dr Dwight as an Orator, I think highly of his Literary Talents & good Sense.

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12TH. I quitted New Haven early in the Morning, Breakfasted at Wallingford, a straggling Built Town 13 Miles dist<sup>t</sup> from New Haven, and from thence proceeded through Durham to Middle Town. Here I was detained untill Wednesday Morning by the Hospitality and uncommon Attention of Mr Watkinson, an Englishman, & his Family, who has chosen this pleasant and Healthy Town for his place of residence. Middle Town is situated on the Banks of the Connecticut River, and the Houses wch stand in high Street, as it is called, command an extensive & beautifull Prospect of the River and Surrounding Country. Mr Watkinson speaks highly of the Social disposition of the Inhabitants.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14TH. Left Middletown at 9 o'clock & rode to Weathersfield, 8 Miles, Where I dined at a very good Tavern kept by Doc<sup>r</sup> Bernard, almost opposite the Church. This is an Extensive Town, surrounded by a fine flat Country of good Land, and about half a Mile from the River. Rock Hill, an extensive Village between this & Middleton, upon the River, carries on a brisk Trade with N. York.

Here, for the first time in my Life, I saw Wagons Loaded with Onions, wch the owners were delivering to the Merchants to Ship to New York and other Seaports in the Southern States. This is also an article wch they Export to the West Indies. I was informed at Westfield that such is the Estimation & Value they put upon Lands suitable to the growth of Onions, that 1000 Dolls has been given as the Purchase price of one Acre. From Westfield I proceeded 4 Miles to the City of Harford, and put up at Dwights Tavern, nearly in the Centre of the City, and close to the State House. Harford is large irregular built Town upon the Banks of the Connecticut River, is very thriving, carrying on a great Trade. There are many fine Houses in it. The State House, not quite finished, is a large handsome brick Building, 120 feet by 50, with a projecting Portico of 10 feet Square on the Eastern front, supported by Pillars of Doric order; on the Western front there is a plain Projection of plain brick Work, arched on the lower Storey; the upper part is a large Room for the Secretaries Office. The Country from Westfield to Harford is good and thickly settled.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15TH. Quitted Harford in the Afternoon and road 9 Miles through a beautifull Country to Windsor, where I staid all Night at Mr Allens Tavern. Windsor is a large Village surrounded with fine rich Land.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH. Departed from Mr Allen early in the Morning and went 10 Miles to Suffield, a very Pleasant Village situated upon an Eminence, & breakfasted at Austins Tavern, who is very Extravagant in his Charges, being 2<sup>s</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> for my Breakfast & two quarts of Oats for my Horse; from thence I journeyed on 10 Miles to West Springfield, a large Village in the State of Massachusetts; & 3 Miles further Stopped to dine at Mr Millers Tavern close on the Banks of the Connecticut River. The Landlady was very civil & Attentive, and gave me a good Dinner, for wch she only charged 1<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>. from Mr Millers I road on 13 Miles to Northampton & took up my abode at Mr Pomroy's Tavern, an Elegant House, near to the Church & Court House. Both the Landlord and his Wife are extremely Attentive to Travelers; and their Charge moderate, for I only paid one Dollar for my Supper, Bed, Breakfast, 8 quarts of Oats & Hay for my Horse. Northampton is a pleasant Town, Situated about one mile from Connecticut River. There are many excellent Houses in it and I am told the Store keepers do a great deal of Business.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17TH. Left Northampton at 10 o'clock & road through Hatfield, a pleasant Town, 5 miles from Northampton 10 Miles to a Tavern, kept by Gad Smith, where I dined. In the afternoon rode 8 Miles to Deerfield, a small Village; and 3 Miles further brought me to



Greenfield, where I took up my Abode at the Sign of United States Arms, an excellent Tavern, Mr Munns the Landlord and his Wife, being very Attentive to their Guests. All the Country I Travelled through this Day, was, with a very few exceptions, of a light Sandy Soil, as far as the Level Land extends, from the Banks of the River to the Mountains; and the Wood that grows upon it, is Chiefly Pitch and White Pine. Greenfield is a Town of Considerable Trade for its Size, and stands on the declivity of Hill, about two Miles West of Connecticut River. I counted ten large Handsome Houses in Greenfield, as any I have seen (built of Wood) in the United States. The Inhabitants of this Town, are all Mechanics & Trades Men.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20TH. Quitted my Hospitable Host at Greenfield, and Road 11 Miles to Breakfast at Mr Alfred's Tavern, a single House, the Landlady of wch is without the Handsomest Woman I ever saw in any Country. for thence I road 10 Miles thorough a Hilly, rocky Country, to Battleborough, where I dined at Mr Dickinson's, a Tavern equal to any I put up at, since my departure from New York. After Dinner I road one mile on the Post road to The Rev<sup>d</sup> Mr Wells's, an English Dissenting Minister, who has got a Farm 380 Acres of Land, that he Bought 3 Years agoe, soon after his Arrival from England, for £1200 Currency, or about £1000 St<sup>r</sup>. The Flat part of his Farm almost joins the Connecticut River; and is of a sandy nature, but the remainder, to the Westward of his House, wch stands upon a pleasant Eminence, is a loamy Soil. Mr Wells has made considerable Additions to his Dwelling and out Offices, Built large new Barn and Cyder House. The Farm is every where well Water'd with excellent Springs of Soft Water and his House & Farm Yard supplied from Springs Adjacent wch is conducted under ground in Wooden Tubes, in the Kitchen is [a] Wooden Cistern where the Water is coming in run out all the Year and so it does into a Wooden trough in the Farm Yard. This is a convenience I never saw before in the United States, but wch is, I understand, very Common in the State of Vermont, where I now am for the Divisional line, between this & Massachusetts State, runs 10 Miles to the Westw<sup>d</sup> of Brattleborough. I remained at Mr Wells the remainder of this and the following Day, was treated with great Hospitality and kindness both by him and Mr Wells.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 22ND. Took leave of Mr & Mrs Wells and road 15 Miles towards Westminster over a very Mountinous Country Dined & baited my Horse at a Tavern, and then proceed<sup>d</sup> 3 Miles to Westminster a small Town pleasant Situated upon a rising Ground on the Banks of the Connecticut River, surrounded [by] a body of nice Level Land, from thence I went two Miles

further and took up my Lodging at Squire Spooners who keeps an excellent House and where every Traveller will meet a polite reception from the Squire and his Lady, at least I may safely venture to say this if they use every guest as they treated me.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 23D. Departed from Mr Spooners at 10 in the Morning after Viewing his Farm, & Road to Bellasses, or what is more commonly called the great Falls. Previous, however, to my crossing the Wooden Bridge wch Erected across the Connecticut upon the Falls, I light from my Horse & Step'd into a Shop were a Man was forging Iron. The Bellows was blown by a Water Wheel, and the Sledge hammer Worked by the same means, the first of the kind I had ever seen. In crossing the Bridge I Entered into New Hampshire State and rode 10 Miles to Charleston, where I dined, after wch I mounted my Horse and Rode 11 Miles further to Cap<sup>n</sup> Cookes Tavern in The Township of Clermont, here I stopped all Night. Except a little level Land on the Banks of the River, the whole of the Country on both Sides of the River is hilly and broken, but the Land is loamy & good. Cap<sup>n</sup> Cooke shewed me his Cheese Room which contained a Number of as fine Cheeses as any I see in England. I understand a vast quantity of Cheese & Butter is made both in this & Vermont State, for Exportation, part is sent over Land to Portsmouth & Boston, and part down the Connecticut River to New York.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 24TH. I went from Cookes 12 Miles to a single Tavern kept by Coll. Kemble, a very Intelligent Man, & Breakfasted, after wch rode 11 Miles further to Hanover and took up my abode at Genl Breusters Tavern, wch is situat'd at the Corner of a beautiful Square, the East side of wch is Occupied by Dartmouth Colliege, a very handsome Building 150 by 50 feet, with a small Cupola & Turret on the Center. The Colliege fronts towards the West & commands a fine View of the Connecticut River and the lofty Woods of Vermont. I went down to the River to see the New bridge Major Rufus Graves is constructing. The Bridge is to be built of Wood & to consist of one Arch only of 200 feet wide for that is the Weadth of the Connecticut River at this place. Norwich, a small Town on the Vermont side, will be equally benefitted by the Erection of this Bridge. There were very few Students at Dartmouth whilst I was there, but prior to the Commencement wch is every Year on the fourth Wednesday in August, the number was 160 and upwards. On Sunday I went to Church Twice, heard two long tedious Sermons Preached by the Rev<sup>d</sup> a Clergyman from Vermont, who is an indifferent Orator. The Church wch was built lately, is a very spacious Building, well Pew'd and a large

Gallery where the Coleigians Sit.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27TH. Took leave of Gen<sup>l</sup> Bruster at Noon and bent my Course towards Portsmouth wch layes ENE from Hanover. I only got 15 Miles this Day, the Road being very Hilly & rough. From the appearance of the Stumps, the Country I travelled over to Day has not been Settled above 15 or 20 Years All the Orchards are of course young but seem to thrive well owing chiefly to their being Planted upon high Ground. Indeed in all my Travels through the different I have Observed that the Orchards on Hills do better than those planted in Vallies or level Ground. The people are now every were busy in Harvesting their Indian Corn. There is a Universal failure of Corn in all the four States passed through where the Soil was Sandy part<sup>y</sup> in Connecticut, Occasioned by the Drought but in some parts of Vermont & New Hampshire where the Soil is Loamy the Crops are abundant.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28TH. Quitted Mr. Wadley's a single House where I slept in the Township of Canaan and road 8 Miles to Bullcock's Tavern in Grafton Township where I breakfasted and where I was detained by the Rain until 2 o'clock then departed in Company with a Mr. Billings of Lebanon and road 16 Miles 14 of wch was an uninhabited Wilderness to a Tavern kept by Mr Thompson where we stop<sup>d</sup> all Night. Here we found an excellent Stable for our Horses and civil treatment from the Land lord and his Wife.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 29TH. Left Thompsons at 7 o'clock and road 9 Miles to Salsbury to Breakfast. This is a considerable Town and great deal of Land Cultivated about wch is tolerably good. This part of the Country has been long Settled. Chiefly Grazing Farms, with fine thriving Apple Orchards upon them. but all that I noticed were planted too-thick, the Trees not being above 12 or 14 Feet assunder. from Salsbury we went 16 Miles to Concord a flourishing Town where the Legislature of this State N. H. sit in a Temporary Court House Erected for that purpose. Concord stands upon the Merrymack River over wch is built an elegant Wooden Bridge of two Arches that are 170 feet each in Length and 40 feet wide, finished last Year. There is Toll gate Erected on the Concord side where foot Passengers pay one Penny & a Horse two pence. After bating our Horses at Stickners Tavern we road 5 Miles to Pembroke where I put up at Squire Bartlets Tavern, but my fellow Traveller went on 11 Miles further on y<sup>e</sup> road to Boston. The Squire & his Wife are very good sort of people for they gave me a nice Supper & a very comfortable Bed. There many large good Farms in this Township wch have Capital Orchards, from one of wch I understand

800 Barrels of Cyder was made last Year, their Crops are very Inconsiderable this Season.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 30TH. Took leave of the Squire & his Lady early in the Morn<sup>g</sup> & road 14 Miles to Deerfields to Breakfast. This is a Township of tolerable good Land, the Farms & the Fields very large. Here Major James Lady gave me a good Breakfast of Tea New Laid Eggs Toast &c., after I road through a Country of indifferant Land 11 Miles to Poplin Township where I Stop<sup>d</sup> to bait my Horse at Mr Rennels Tavern and then proceeded 10 Miles further to Exeter and put up at Mr Fulsoms an excellent but expensive Tavern pleasantly Situated in the Center of the Town near the Court House and Fronting the River. Exeter is a Considerable Inland Town where they Build Ships of 3 & 400 Tons Butthen and send them down to Portsmouth.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 1ST. Left Mr Fulsoms after Breakfast and passed through twosmall Towns Strattam & Greenland, 14 Miles to Portsmouth I found the Road excellent and the Country fine and tolerably well Cultivated all the way from Exeter to Portsmouth. I remained two Days at Col. Brewsters Tavern in Portsmouth wch is a crowded ill Built irregular Town, altho it is advantageously Situated for Trade.

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 4TH. Left Brewsters after Breakfast, who charged me 6 Dollars for the time I was there. Journey'd 6 Miles when I crossed a Capital Bridge Built over the Piscativay River wch separates the District of Maine from New Hampshire. 6 Miles further brought me to Dover a large Town, and from thence 6 Miles to Berwick another good Town, where several saw Mills are Erected on the River, and where Ship Building is carried on. Here I Staid all Night at Mr Higgins Tavern, & sett of the next Morning & Travelled 14 Miles to Cocks Tavern where I Breakfasted, & then proceeded 18 Miles to Bradburys where I slept. in these 18 Miles I passed through Kennebunk a Handsome Village, and Crossed afterwards Saco River by a Toll Bridge. There are a Considerable number of Houses on each Side of Bridge wch are in separte Townships from wch they take their Names, Viz Biddeford and immediately above the Bridge are great falls in the River wch has enabled the Inhabitants of each Town to Erect 10 or 12 Saw Mills wch were all going at the time a Passed. vas quantitis of Lumber are exported from this place to the West Indies, &c.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 6TH. Left Bradburys at Noon and Arrived at Portland a Distance of 14 Miles at 3 o'clock in the Afternoon and put up at Mr Motleys the best Tavern in Portland. The Country from Portsmouth to this place is tolerably Level well watered and the Soil in many places thin, several good Farm Houses upon the Raod who have all got small Apple Orchards but



the Climate is too cold for Peaches. I saw Plum & Pear Trees but few or no Cherries. Portland is a very Smart Seaport Town where a great deal of Commerce is carried many excellent Houses in it with two Churches a Court House & Academy this is reckoned one of the best & safest Harbors in the United States, and y<sup>e</sup> greatest part of the Town is Situated upon a pleasant dry gravely Emmince wch Commands a fine prospect of the Sea & the unnumerable Islands that surround the Harbor. not liking my Accommodation at M<sup>r</sup> Motlys I left Portland after Dinner on my return to Portsmouth & slept to Bradburys. next Day after Breakfast I road 10 Miles to Cap<sup>t</sup> Bunards, a tolerable Tavern where I dined, leaving this House about 3 °Clock with an intention of going only 4½ Miles further to Clarks but trusting more to my own recollection of the Road then that of my Horse, I misced the Road and was in consequence Obligated ride over a sandy Pitch Pine Plain of 8 Miles before I came to any House and this was a Col. Emerys, in Sandford Township. Here I was Hospitably entertained all Night.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 9TH. Departed from Emerys in the Morning, rode 7½ Miles cross the Country to the Post Road and tarred the remainder of the Day at M<sup>r</sup> Rogers's Tavern 9 Miles from Berwick. Here I met with a Major Savage a polite Gentlemanly Man, who behaved very Civilly and tooke me in the Afternoon to his House to Drink Tea with his Wife who appears to be an agreeable well behaved Woman.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 10TH. Left M<sup>r</sup> Rogers's after Breakfast & road 13 Miles to Dover, where I dined and baited my Horse at Cogshels Tavern, after proceeded on 12 Miles and arrived at Portsmouth in the Even<sup>g</sup> at Col<sup>l</sup> Brewsters. In expectation of reciv<sup>g</sup> Lres from my Son I waited at Portsmouth untill Thursday the 13th. when I departed for Boston. Breakfasted at Wells Tavern at Hampton 15 Miles from Portsmouth; then rode 22 Miles further through Salisbury a Considerable Town to Ipswich a very large Town and staid all Night at Major Swaysis who keeps a very excellent Tavern.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14TH. Left Ipswich this Morning and rode through Newburyport, a fine Seaport Town. breakfast<sup>d</sup> at Webbs in Salem 14 Miles from Ipswich, from thence Journey'd on 12 Miles to Charleston, and after Crossing Charles's Rivar on a very long Wooden Bridge I entered Boston & put up at the Cromwell's Head in School Street kept by M<sup>r</sup> Mahoney, a very civil Irish man who I find had been at Bengal with M<sup>r</sup> Bristow as Steward.

Continued at Boston untill Wednesday the 19th Oct<sup>r</sup>, When I departed for Providence in Rhode Island State. It being 12 °Clock when I left Boston Only rode 19 Miles this Day through the

Towns of Roxbury Dedham to Walpole where I lodged all Night at a Tavern kept by Hartshorn and Holmes where I had a good Bed and civil treatment.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 20TH. Departed from Walpole in the Morning and rode 8 Miles to Breakfast at Man's Tavern opposite to the Meeting House in the Township of Rantham, from thence 9 Miles to Attleborough where I baited my Horse and 9 Miles further brought me to Providence where I tooke up my Dwelling at M<sup>r</sup> Holmes Tavern in the Main Street near the State House. Here I fared well & the Charges the whole Expense being only 8½ Dollars for 5 Days and six Nights for self and Horse.

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 26TH. Left Holmes at 3 °Clock in the Afternoon for Newport and rode 11 Miles to Warren where I staid all Night at Coles's Tavern where I met with Civility and Attention. Warren is a Considerable Town and Providence River where they Build Ships and other Vessels.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 27th. After Breakfast I set of from Coles's and rode 10 Miles to Bristol, Crossed the Ferry to Rhode Island and Journeyed on 5 Miles Cornells Tavern where I dined. Within half a Mile of this Tavern stands the House near the great Road where Gen<sup>l</sup> Prescott was surprized and taken Prisoner by an American Colonel Barton 2 Irish Sailors & a Person who undertooke to be their Conductor. The House has been rebuilt since the War, has a small Farm belon<sup>g</sup> to it of 60 or 70 Acres of good Land and is for Sale, Purchase Price I understand is 5000 Dolls. four Milles travelling after Passing the above House brought me to Newport where I tooke up my Quarters at M<sup>r</sup> Amry's, an excellent Boarding House Independant of good Beds and a bountifull. M<sup>rs</sup> Amry herself is one of the Most Motherly, kind, chearfull, and facetious Women I ever met with. during the 8 Days I Lodged in this good Womans House I tooke several rides both on the East & West side of the Island with wch I much charmed for the Land is in general good, and the stone Fences well built. In short this Island wants nothing but Wood to make it one of the most delightfull Spots in the Universe; and it astonishes me to see the Farmers so remiss in Planting new Orchards and other usefull Trees such as Butter Wood Birch & Wild Cherry, all of wch seemes to thrive well on Rhode Island.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 6TH. Took leave of Rhode Island at 9 °Clock in the Morn<sup>g</sup>. Crossed the Ferry to Cannonicut Island when I mounted my Horse and rode 1 Mile across the Island where another Ferry Boat was ready to carry me to the main. This and the other Ferry are reckoned three Miles each, but the last did not appear to me to be above two. Mounted my Horse again;

rode 8 Miles; was overtaken by a Storm wch obliged me to take Shelter in a small Public House in South Kingston. Here I dined & then Travelled on 12 Miles to Charleston where I tarried all Night at Mr Stanton's where I got an excellent Supper, excellent Bed, and an excellent Breakfast next Morn<sup>g</sup>. From the Ferry above mentioned to Charleston the road runs Parellel with the Sound and is a broken stoney Country; and altho the Soil in general is very indifferent, yet the Farmers keep considerable Dairies & make very fine Cheese.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 7TH. After Breakfast I rode 12 Miles on the Road to New London wch is four Miles beyond the Divisional Line wch separates Rhode Island from Connecticut State, and dined at Stoning Town at Cap<sup>n</sup> Collins's Tavern. from thence 11 Miles ride brought me to the River Thames, where I crossed in a Boat to New London and put up at Mr Minor's Tavern where I staid untill Wednesday Morn<sup>g</sup>. The Road from Charleston to New London is very rocky and Hilly and the Land looks very poor.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9TH. Left New London & rode 14 Miles to Norwich where I dined after wch proceeded 10 Miles to Lebanon & put up at Cap<sup>n</sup> Duttons. This appears to be an excellent Township of Land is any I have seen in this State but apprehend it is but indifferently Watered.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10TH. Left Duttons & rode 12 Miles to Whites Tavern, where I breakfasted & then Proceeded on 16 Miles to Harford where I arrived in the Even<sup>g</sup> & put up at Dwights Tavern where I staid before. The Road from New London to Harford is very good, being almost all Turnpike, and the Country in general very good.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11TH. Quitted Harford and rode 16 Miles to Middletown. Here I staid all Day, visited Mr Watkinson's Family, and set of next Day to Wallingford where I staid untill Monday the 14<sup>th</sup> of Nov<sup>r</sup>, then went on to New Haven, and put up at Mr<sup>s</sup> Smith's. Here I continued untill ffriday the 18<sup>th</sup>, then departed and rode 14 Miles to Stratford where I Lodged all Night at Lovejoys Tavern. This House is small and y<sup>e</sup> Lodging Rooms indifferent; but the Hostler is an excellent fellow & rubbed my Horse well.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19TH. Rode in the Morn<sup>g</sup> 8 Miles to Fairfield, where Mr Penfield gave me an excellent. Dined at Gregory's, at Norwalk and then rode 10 Miles to Mr Webbs at Stanford.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 21st. Left Mr Webbs this Morn<sup>g</sup> and rode 12 Miles to Rye, where I dined at Quintars, an extravant Land lord. from thence proceeded on to East Chester where I slept all Night in a good Bed at Mr Guions. The next Morn<sup>g</sup> rose early and rode to Frogs

Neck, 5 Miles from East Chester to my ffriend Mr Heatons, wch concluded this Journey.

## V.—ORIGIN OF UNITARIANISM IN NEW YORK CITY.

BY COLONEL THOMAS F. DE VOE.

The learned annalist of the American Pulpit, Doctor William B. Sprague of Albany, while noticing the origin of Unitarianism in the city of New York, follows the general impression of those who are familiar with the subject when he says, "The first Sermon ever preached in the city "of New York, before Unitarians, as such, was "by Doctor Channing, in a private house, on "the twenty-fifth of April, 1819;" but, in gathering historical information on another subject, the writer has found a notice of what appears to have been a much earlier appearance of *Unitarianism* in New York, if, indeed, it was not its earliest appearance in the United States.

In the month of January, 1794, Mr. John Butler appears to have engaged from Mr. Joshua Seely, his "Large Assembly Room," then located in Courtland-street, near Broadway. In this room, Mr. Butler gave a lecture, in which he must have introduced "the liberality of his principles;" and, although there was no mention made of *Unitarianism* at that time, we find there was a Society organized, very soon afterwards, called the "Unitarian Society."

The first notice appeared on the twenty-fourth of January of that year, in these words:

"TO THE CLERGY. Mr. Butler being informed "that improper liberties have been taken in the "pulpit and upon the altar, in consequence of "the liberality of the principles he has endeavored to inculcate, begs leave to acquaint the "clergy and others, that he has been prevailed "upon to deliver another lecture, at the great "Room, in Courtland St., next Sunday evening, at six o'clock, that those who have publicly condemned his doctrine may have an opportunity of refuting them, after which he "hopes they will will cease to calumniate a person, who having truth for his object, has given "them repeated opportunities of contradicting "him. January 24. 2t."

On the first of February, the following article appeared on the newspapers:

"MESSRS. CHILDS & SWAINE. I was induced "from the advertisement in your paper, last week, "to attend Mr. Butler's lecture, and from the "number of his hearers, (if his doctrines are "erroneous,) the evil is truly alarming. I expected some person of abilities would have "step'd forward to confute so dangerous a doctrine, which, if suffered to be delivered, may



"produce the worst consequences. It is to be hoped some of the clergy will condescend to oppose this *Sole Mending Lecturer*. as I understand he intends lecturing again on next Sunday.

A LOVER OF TRUTH."

In the same papers, the following advertisement appeared :

"ADVERTISEMENT. As Mr. Butler intends lecturing again to-morrow, we hope the clergy will exert themselves to prevent his disseminating doctrines, which, if false, must, from the increasing number of his hearers, become very alarming."

On the fifth of February, the following communication appeared in the papers of the city :

"MESSRS. CHILDS & SWAINE. Having constantly attended Mr. Butler's lectures, and thought that, however his doctrines may be disapproved, his liberality must be admired, the circumstance of collecting money on my entrance last Sunday, now leads me to doubt the sincerity of his former professions. I take the liberty, therefore, of calling on him to inform the public how he reconciles such conduct with his declarations of not making a trade of religion, and shall make no comment on his principles or opinions till we have his reply. A. B."

On the following day, Mr. Butler thus responded to "A. B.":

"MESSRS. CHILDS & SWAINE. Observing in your paper of yesterday, an address signed 'A. B.' which accuses me of a dereliction of my former principles, I can confidently assure the public, that I was intirely ignorant of the circumstance alluded to, till informed of it by a friend in the room, and that I have not received any of the money there collected; and in order to vindicate my character, and principles, which I hope ever to preserve inviolate, I call upon Mr. Seely, the proprietor of the Room, publicly to state, by whose authority he adopted a measure to which I ever had the greatest aversion. Freely admitting the imposition complained of, and detesting the idea of making a trade of religion, I require an immediate answer of Mr. Seely, who has acted without my knowledge. JOHN BUTLER."

In the *Daily Advertiser* of the seventh of February, Mr. Seely thus answered Mr. Butler's demand:

"MESSRS. CHILDS & SWAINE. I saw in your paper of yesterday, Mr. Butler called on me to inform the public the reason of his receiving the money at the door of which he had given lectures.

"I do hereby inform the public that it was not Mr. Butler's direction, neither had he any profit thereby. But we had formerly left it

"to the generosity of the public, and made a collection in the room; but found their generosity such that they would split and tear *per my bills* in two and three pieces in order that each one might put in something; and that would not pay me for my room, fire, candle servants, etc., or enable me to pay my rent.

"They at sometimes collected 8s. sometimes 10s. and at no time collected sufficient to pay what Mr. Butler's friends engaged to pay me.

On the fourteenth of March, 1794, Mr. Butler published the following Card:

"UNITARIAN SOCIETY. As the clergy have generously invited Mr. Butler to a private conference, which he apprehends will be attended with no public benefit, he invites such of them as wish to avoid misrepresentations and answer him through the channel of a newspaper, to favor him with their attendance at his lecture room, next Sunday evening, and his object being to search the scriptures, and make public the arguments for and against his doctrine, he assures them that, notwithstanding one shilling each will be received from the rest of the company, they will be admitted gratis."

Two weeks later, Mr. Butler thus continued the contest, through the papers of the day:

"UNITARIAN SOCIETY. In consequence of the censures levelled at Mr. Butler's character and principles, by a certain divine of the Romish persuasion, he intends to deliver a lecture on Sunday evening, precisely at seven o'clock, when the pious father may attend, if he pleases, and confute the doctrines he so confidently condemns, or, if he be disposed to save trouble, Mr. Butler will wait upon him at his own place of worship, if he may be allowed the same privilege. ASSEMBLY ROOM, 27 March."

On the twenty-ninth of March, the following Card appeared in the public prints:

"TRUTH NEEDS NO DISGUISE. Though Mr. Butler's doctrine may be represented as dangerous, yet he cannot be accused of being illiberal, as he gives any one the liberty to convict him of error. Did Calvin, or Luther, act thus? Did Whitfield or Westly? Did the founder of our religion, or any promoter of a new doctrine, ever hold forth the privilege he does? Why then do not our Ministers embrace the opportunity he gives them? Why not confute his doctrines, if they know them to be false? To insult him in their pulpits is only to excite curiosity and advertise his principles. One of the arguments of this Unitarian orator is, that unless the clergy are kept like furniture upon a mantle-piece, more for ornament than utility, it is their business to confute him; and, that if they know him to be

"disseminating false principles, they are more culpable than he is, for suffering it. We hope, however, they may continue to merit the respect we have been taught to pay them, by a strict adherence to the duties of their office.

"To combat error is among the foremost. If they allow him to proceed, without attempting to answer him, it may lead to a presumption that they are deterred by the truth of what he advances, or that 'there is something rotten in the State of Denmark.'"

On the fourth of April, 1794, the newspapers contained the following article:

"UNITARIAN SOCIETY. Mr. Butler having given his reasons for fixing a price of admission to his lectures, and Mr. Bardin having a decided objection against a free entrance, he means to continue them on the same plan. As it has not been adopted with a view of concealing his principles, which he wishes to make as public as possible, but of securing, together with his expenses, a decent deportment in his hearers; he would wish it to be understood that ladies and children are to be admitted with gentlemen; and as pulpit declamations lead him to apprehend that his sentiments have been grossly misrepresented, he hopes that such of the clergy as may not be on duty, on Sunday evening, will accept of a friendly invitation to his lecture, in order that their own evidence may be their future guide."

On the eleventh of April there appeared the following

"ADDRESS TO TRINITARIANS."

"FRIENDS:

"Though my sentiments differ materially from those of your Clergy, yet I use no artifice to propagate them. If their's be true, they can surely disprove mine; and would it not be more to their credit than to insult your understandings by desiring you not to hear me? What would they say of me, if I were to act upon the same principle? Have I not promised to desist, if they convince me that I am in the wrong? And what more can they expect of me? Or what less could I have asked of them than an impartial hearing? But they observe not the golden rule: their works and their words have not corresponded. They are unwilling to be open to conviction; wise enough to perceive their mistake; but not candid enough to own it. Surely their characters have appeared to greater advantage, than upon the present occasion. If I have misled my hearers, could they display their wisdom to better purpose than to show my error? But, clothed with dignity, they would appear to disregard every remonstrance, and affect to treat with contempt

"every solid and rational argument. If then, you have any regard for truth, it becomes your duty to interfere. Tell them, justice requires that those who have publicly accused me of propagating false doctrine, should prove the fact or publicly retract the accusation. Tell them that if, after the invitations I have given, they suffer me to deliver tenets which they know to be dangerous, they only can be justly chargeable with the consequences; and tell them, also, that you allow them large salaries for defending the Truth; and that their alternative is, to confute my principles, if false, or to transfer their robes of office to worthier successors.

"JOHN BUTLER."

On the following day, [April 12, 1794] there appeared the following:

"UNITARIAN SOCIETY. Whether the absence of the clergy, last Sunday, may have been premeditated, or owing to previous engagements, is best known to themselves. Mr. Butler, however, informs them, and the public, that if they are prepared, his lecture-room will be open for their reception to-morrow evening; but if, in their superior judgment, it be unlawful to do good on the Sabbath, it remains with them to propose a more suitable time, and he hopes their respective Societies will not, in future, blame him, if in consequence of their neglect of duty, Unitarian principles should triumph over blind mysteries."

On the eighteenth of April, 1794, the following Card was published in the papers in New York.

"UNITARIAN SOCIETY. If the candid indulgence shown to the foreigner, who opposed certain of Mr. Butler's principles, last Sunday, should induce other opponents to come forward in future, he hopes they may also be induced to imitate that gentleman's liberality, and, as an English clergyman, who objected not to a tavern, but attended on two successive evenings, has been frank enough to declare his approbation of Mr. Butler's conduct in allowing free scope to fair argument, the clergy of this city will as frankly, perhaps, state their pious scruples to the public, or point out to them some impropriety in his several invitations. Those ladies and gentlemen who mean to honor him with their presence, next Sunday, will please to attend at a quarter past seven o'clock. ASSEMBLY ROOM, April 18th."

With the following Card, which appeared on the twenty-sixth of April, 1794, we dismiss the subject, since the extracts which we have presented, very clearly indicate that the "Unitarian Society" was an institution existing in the city of



New York, nearly a quarter of a century before the date assigned as its origin, by Doctor Sprague and other learned historians of the denomination :

"UNITARIAN SOCIETY. The gentleman who "promised to lecture next Sunday evening, is "obliged to decline in consequence of indisposition, but that the public may not be disappointed, Mr. Butler will attend as usual."

## VI.—THE GOSPEL PIONEER, IN WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA.

BY PROFESSOR E. F. ROCKWELL.

The wise man asks, "What can the man do that "cometh after the King? Even that which hath "been already done." The same may be asked in regard to the labors and researches of Doctors William Henry Foote and E. W. Caruthers, in gathering and recording facts and traditions connected with the early history of North Carolina, and especially that of the Presbyterian Church therein.

But we think that some other things of interest can be gleaned with regard to one name that filled a prominent place in our Church, a little more than a century ago—the name of one who was diligent and active, "in labors more abundant," from 1715 to 1753, but who disappeared from public view and sank into the grave, almost unnoticed and unknown in this then wilderness; and not a stone tells where he was buried.

We refer to the first missionary and gospel pioneer in Western North Carolina, Rev. John Thompson, who traversed this region before the days of M'Adden, M'Whorter, Spencer, Craighead, etc.

He was a native of Ireland, and came to New York, as a licentiate, with a family, in 1715. Soon after, he went to Lewes, in Delaware, and was ordained there in 1717. After a few years, for want of support, in 1729, he went to Newcastle, in the same State, and remained there only till 1732, when he removed to Chestnut Level. In 1739, being appointed by Donegal Presbytery to itinerate in the Valley of Virginia, he visited that region.

A call for his labors was presented to his Presbytery, by the congregation of Opequhon; and he requested a dismission from his charge, to remove to Virginia, but his request was not granted, nor was he released, till 1744, when he made his home in the Valley, being entrusted with the charge of missionary operations in Western Virginia. In fulfillment of the duties of his office, this same year, he for the first time visited North Carolina.

This must have been after May, of that year; for, in the Records of the Synod of Philadelphia,

we find that "A representation from *many people* of North Carolina, was laid before the "Synod, showing their desolate condition, and "requesting that Synod would take their estate in "consideration; and petitioning that we would "appoint one of our number to correspond with "them. *Ordered*, That Mr. John Thompson co "respond with them." What part of the State this petition came from, does not appear—in the part of it, the first settlements began between 1740 and 1750; and in Jones's *Defence*, it is said that the first settlers in Mecklenburg came in 1750. Mr. Foote says, "scattered settlements were "made along the Catawba, from Beattie's Fort "to Mason's, some time before the country be "came the object of emigration to any considerable extent, probably about the year 1740.

\* \* "By 1745, the settlements in what is now "Mecklenburg and Cabarrus-counties, were numerous; and about 1750, and onward, for a few "years, the settlements grew dense for a frontier, and were uniting themselves into congregations." \* It is probably, then, that the Evangelist visited, at that time, people who petitioned in Counties farther North and East, which would naturally be first occupied; although Wayne, Franklin, Caswell, Rockingham, etc., according to Doctor Caruthers, were not settled till about 1750.† But he also says that, "from 1745 to 1758 "the two Synods of Philadelphia and New York "appointed missionaries frequently to North Carolina, as well as to the other Provinces of the "South." Mr. Thompson did not probably remain long on that visit. Mr. Foote says that he was here at the time of his appointment; and he is recorded absent from Synod that year. That he was a prominent member of the Synod of Philadelphia, appears from his being appointed on important Committees to prepare papers, conduct correspondence, etc. Thus, in 1738, he was on a Committee to draft a letter in reply to a letter from the Synod, in Ireland. At the same Session he was on a Committee to draft instructions for another Committee to wait upon the Governor of Virginia, to procure the favor and countenance of the Government of that Province, in behalf of the Presbyterian settlers in the back parts of it. He was on the Commission of Synod, in 1739; and attended most of the meetings of Synod to the time of his death, in 1753.

He had no unimportant share in the division of 1741, into what was called "*The old side*," and "*The new side*." "He took an active and, in "some respects," says Doctor Hodge, "a very "mistaken part in opposition to Mr. Whitfield "and Mr. Tennent; yet no one can read his "writings without being impressed with respect

\* *Sketches of North Carolina*, 201.

† *Life of Caldwell*, 93.

"for his character and talents. And it is a gratifying fact that Mr. Tennent himself, after the excitement of controversy had subsided, came to speak of him in terms of affectionate regard. Indeed, were nothing known of these men but their controversial writings, the reader could hardly fail to think, that in humility, candor, and Christian temper, Mr. Thompson was greatly superior to his opponent.\*" He published several discourses and, in 1741, a pamphlet on Church Government, which was answered by Rev. Samuel Blair of New Londonderry, Pennsylvania. Of this answer,—called *A vindication of those opposed to Mr. Thompson*,—we have a copy. In 1742, he published a Sermon on the nature of Conviction for Sin and, in 1749, *An Explication of the Shorter Catechism*. Of this latter, we have often heard in the country above us, but have never seen a copy: in Webster's *History of the Presbyterian Church*, one is spoken of in the hands of Rev. B. M. Smith, D. D., at Union Seminary, Virginia.†

His descendants, in this region, have a tradition that he published something for the special benefit of his daughters, of whom he had three, his wife having died early. They probably allude to this Catechism. An old gentleman in this vicinity speaks of it as well known here in early times, and in common use.

And here, as the sentiments of the quotation are so valuable in themselves, and serve to show both the talents of the man and his piety, we cannot forbear to insert in this article, an ex-

\* *History of the Presbyterian Church*. Part I., Page 152.

† Doctor Smith has kindly furnished the title and a description of the Catechism—perhaps the only copy in existence; and which, as he says, belonged to his grandfather, an Elder in the old Cumberland Church, one of the oldest organized Churches in that part of Virginia. The title is:

"An  
"EXPlication  
"of the  
"SHORTER CATECHISM  
"Composed by the  
"Assembly of Divines  
"Commonly called the  
"Westminster Assembly:

"Wherein the several Ques and Ans of the sd S. C., are resolved, explained, &c., &c.

"By JOHN THOMPSON, A. M. & V. D. M.

"In the county of Amelia.

"WILLIAMSBURG:

"Printed by William Parks, MDCCLXIX."

He remarks that it is a plain but very full explication of the Shorter Catechism, somewhat after the manner of Fisher and Vincent. He has a long quotation in his Dedication, from the Preface of the latter. The explanations are sometimes so full as to forbid the idea that he expected them to be committed to memory; though the ideas and efforts of the folks of those times, on such matters, were far beyond ours. He gives an "APPENDIX I" containing the XXXIX. Articles, "reduced to the form of a Catechism in order to render them more easy and ready to be committed to memory;" an APPENDIX II. in which are The *Assertions of Lambeth*, agreed upon by the Archbishops, Bishops, &c. 1596, of which there are nine; and an APPENDIX III. in which are the Articles of the Church of Ireland, from XI to XXXVII, inclusive.

tract from his works on Church Government, made by Doctor Hodge, in his *History of the Presbyterian Church*, with his introductory remarks:\*

"As it has become common to speak in very disparaging terms of this gentleman, [Rev. J. Thompson], "and as he seems to have been a really good man, it is a pleasure and honor to be allowed to vindicate his memory. This can best be done by letting the reader see how he spoke of the state of religion in our Church and of the duty of Ministers, before the convulsion which unhappily tore the Church asunder. In these reflections, after describing the confusion and divisions which had begun to prevail, he said to his brethren: 'This matter belongeth unto us in a special manner—firstly, by virtue of our office and station; and again, because we have had a guilty hand in bringing in the evil: we should, therefore, strive and endeavor to have a prime and leading hand in healing and removing it. In order to this, I think these things are undoubtedly incumbent on us: First, that every one of us endeavor, with an impartial severity, to examine and look back upon our past conduct and behavior, as Christians and as Ministers of the Gospel, calling and setting our consciences to work, to compare our past behavior with the divine law. which is holy, spiritual, just, and good; weighing ourselves in the balances of the sanctuary, with the same exactness with which we expect to be weighed by our holy and impartial Judge, that we may be convinced how far we have come short of our duty, even of what we might have done, as Christians and Ministers for the glory of God, our own, and others' salvation; and especially how far we have come short of that exemplary piety, circumspection, and tenderness of walk and spiritualness of converse with others, which, as Ministers of the Gospel of Christ, we should have studied, as also how far we have failed in degree of love, care, zeal, and tender concern for the souls of men.

"2. Another thing incumbent on us is, that whatever our consciences lay to our charge in these matters, we confess the same before the Lord, and bewail them with grief and sorrow of heart, in deep humiliation, earnestly praying for pardon and resolving, in the strength of divine grace, to amend and reform all we find wanting or amiss in these or any other particulars, resolving still to grow in the exercise of every grace and the practice of holiness.

"3. Another thing incumbent on us is; that we labor to be possessed of an earnest care and concern for the salvation of our own souls;



“and particularly to make sure of a work of grace and regeneration in our own hearts, so as never to be at ease and quiet without some comfortable evidence of it, in the discernible exercise of grace in our hearts, together with the suitable genuine fruits of holiness in our lives.

“4. Let us earnestly labor to get our affections weaned from the world and all sublunary things, and to set them on things above, that our love to God and to our Lord Jesus Christ, our concern for his glory in the faithful performance of duty, and the promotion of the kingdom of grace, by the conversion and edification of souls, may so employ and take up our thoughts that all worldly interests may appear but empty trifles in comparison with these things. \* \* \* There is a great difference between preaching the gospel that we may get a living, and to desire a living that we may be enabled to preach the gospel. And happy is that Minister who is enabled cheerfully and resolutely to do the latter, and truly and effectually to avoid the former.

“5. Another thing to be endeavored by us, is to strive to suit our Gospel ministrations, not so much to the relish and taste, as to the necessities, of our people; and, in order thereto, to endeavor, by all proper means, to be acquainted with their spiritual state, as far as practicable by us; that knowing their diseases and wants, we may know how to suit our doctrine thereto. And, particularly, we should endeavor to bend our forces and to use our best skill to suit the prevalent distemper of this carnal and secure age, striving with all our might to rouse secure sinners and awaken them out of their sleep, and drowsy saints from their slumber and carnal security. For this purpose, we should not only assert and maintain the necessity of regeneration and converting grace, and of a righteous and godly walk, and of increase and advancement therein, but also endeavor to press the same home upon their consciences, with all earnestness, as if we saw them perishing and would gladly be the means of their deliverance.

“6. It would also contribute not a little to promote and revive a work of grace, if we could effectually revive congregational discipline, in order to convince sinners and make them ashamed of their scandalous outbursts. For I am afraid that most of us are too lax and remiss in this matter, so that the highest privileges of Christ's Church, I mean external privileges, are too often given to such whose conversation is very unsuitable to them.”

“These few extracts,” says Dr. Hodge, “will show the spirit of the work, and the manner in which the ‘notorious Thompson’ thought

“and wrote on these subjects. Such a man does not deserve to have his name cast out as evil.”

In 1745, he and Messrs. Alison, Steel, Griffith and McDowell were appointed on a Committee to draw up a plan of union to be presented to the Presbytery of New-York. This was presented, and we have it in the records of the Synod of Philadelphia, for that year; but it proved unsatisfactory to the New-York brethren, who proposed to erect an independant Synod. The same Committee was appointed to draw up an answer to this proposal; and they did so, and made their Report which was “approved.” At the same meeting, he was also appointed on other important Committees. Where he was for the next few years does not appear.

At the meeting of Synod, in 1749, a Thompson was present; but it was probably Samuel, for, in the course of the Session, the delegates of the Synod of New-York were present and conferred with them about a plan of union; and it was ordered that Mr. Griffith write to Mr. “Thompson, in Virginia, on this head,” though his name is not recorded among the absentees. He was present in May, 1750, and was appointed on a Committee to settle some difficulty at Brown Meeting-house, in Virginia, and also to loose an obligation of marriage, rashly entered into between a young man and woman, the former of whom was, it seems, culpable in the matter, and, by order of Synod, was publicly admonished by Mr. Thompson. It appears from the records of the next year, that he did not fulfill his appointment in Virginia, and was excused. He was absent from the fall meeting of that year; but was in attendance, for the last time, on the twenty-seventh of May, 1752, when his “last year's absence was excused for indisposition.” On the twenty-fourth of May, 1753, it was recorded that, “The Rev. Messrs. John Thompson and Hugh Conn, died since our last Synod;” and no further notice is taken of his death.

He is disposed of, in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, in a note of about ten lines in length.

We have mentioned, some distance back, that he had three daughters; one of these was married to a Rev. Mr. Zanche, who lived at Buffalo, Prince Edward, Virginia; and another to Roger Lawson, who removed from Iredell county, then Rowan, North Carolina, to Georgia—the ancestor of Roger Lawson Gamble, a man of some prominence in that State, a few years ago; and a connection of Judge Hugh Lawson White, of Tennessee. A third one, but the order of their ages is not known, by the name of Elizabeth, was married to a Mr. Baker, one of the oldest settlers on Davidson's creek, in the lower end of Iredell county, and in what was afterwards “Center Congregation,” near the road from Salisbury to Lincolnton,

by Beattie's Ford, and about five miles from the latter.

Now it appears from the traditions of the country, that he came out here to the house of his son-in-law, in the Summer of 1751, which explains in part why he was absent from the Fall meeting of Synod, in September of that year. He was the first Minister of the Gospel, probably, of any denomination, who visited this region, to preach. It is supposed he came at the solicitation of Moses Winslow, George Davidson, and other settlers on the same creek, in the vicinity of his son-in-law, who had known him in Pennsylvania. The latter was living in 1751, near the ford on that creek, on the road by Centre-church to Statesville. He seems to have come out here for the purpose of remaining; and hence it is difficult to understand a statement in Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina*, (page 213.) where he speaks of "Mr. Patillo and another young man who had engaged to go to Pennsylvania and commence their studies, under the care and tuition of the Rev. Mr. John Thompson, who was at this time [1751] in Carolina, on a mission to the new settlements. While waiting, in the Summer of 1751, for Mr. Thompson's return from Carolina, the young men who had engaged to go with Mr. Patillo to Pennsylvania, abandoned the design of preparing for the ministry."

Like the prophet of old, travelling to the Mount of God, the old man having fought a good fight and contended earnestly for the faith, in the middle States and Virginia, took his staff and came to lay a foundation where others had not been before him. An anecdote is told of his travelling from Prince Edward here on foot. At some house where he lodged, he inquired in the morning how his horse had fared during the night. The lady of the house replied that he had fared very well, she knew, for she had fed him with her own hands. He said to her, "Do not tell me a falsehood, my good lady, for that is all the horse I have," pointing to his staff. While here, he visited the new settlements around, within a radius of twenty miles, from home. He had a stand, as it is called, for preaching, at William Morrison's, near Concord-church, on Third-creek, six miles North-west of Statesville; another, in the bounds of what is now Fourth-creek church; another, in Third-creek congregation; another at Cathey's Meeting-house, Thyatira, ten miles from Salisbury; another, where was Osborne's Meeting-house; another, just below Davidson College, a little to the right of the road, near the lower end of the village, as you go South, where is now standing a large poplar tree, (*Liriodendron*) about twenty feet in circumference, a little above the ground, beneath which, according to tradition handed down by old men, they had preaching in the first settlement of the country; and some

commenced burying their dead there, in expectation of a church being erected on the spot. Probably he had another stand further South, in the region of Hopewell and Sugar-creek-churches. It is said that he went on his circuit on horseback, prepared to encamp wherever night overtook him—hoppling his horse, and turning him loose to feed upon the abundant and luxurious pea-vines which continued green nearly all winter.

People in these new settlements went great distances to his appointments; sometimes, it is said, he had twenty infants to baptize at one service.

He made these circuits, and justly, sources of profit to himself, by looking out and having surveyed for himself, tracts of the best land, which he conveyed to his friends for a small consideration, as they emigrated hither. The Deed from him, for a tract of six hundred and forty acres on Fifth-creek, about five miles East of Statesville, to the father of the Rev. James Hall, D.D., is in our possession, witnessed by his daughter, Elizabeth Baker: nine pounds Virginia currency, about thirty dollars, is the consideration mentioned in this Deed. In it, mention is made of two other tracts surveyed for him, on the same creek. The date is February, 1752. The place where Colonel Thomas A. Allison now lives, on Fourth-creek,\* three miles from Statesville, was surveyed for him, in 1751.

We have spoken above of his making his home with his son-in-law, Baker: but the latter was not a man of such habits as to be always agreeable society to the aged preacher, for we must suppose that he was at least sixty years old by 1753; and he had a cabin built a little distance from the house, in which he spent most of his time, when at home. And, at length, where he studied and prayed, there he died; and where he gave up the ghost, there, under the floor of his cabin, as in the case of the great impostor, Mohammed, "he was piously interred, by the hands of his nearest kinsman, on the same spot on which he expired."† And where he was buried, there he will be raised at the last day; but no one now knows the very spot—no monument was erected. An old lady, Mrs. White, who died a few years ago, could point out the part of the grave-yard in which he was laid; but not the exact spot. This was the beginning of what is known in this day, as Baker's grave-yard—one of the oldest in this region. The matter of building a church near the spot seems never to have been agitated;

\* These Creeks are affluents of the South Yadkin; and are reckoned, First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, going West from Salisbury.

† *Student's Gibbon*, 465. It is said that Doctor James Muir of the District of Columbia was at his own request buried in a grave thirteen feet deep under his own pulpit.



though it is a very uncommon thing for Presbyterians to deposit their dead, except where there is, or is expected to be, a church erected; but most of the families in the neighborhood began to bury by the side of the grave of the man of God; and they have, in many cases, continued to do so until the present day; though it is not on any public road, and a stranger might pass along quite near it, without knowing the vicinity of the sacred spot. The names of Brevard, Winslow, Wilson, Courier, McConnel, Givens, Lawson, White, etc., are here found on the monuments.

His daughter, who married a Baker, had a family of five children; and her husband died soon after her father. One of her sons inherited the farm, and occupied the homestead for a time; when he, with other members of the family, migrated to the South-west. At the close of the late War, some young men, who had been in the Army in Virginia, descendants of the family, came through the country to visit the old spot, *cunabula gentis*, of which nothing now remains but the cellar of the original dwelling-place, the house being transferred to the opposite side of the creek.

Mrs. Baker can hardly have remained long a widow, for she married, for her second husband, Charles Harris of Cabarrus-county; and, in addition to her former family, had two sons. The elder of these, Samuel Harris, went to Princeton-college, and was graduated there in 1787; taught school, for a time afterward, in the Clio Academy, in Iredell-county, North Carolina; returned to Princeton; and officiated as Tutor in the College, where he died, in 1789. The second son, Charles, was born in 1762, and became the late Dr. Charles Harris, a physician of great repute in his day—the father of the present Charles J. and William Shakespeare Harris, who are among the most respectable citizens of the County. Mr. Harris died on the fourth of July, 1776; and his wife a few weeks afterwards.

It seems strange that a man of so much talents, piety, and usefulness; so prominent in the history of the Presbyterian church in this country, should thus have passed out of view, and the very place of his burial remain so long unknown—Webster's *History of the Presbyterian Church* quotes Dr. Alexander as saying, "He lies in 'Buffaloe' [Virginia] 'graveyard, without a 'stone.'"

Mr. Foote, the author of *Sketches of North Carolina*, when preparing that volume, seems not to have known the place, though he must have often passed along the public road within a short distance of it—a cultivated field lies between it and the road leading from Salisbury to Lincoln-

sent out by the Synod of Philadelphia, in 1753, with special directions to pay attention to the vacancies, in North Carolina, *between the Yadkin and Catawaba-rivers*. This would exactly cover the ground occupied by Mr. Thompson. That year, Rev. Hugh McAdden was graduated at Princeton-college; and, in 1755, he was licensed and came through this region of country on a missionary tour—he kept a journal of his travels and of the places he visited, a part of which is given in Foote's *Sketches*.

From this we learn that he passed South, and returned again within two miles of Mr. Thompson's grave; lodged repeatedly in the neighborhood; and preached at some of the same places as Mr. Thompson, in his circuit, yet makes no allusion to his predecessor, who had so recently died.\* But we presume that most, if not all, the missionaries who came to build on his foundation were men who sympathised in opinion with the *New-side*; while he was the hated and maligned leader of the *Old*. The troubles of the Indian and French Wars, for a time, occupied a good deal of attention: there were no religious newspapers; and few papers of any kind were published in the country. Soon, also, the disturbances and calamities of the old Revolutionary War came on.

Born by the side by the river Foyle, in the North of Ireland, where he first opened his eyes on the world, he closed them, in the wilderness, on the banks of the Catawaba: an ocean rolls between his cradle and his grave, an emblem of his stormy life. Ireland gave him birth; Iredell-county a grave; the heavenly Jerusalem a final rest.

E. F. R.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

## VII.—CORRECTIONS OF HISTORICAL ERRORS.

### THE MORGAN EXCITEMENT AND THE ANTIMASONIC PARTY.

The following articles—an introductory by Horace Greeley and a statement by Henry O'Rielly—have reference to some remarkable episodes in the history of the State of New York. Their relations extend farther indeed, for they concern the "Morgan Excitement," as it was called, which formed the occasion and the basis of that remarkable organization, in other States as well as New York, under the title of "The Antimasonic Party"—a party that held the balance of power in this State, by controlling large majorities, for several years, in nearly all the Counties West of Cayuga Lake, and that likewise largely influenced the partisan movements in Pennsylvania.

\* See *Sketches*, 167, 168, etc.

nia: a party, too, in which Governor Seward, Lieutenant-governor Bradish, Mr. Thurlow Weed, Ex-president Fillmore, Thaddeus Stevens, and other well-known gentlemen, acquired early prominence.

It would be well for history if all writers would emulate the example of Mr. Greeley in thus promptly acknowledging their errors, occasioned by defective information. Frank recantations increase, rather than diminish, the public confidence in such writers. Now is the time, while men are yet living, who know the facts, to prevent or correct errors by giving their reminiscences, fortified by facts and cotemporaneous statements, wherever practicable. It is, or should be, a leading object with Historical Societies and Historical Magazines to encourage discussion about matters that have any bearing on the public annals, on important institutions, on political affairs, and on the action of Governments, State or Federal. In all these respects, the "Morgan "Excitement" and the Anti-masonic Party, now matters of a past age, are deserving of careful critical research, that the facts may go down to future times with the weight and warnings of authentic history.

H. O'R.

[MR. GREELEY'S INTRODUCTORY.]

From the *New York Daily Tribune*.

We print, on another page, a very interesting reminiscence of the politics and personalities of forty years ago, by Messrs. Henry O'Reilly and Luther Tucker, who deem themselves aggrieved by a certain account of the "good-enough Morgan" libel-suits of Mr. Thurlow Weed, given by Mr. Greeley in his *Recollections of a Busy Life*.

Of course, there is no ground of claim that *The Tribune* ought to print this reminiscence; but its interest is its sufficient recommendation.

We offer no comments; and neither affirm nor dispute the correctness of Mr. O'Reilly's version of the matter in controversy: we simply observe that our *Recollections* are not in accord with Mr. O'Reilly's, as will be seen; but there are strong intrinsic probabilities that his understanding of the facts is better than ours.

[LETTER OF MESSRS. O'RIELLY AND TUCKER, REFERRED TO ABOVE.]

*LIBEL-SUITS CONCERNING THE "GOOD  
"ENOUGH MORGAN," &c.*

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TRIBUNE:

SIR: In the thirty-second number of your *Recollections of a Busy Life*, as published in *The New York Ledger*, allusions are made to the alleged libels concerning the means whereby Timothy Monroe's corpse was temporarily represented as the body of Captain William Morgan, in 1827,

forty-one years ago. Although you allude particularly to some *suits for damages* instituted by Mr. Thurlow Weed, against several editors, for alleged libels concerning his connection with that affair, your remarks are understood by some persons as covering *all* the legal proceedings concerning that extraordinary case. Though you have not named the undersigned, your censure seemingly includes us; as we first published particulars and strictures on that subject, for some of which strictures we were *indicted*, before other editors were prosecuted in *civil suits for damages*, by Mr. Weed.

The documents and other papers lately shown you prove that it was not an ordinary *civil* suit, for libel, which Mr. Weed instituted against us—the one as editor, the other as publisher, of *The Rochester Daily Advertiser*, at that time. Mr. Weed was then editor of *The Anti-masonic Inquirer* and one of the "Morgan Committee" which disinterred that corpse for a *second* inquest, after it had been buried, under the *first* inquest, as "the body of an unknown man," found on the shore of Lake Ontario, near the mouth of Oak Orchard-creek, about midway between Rochester and the Niagara-river.

The further investigation, caused by what was supposed to be unfair transactions on the part of some managers of the *second* inquest, which represented the corpse to be that of Captain Morgan, led to another disinterment of the corpse, for the purpose of holding a *third* inquest—which last inquest was held openly, in the grave-yard at Batavia, where it had been buried; and the verdict of the Coroner's jury was, that the corpse was the body of Timothy Monroe, who was accidentally drowned, a short time before, in the Niagara-river.

Our reports of, and comments on, those *three inquests* over that ill-fated corpse, particularly on the manner in which the *second* inquest was conducted, furnished the groundwork for the *indictment* against us and for the *civil suits for damages* which Mr. Weed instituted against two or three other journalists.

The importance of our reports and strictures concerning the aforesaid inquests was shown in reference particularly to the lives and liberties of probably fifty men and to the cause and truth of justice, generally. Had it not been for the *third and last inquest*, which we were instrumental in causing to be held, all those men then accused of connection with the *abduction* would have been liable to prosecution for alleged privy to the *murder* of Morgan, if this corpse had been allowed to remain, undisturbed, as the reputed body of that celebrated personage.

The grounds of controversy were thus most serious. Allegations, frequently made, that all these controversies and libel-cases arose from the



perversion of a jocular remark of Mr. Weed about "a good-enough Morgan till after election," are utterly false, as the records of the extraordinary transactions, now before us, sufficiently prove.

The records of the Courts, the proceedings of inquests, and the statements of newspapers, during several years, in regions where most of the transactions were tolerably well understood, show that neither of the undersigned was responsible for the strange delay of *thirteen years* in bringing the indictment against us to a final issue. That indictment was procured against us by Mr. Weed, in 1828; and it was not brought into Court, for final action, till 1841—a delay as extraordinary as was the alleged cause of the indictment. Ex-lieutenant-governor, Henry R. Selden, yet living, and honored wherever he is known, was one of our Counsel in this important case; and his abstract of the records of the Courts, for several years, is now before us, along with the testimony on which the Court at Rochester, in 1841, decided that neither of us should then be held answerable for an alleged libel under the indictment found so long (thirteen years) previous; especially as we showed that, during that long period, we had early been prepared for trial, and that, during the long delay, several of the most important witnesses had died, and others removed beyond the jurisdiction of the Court and beyond the knowledge of the Defendants.

As allusion has been made to the *partisan* character of Judges, as tending to counteract justice in these matters, it may be well to add that no political influence operated; for a majority of the Judges who quashed the thirteen-year-old indictment against us were the political friends and associates of Mr. Weed.

In justice to the subject generally, as well as to ourselves, we should add here, that we have now before us, in the handwriting of ex-Vice-chancellor Whittlesey, a distinguished political associate and friend of Mr. Weed, a form of recantation, prepared by him, to which he asked our signatures, with the assurance that, if we would sign the paper in favor of Mr. Weed, the indictment, which had then been pending against us for five or six years, should be annulled or never brought to trial, and we thus freed from further expense or trouble. But neither of us would sign that recantation; we asserting then, and at all other proper times, that we had been, then were, and would continue to be, ready to vindicate our course on a trial of the indictment, whenever properly notified, with sufficient time for collecting witnesses, and if ill-health (which in one case prevented us from attending Court) did not again interfere. As the prosecution against us was by *indictment*, the public, and not Mr. Weed, would have had to pay the expense

of *his* vindication, if Mr. Weed had brought the matter to trial at any time before the main witnesses died—an advantage that we Defendants could not enjoy. It was, of course, beyond *our* power to delay, for thirteen years, the trial of that indictment, if the Prosecution moved for trial in the ordinary way, and with something like the usual speed.

Without going into particulars, at least for the present, we respectfully submit to you these brief explanations. Having long forborne from reference to these controversies, we write now to request that, for the above-mentioned and other reasons, we may not be considered as included in your general allusion to Defendants in libel-cases where editors are concerned.

Respectfully yours,

HENRY O'RIELLY of New York, and

LUTHER TUCKER of Albany,

Formerly connected with *The Rochester Daily Advertiser*.

#### VIII.—EVACUATION OF TICONDEROGA, IN 1777.

READ BY HENRY HALL, ESQ., OF RUTLAND, BEFORE THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AT BRATTLEBORO, JULY 17, 1862.

Of all the disasters that befel the American arms during the Revolutionary War, perhaps none produced more immediate consternation throughout America, or more triumphant exultation in England, than the evacuation of the Forts of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, by the American Army, under St. Clair, and their occupation by the British Army, under Burgoyne, on the sixth of July, 1777.

John Adams wrote, "We shall never be able "to defend a post till we shoot a General." In England the War was believed to be virtually over.

With the history of Ticonderoga, the fame of the Green Mountain Boys is mingled forever. But our *State* pride, in its quick capture by Ethan Allen and his eighty-three Vermonters, in the gray dawn of a May morning, 1775, before its sleepy British commander had even learned the birth of a new Nation on this Continent, was followed by deep *National* humiliation at its astounding loss, two years later. The loss of Ti.; the retreat through Rutland and Bennington-counties, of most of the American Army; the Battle of Hubbardton; and the virtual military occupation of Rutland-county by the British, until redeemed, forty days later, by the Battle of Bennington, all give to us an interest in that Summer's history, scarcely equalled by any since our State was settled; yet, on the pages of history, events are mentioned so briefly, so vaguely,

and with so many contradictory accounts, that their very name has flushed our brows with conflicting pride and mortification.

In the early part of this century, it was proposed to raise a monument to commemorate the stubborn valor of Francis, Warner, and others, at Hubbardton; but the proposition elicited some ridicule as to the propriety of *memorizing a defeat*; and the project was abandoned, until the citizens, in the immediate vicinity, in 1859, erected a neat marble obelisk on a site, it is believed, actually a little North of the battle-ground.

As an instance illustrating our State's unfamiliarity with its own history, we notice that the two laws chartering "The Hubbardton Battle Monument Association"—laws which passed two Houses and two Senates and were signed by one Governor of the State—describes the Battle as having occurred on the second, instead of the seventh, of July—a very trivial mistake of *only* five days, which will not materially disturb the repose or mar the renown of the dead; but, as we exchange copies of our legislative doings, with American and European States, it is mildly suggestive of remarks and smiles, not excessively complimentary to the land of school-houses.

John Burgoyne—the natural son of Lord Bingley, in 1762, commander of the British forces in Portugal; in 1775, a British General in Boston; in 1777, conqueror at Ti. and prisoner at Saratoga: in Parliament, obtaining only a partial trial, and uttering a fervid speech in favor of Lord Holland's Bill legalizing the inter-marriage of nobles and commoners; snubbed by the Ministry for his success—published an elaborate defense of his American Campaign; was author of three comedies, *The Heiress*, *Bon Ton*, and *The Maid of the Oaks*. He was possessed of fair capacity; was brave, courteous, literary, morbidly proud, and sensitive as to his birth: of a restless ambition and excessive vanity.

Arthur St. Clair, born at Edinburg, Scotland, in 1734, came to this country when twenty-one years of age. In 1775, having a family and an ample fortune, he enters the Army; becomes Colonel, Brigadier and Major-general; he wins only laurels in Canada; at Princeton and Brandywine, is by the side of Washington, whose confidence he never loses; in 1777, subjected to the grossest suspicions upon his courage, capacity, and honor; in 1787, President of Congress; in 1788, Governor of the Territory Northwest of the Ohio-river; in 1791, terribly and ingloriously defeated by the Indians; he died in 1818, at Philadelphia, aged eighty-four; his last years were years of poverty and destitution, an unsuccessful petitioner to Congress for the repayment of the money which he had so opportunely and generously expended for his adopted country. We admire and sympathize with the brave, capa-

ble, scholarly and upright Scotchman, who, perhaps, lacked high military tact. He not only shared the fortune of all good men in being buffeted by detraction in his life; but as, in the East, the buried dead are mutilated by the hyena, so, since his death, his fame has been mangled by that weak, flippant falsifier of history, J. T. Headley.

Seth Warner, born in Woodbury, Connecticut, in 1743, at the age of twenty came with his father to Bennington; became the sturdiest leader of the early settlers against the Yorkers; in 1775, leader of a Regiment of Green-mountain Boys into Canada; a necessary and principal contributor to the victory at Bennington; active throughout the War; in 1782, he returns to his native town, having, according to his epitaph, fought sixteen battles; racked with disease until bereft of reason, he dies there, in 1784, in the forty-second year of his age, leaving a widow and three children destitute of property, his moderate patrimony having been consumed while he was in the service of his country. In 1787, the Vermont Legislature gave to his heirs two thousand acres of land, in the North-west part of the County of Essex—that section of the County remaining mostly unsettled, the land has never become of much value. Of all the early heroes of Vermont, the memory of none is enshrined deeper in the popular esteem, for cool unswerving courage, self-denying patriotism, natural ability, than that of Seth Warner.

Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, leaving England on the twenty-seventh of March, 1777; at St. Johns, on the sixteenth of June; enters Lake Champlain with an Army of seven thousand five hundred admirably-equipped and disciplined British and German soldiers, officered by Brigadier-generals, the indefatigable Fraser, the distinguished Powell and Hamilton, and the Brunswick, Baron Reidesel; his far-famed train of brass artillery, being commanded by General Phillips, who had gained great reputation in the wars in Germany; altogether constituting an Army in whose officers and men the British Nation gloried, for their past renown, the brilliant eclat of their present appearance, and its sanguine promise as the annihilator of American Independence.

Arriving at the river Boquet, a little North of Crown Point, on the twenty-first of June, Burgoyne entertains about four hundred Indians, of different tribes, with a feast, rum, and a *hifalutin* speech—the latter being intended to excite them to kill as many Americans as possible, but to tomahawk and scalp them *when it wouldn't hurt* and, if *entirely convenient*, not to kill the women and children; hoping, if it failed, as he feared it would, with the savages, it might fool Christendom and ward off the indignant execration of the world against the inhuman monstrosity of



employing such infernal means to reclaim their *dearly-beloved Christian American cousins*.

Stopping three days at Crown Point, to erect a magazine and other works; dispatching several hundred soldiers and Indians, by way of Otter-creek, to Skenesborough; his army increased by a few hundred Canadians and Indians; his fleet of frigates, gunboats and other vessels commanding the Lake; Burgoyne, at the head of his main Army, on the West side of the Lake, the German reserve, under Baron Reidesel, on the East, marches through the astonished wilderness, in magnificent array.

On the first of July, he arrives within four miles of Ti.; entrenches his camp and throws a boom across the Lake; these last acts cheating St. Clair into a brief belief of Burgoyne's weakness. But Burgoyne advances his works, nearer and nearer; and, on the second day of July, he seizes and fortifies Mount Hope, overlooking the American works, only half a mile distant, and entirely cutting off St. Clair from any further communication with Lake George.

On the fourth of July, he celebrates the first anniversary of our national Declaration of Independence, by issuing a magniloquent Proclamation, therein inviting the benighted Americans to allow themselves to be conquered easy, or to meet the stupendous vengeance of the whole omnipotent British Nation, in general, and of Lieutenant-general John Burgoyne and the Indians, in particular. To this, a young American officer wrote a reply, for circulation among our own soldiers, commencing "Most high and mighty, 'most puissant and sublime General'"—as a specimen of which we extract the following sentence: "The mountains shook before thee, and 'the trees of the forest bowed their heads; the 'vast lakes of the North were chilled at thy presence, and the mighty cataracts stopped their 'tremendous career and were suspended in awe 'at thy approach."

Major-general St. Clair takes command of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, about the middle of June, so little anticipating any serious fight that he had taken with him his son, about eleven years of age, that he might superintend his education. Before St. Clair's arrival, the enemy had made a hostile demonstration, from the North end of the Lake. General Poor informed General Gates of this, and also that he learned they were soon to come up the Lake, with their whole Army. General Gates wrote to General Poor "that he had the strongest assurances 'from Congress that the King's troops were all 'ordered round to New York;" and desired General Poor "to be getting everything in readiness, 'that if the enemy went out of one door, we 'must enter the other." \* \* \* "that the 'intelligence he had, from a spy, corroborated 'the sentiment of Congress."

A Council of War, including General Schuyler, held on the twentieth of June, believing that with their few troops it would require six weeks work to complete the the necessary obstructions in the Lake, besides the great amount of labor necessary to complete the fortifications, decide, among other things, that "it is prudent to provide for a re-treat." So remiss were the Commissaries in supplying the northern Forts with necessary provisions, that Schuyler said he believed it would do the public a service to hang one of the department.

Schuyler returning to Fort Edward, St. Clair employs several hundred soldiers to hurry on the fortifications, under the supervision of the illustrious Pole, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, who, with the rank of Lieutenant-colonel, was Assistant-engineer in the Northern Department.

Placed in a Fort, which the nation fondly believed to be impregnable, with a force consisting of twelve Regiments averaging little over two hundred effective men each, two of which Regiments were Massachusetts militia, encumbered with over five hundred sick, ordered to defend defective works, which, if completed, required, in the opinion of Gates and Schuyler, ten or twelve thousand men, none of whom should be militia, having reported the place to be indefensible, receiving no authority from Congress to vacate the place and no promise of reinforcements, St. Clair had no alternative but to work with all his strength, and bravely meet his fate.

The old French lines at Ticonderoga had been materially augmented; and the whole were connected, by a floating bridge, boom, and chain, nearly one quarter of a mile long, with Mount Independence, a high, circular, stony hill, situated in Orwell, Vermont, with a stockaded, star fort, partially out of repair, on its summit, a battery on its side, and other works at its foot.

St. Clair, hearing from "Hoite of Otter-creek," that a party of the enemy had taken a pair of oxen from one of the inhabitants and driven them two miles above Middlebury Falls, and there ate them, on the twelfth of June, sends out Colonel Seth Warner to rouse the settlers on Otter-creek, to drive back these marauders and then reinforce Ticonderoga. On the twenty-sixth of June, Commissary Yancey sends to Ticonderoga, twenty cattle bought by him at *Parlett*; and, the next day sends over thirty bought by Commissary Avery, at Manchester.

Meanwhile, St. Clair is sorely perplexed, as to the number and designs of the enemy, by the contradictory reports of his scouts, sent down each side of and upon the Lake, and of the prisoners and spies from Canada.

Henry Brockholst Livingston—twenty years later Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, then in the twentieth year of his age, with

the rank of Lieutenant-colonel, Aid to Schuyler, whom he had accompanied to Ticonderoga—writes to Schuyler “we cannot see that they [*the enemy*] “have brought many Regulars with them. “at least, the number of red-coats in the boats is “very small.” \* \* \* “I cannot but esteem “myself fortunate that indisposition prevented “my returning with you, as it has given me an “opportunity of being present at a battle, in “which I promise myself the pleasure of seeing “our Army flushed with victory.”

St. Clair, having sent his son to Lake George, at last sees the British Army approaching, filling the forests with their brilliant uniforms, glittering steel, and waving plumes, and waking the long-slumbering echoes of wood and lake with stirring sounds of

“Trump and drum and roaring culverin.”

Many of his sick and all of the stores remaining at the Landing, on the North end of Lake George, having been sent South, St. Clair, on the second day of July, burns the block-house, saw-mills, and other works at the Landing; and then, in helpless impotence, is obliged, by the weakness of his garrison, to remain within his lines and, without the power to prevent it, see the enemy plant battery after battery, in positions only half a mile distant, and entirely commanding his own fortifications—the American cannonading meanwhile so innocent, the British do not even reply to it.

A Convention had been called, to meet at Windsor, on the second day of July, 1777, to frame a Constitution for the new State of Vermont, which had declared itself free and independent, on the sixteenth day of January previous—a date which, I am ashamed to say, is almost unknown to and utterly unhonored by Vermonters—and, if it be proper for so recent a member of so venerable a Society, I would suggest, that, hereafter, when convenient, the Winter Sessions of the Society be called so as to commemorate the date of our State's Declaration of Independence; at which time a paper illustrating that hitherto-obscurely-known event, might be very properly read.

Colonel Warner having left Ticonderoga for the Green Mountains, as before mentioned, let us so far follow him as to read a letter by him to that Convention.

[COPY OF COLONEL SETH WARNER'S LETTER]

“RUTLAND THE 2D OF JULY, 1777.

“*To the Hon. Convention now sitting at Windsor, in the State of Vermont.*

“GENTLEMEN:

“I have last evening received an Express from “the General Commanding at Ticonderoga, who “informs me that the enemy have come on with

“seventeen or eighteen gunboats, two large ships, “several sloops, and other craft, and lie at the three- “mile point, and the General expects an attack “every hour—the enemy have put to land on said “point, and have had a skirmish, but the General “informs me to no great purpose, orders me to “send for the militia to join him as soon as pos- “sibly they can get there from this State and the “Massachusetts and New Hampshire. I have “sent an Express to Colonel Simons, went of last “night—Colonel Robinson, and Colonel Wil- “liams is now at Hubbardton waiting to be join- “ed by Colonel Bellows who is now with me. “When the whole join they will make in num- “ber about seven or eight hundred men. I “know not where to apply but to you to raise “the militia on the East side of the mountain; “shall expect that you send us all the men that “can possibly be raised; and that you will do “what lies in your power to supply the troops at “Ticonderoga with beef as if the siege should be “long they will absolutely be in want of meat “kind except the country exert themselves—if “forty or fifty head of cattle could be brought “on with the militia they will be paid by the “Commissary on their arrival.

“The safety of that post consists much on “the exertions of the country, the lines are so “much in want of men. I should be glad that “a few hills of corn unhoed should not be a “motive sufficient to detain men at home, consid- “ering the loss of such an important post can “hardly be recovered.

“I am, Gentlemen, with the greatest respect, “your most obedient and very humble servant,  
“SETH WARNER.

“P. S. I am this moment agoing to mount “my horse in company with Colonel Bellows for “Ticonderoga.

“I left Colonel Robinson at Hubbardton this “morning.

“That you may have wisdom to conduct in “the business for which you are called togeth- “er is the prayer of  
S. W.”

St. Clair, for several days and nights, scarcely undressing or sleeping—everywhere present, early and late, directing and cheering his Army—is ap- palled, on Saturday morning, the fifth of July, by seeing a legion of red-coats on the summit of Sugar Hill or Fort Defiance, less than a mile South of Ti. and Mount Independence. One day more, and a battery would be playing upon his works, and he entirely surrounded, except about half a mile South of Mount Independence, between the Lake and East-creek. Without authority from Congress or Schuyler to abandon the place, he calls a Council of War, consisting of Major-general St. Clair, Brigadier-generals John Patter- son, Enoch Poor, and De Roche Fermoy, and



Colonel-commandant Pierre Long. Although re-inforced that day, by Warner and nine hundred militia, there was no probability that they could long defend the Forts. There was no prospect of relief from Schuyler, who was at Fort Edward, with only three thousand men, almost destitute of powder, lead and provisions. One day more would cut off their only avenue for escape. About three o'clock, P. M., they decided, unanimously, to evacuate the Forts that night—two o'clock A. M., being the time appointed for their departure—the two Massachusetts Regiments, meanwhile, clamorous to go home, alleging that their time would expire in two days. But how could thirty-five hundred men, with their sick and all their stores, retreat from inside of a large and sanguine Army, in a short, moonlight, July night, with scarcely seven hours of nominal darkness, without being heard by wakeful British sentry or seen by sleepless Indian eyes.

The officers were to make all possible preparations, without disclosing to their men, the intention to retreat.

St. Clair, at nine o'clock in the evening, sends his Aid, Major Dunn, to order General Fermoy, commanding at Fort Independence, to land all the stores into the bateaux, on the East side of the Mountain. Crossing over from Ti. to the Mountain, after midnight, St. Clair finds *General and Army sound asleep*; and sends Colonel Baldwin, to awake the sleepy French General.

Soon after, Major Dunn finds three hundred or four hundred men, carrying down stores and loading the boats, "but for want of proper order and attention, from General Fermoy, everything appears in the greatest confusion."

At midnight, young Wilkinson, afterward Brigadier-general, delivers the orders to strike tents at Ti., General Poor superintending, with vigilance and energy. At two o'clock, A. M., St. Clair leaves Ti., all the stores, except the heaviest cannon, having been removed from that side of the lake; and the troops begin crossing the bridge, over to the Vermont side.

The wind had been blowing all night, raving so fiercely that the boats had been almost unmanageable and unservicable, thereby preventing the departure, at the appointed time; but every light from fire and candle had been extinguished; the sentinels challenged no person within the works; the trunnions were not knocked off the cannon for fear of noise; and everything had been managed so noiselessly, and the enemy had been so unalert, that they had been, as yet, unobserved, although the men at the boats, from want of sleep, the storm on the lake, and lack of proper orders, were cross and in confusion.

Major Dunn testified before the Court Martial, on St. Clair's trial, that General Fermoy "set

"fire to his house" on Mount Independence, about three o'clock in the morning.

The consequences of this act of folly, worse than madness, and, if of crime, deserving of enduring infamy, were soon apparent. The flames, led by the furious wind, raised high and cast a strong light along the sides of the mountain and over the lake, revealing, at last, to the enemy, a large share of the American forces still in sight hurrying across the bridge and down the hill in disorder and confusion.

Colonel Long and his Regiment, with five armed gallies and seventy bateaux loaded with stores and invalids, leaves the mountain before the dawn, sailing up the shallowed Lake, toward Skenesborough, in fancied security and real gaiety—the officers knocking off the necks of the bottles of wine, merrily drink a pleasant reveille to General Burgoyne—their sense of security being founded on the supposed strength of the floating bridge, boom and chain, they little dreaming that, before that sultry Sabbath's sun should set, all their vessels would be destroyed or captured.

About four o'clock, the rear-guard of the American Army, about four hundred and fifty strong, under Colonel Francis, leave Mount Independence, in good order, greeted by the harmless cannon-balls of the enemy. St. Clair, aided by General Poor, soon restores order; and the American Army goes streaming in file, or by platoons, when practicable, down a newly-cut, bad, rough road, through dense woods, towards Castleton.

The news of the loss of Ti. shocked the Nation. St. Clair was the object of universal condemnation. Cries of cowardice, imbecility and treason filled the land. A Committee of Congress was appointed to investigate the matter; and, like a Grand Jury they, collected evidence only against him, on the popular charges.

In 1778, he was court-martialed; and, after a trial of several weeks duration, he was "unanimously acquitted of each and every Charge, 'with the highest honor,' by a Court of which General Lincoln was President. Looking back from our times to the memorable Campaign of 1777, we do not wonder at St. Clair's temporary loss of popularity, so generally and grossly wrong were the estimates of the strength of the Forts and the resources under his command.

Our esteem for St. Clair has been much increased by an investigation into the details of his history: astonished and grieved, we deplore the apparent necessity or military exigency which must have controlled in the appointment, to a Brigadier-generalship, of such a stupid Frenchman as De Roche Fermoy.

# IX.—INCIDENTS CONNECTED WITH THE HISTORY OF THE ARMY OF THE TENNESSEE.

FROM THE DIARY OF ONE OF ITS OFFICERS.

(The author of the following Diary was Captain (afterwards Lieutenant-colonel) F. B. TRESSILIAN, U. S. V., Aide-camp and Engineer on the Staff of Major-general JOHN A. LOGAN.

He was a man of uncommon ability and courage; never at a loss; and competent to produce great results, with what to ordinary men would have proved utterly insufficient means. He was a very warm friend; and as a memento of his regards, copied out the following from his Diary to oblige Major-general DE PEYSTER, who has never neglected an opportunity to collect such reminiscences of the great American conflict. It is almost a misfortune for the future historian that Colonel TRESSILIAN did not, at least, set in order his recollections of the decisive Battle of SHILOH, but more particularly of the Siege of Vicksburg, in which he played a conspicuous part, actually converting stumps into mortars, and on another occasion building a bridge out of telegraph wire, when military-professionals were non-plussed at the absence of what they deemed suitable, or necessary, material.

J. W. DE P.]

On the tenth day of September, 1862, I arrived at Camp Butler, Sangamon-county, Illinois. This camp of instruction was situated on the margin of Clear Lake, six miles from the city of Springfield, and beautifully located. The lake, about one mile in length, bounded the Camp on the North, on the East, and West; a beautiful level prairie, stretching, unbroken, for miles, afforded an excellent opportunity for exercising and drilling the troops; while the lake afforded excellent bathing facilities to the men.

On my arrival, Captain Pitcher was in command of the Post and acted in the capacity of mustering-officer. Stationed on the ground were fragments of the Seventeenth, Colonel Leonard F. Ross; Forty-third, Colonel Julius Raith; Forty-fifth, Colonel John E. Smith; Forty-eighth, Colonel Isom Haynie; and the fragment of our Regiment, the Forty-ninth, Colonel William R. Morrison—these were all Infantry Regiments—also, two Battalions of the Second Illinois Artillery, and the First and Second Illinois Cavalry Regiments: the former commanded by Major Stollbrand; the latter by Colonels Prince and Hatch. At this point, we remained until Winter set in, when it got too cold for the men to occupy tents; and Colonel Williams, of the Yates Battalion of Sharpshooters, who had arrived in the meantime, was ordered to select a site, and proceed to the construction of Military Barracks, which have since become notorious as Camp Butler Barracks, which, with Camp Douglas Barracks, I may assert, without egotism, turned out the flower of the western Army, whose names are connected with every battlefield from Fort Henry to the fall of that hydra-headed monster, Secession, which, with its venomous fangs, tried to poison, subvert, and overthrow the glorious Consti-

tution bequeathed to us by our revolutionary sires.

Before moving from the Camp to the Barracks, a change was made in its administration. Lieutenant-colonel Allen, of the Forty-ninth, was appointed Commandant of the Post; Major F. Starring, Adjutant-general; and Captain Watson, U. S. A., Mustering-officer. About this time, an incident occurred at Alton, which will show the promptness of Governor Richard Yates, in acting. A telegram was received at the Camp, stating that some four hundred men, in camp near Galena, Illinois, had made an arrangement with some Colonel in Missouri, through their Lieutenant-colonel, Melancthon Smith, to proceed to St. Louis, Missouri, and attach themselves to his command, so as to fill up his Regiment. Colonel Davis, of the Forty-sixth, was immediately ordered to proceed with his men, four hundred strong, accompanied by Major Stollbrand, with a Section of his Battery, to Alton, and stop the boat conveying them, at all hazards, and bring them, under arrest, to Camp Butler. In obedience to orders, Colonel Davis proceeded at once, and arrived with his command, one hour before the boat came in sight, (I have not been able to learn its name) and ordered Major Stollbrand to fire a shot across her bows; and, if they did not then come too, to fire into her. The Major fired the first shot, as directed; and they seeming to pay no regard to it, the second shot was fired, which took effect in her bow—a six-pound, solid shot—when they thought prudence the better part of valor, and surrendered: when they were brought to camp as prisoners. This left us in camp, four hundred stand of arms. In the meantime, Colonel Starring, Adjutant, and myself had been making a survey and reconnoissance of the camp: we completed our maps and plans for a sham battle between the Forty-sixth and Forty-ninth: now that we had the arms, we succeeded in getting two thousand rounds of blank cartridges; and, on a given day, invited the citizens of Springfield to witness the first battle, in embryo, they had ever seen. The Battle-field was well selected, as it afterward proved. We skirmished in the woodlands, charged on the prairie, and had a desperate encounter for a bridge across the Sangamon. In a hand to hand encounter with Captain ———, I disarmed him, took his pistol, sword, and gloves, and got back safely to my own command. This was my first feat in arms.

On the twenty-seventh of December, 1862, we moved from Camp Butler to Camp Butler Barracks, where this fragment of our yet unmustered Regiment was consolidated with Colonel Pease, who became Lieutenant-colonel of the Forty-ninth; and Major Bishop was assigned,



and, on the first, with the Regiment, mustered into the service of the United States. On the thirtieth of January, 1863, we received our arms and, on the thirty-first, embarked for Cairo. Arrived at Cairo, our Regiment was immediately ordered to Fort Holt. This Fort is situated on the Kentucky shore, directly opposite Cairo, and presented one of the most gloomy pictures to us, then unfledged soldiers, imaginable. One or two temporary works had been thrown up, and manned with four sixty-pounder guns, ranging down the river, in the direction of Columbus. A line of temporary log shanties had been built by the Regiments that had occupied this position, previous to our arrival. The Ohio-river was bank high, and overflowing its banks, on the Kentucky side. It had completely surrounded the Fort, and, in fact, one of the works was about to be submerged, at any moment. About six o'clock in the evening, Major-general (then Brigadier-general) John A. McClelland's Private Secretary arrived with intelligence that a movement was being made by the rebels, up the river, threatening this point; when our men were immediately put in fighting trim; the pieces were manned by our Infantry, several of whom had never seen a piece before. The boxes containing our arms were opened and distributed to the Companies, several of them never having handled a musket in their lives. Forty rounds of cartridges were distributed. This was the first time that arms were issued to the Regiment; although two or three Companies had been in camp for nearly five months.

Early next morning, we received orders to prepare to move up the river to Paducah. This was the second of February; but, on account of some unavoidable delay, we did not get under way before ten o'clock, P. M. The Regiment was embarked on two boats, the regimental property being placed in a scow, and towed up by the larger boat. About two o'clock, P. M., an alarm was raised that one of the boats was in a sinking condition, and the greatest consternation prevailed. Some threw their arms and knapsacks overboard. The Colonel and officers were trying to calm them; but being on the boat which had no field-officer on board, we could not get them quieted until the boat on which they were was run up, along-side of the scow, and the men got off on to it. As soon as I could, I got on board the boat that was in a sinking condition; when the Captain told me to get off, as he could not say at what moment he expected her to go down. However, I remained on board, and went all over the boat, and (myself) carried over two hundred stand of arms and equipments, and put them into the scow. As soon as that was done, the sinking boat was moved off into the stream, and we pro-

ceeded on to Paducah, without any further interruption, where we arrived at six o'clock, A. M.; and, in a short time afterwards, we were joined by the boat that was said to be in a sinking condition. I learned afterwards that the boat was in good running order; but that the Captain was a rebel; and knowing that Generals Grant and McClelland had gone up the river, on the morning of the second, to attack Fort Henry, and that we were going to reinforce them, he adopted that course to delay our movement, which had the desired effect; for we had to lay over at Paducah, Kentucky, until the afternoon, and got to Fort Henry about an hour after it had capitulated to Commodore Porter. In the meantime, I understood that Grant and McClelland landed at a point ten miles below the Fort, which point is called Camp Halleck—this was the first Camp, occupied, in the field, by the Army of the Tennessee. From this point, General McClelland moved in the direction of Fort Donelson, but did not arrive in time to intercept the rebel forces that retired on that point; and finding that the bird had flown, fell back on Fort Henry, and went into Camp. On our arrival, we were assigned to the Third Brigade, First Division, Army of the Tennessee. The First Division, Brigadier-general John A. McClelland commanding, was thus formed: the Eighth Illinois, Colonel R. B. Oglesby—afterwards Major-general of Volunteers—; the Eleventh Illinois, Colonel W. Wallace—afterwards Brigadier-general, and killed at Shiloh—; the Seventeenth Illinois, Colonel Leonard F. Ross—afterwards Brigadier-general, and of the Yazoo-pass notoriety—; Twentieth, Colonel Carl C. Marsh; Twenty-ninth, Colonel—Thirtieth, Colonel P. B. Fouke—at that time a Member of Congress from the Eighth Congressional District, Belleville, Illinois—; the Thirty-first, Colonel John A. Logan—afterwards Major-general and member of Congress from the Thirtieth Congressional District of Illinois. As I will have to speak more lengthily of this Colonel, afterwards, it will not be out of place to tell an incident of his career told to me, by himself, of the Battle of Bull Run, July, 1861. He told me "that he left Washington to go down and see "the fight: that he was dressed in citizen's "clothes and shouldered a musket: that he went "into the fight, and when they were compelled "to retire he was placed under arrest by a Dutch "Colonel, who threatened to shoot him for a rebel: that he informed the Colonel who he was: "and that were it not that the Regiment which "the Colonel, alluded to, commanded, had to retreat, he would have been executed: that "he fortunately got away and got back to Washington, having had to walk several miles before "he could get any mode of conveyance to give "him a lift." John A. Logan's father was a

thoroughly-educated Dublin physician, who went to that city to graduate. Having taken out his degree as a Doctor of Medicine, he returned to his native County, and with his wife emigrated to this country, where General Logan was born, four months after their arrival—as he says himself, “I am four months from the County of Monaghan.” He is proud of the assertion, and always took pains that it should be known that he was of Irish extraction, I may say almost birth.—The Forty-fifth, Colonel John E. Smith—afterwards Major-general. I have heard him say, that when the War first broke out and the call for three-months men was made, that he repaired to Springfield, Illinois, to see Governor Yates, and recommended Lieutenant Grant, formerly of the Army, as Quarter-master, to him, and Adjutant-general Fuller as a fit person to assist in the organization of the Illinois troops; that General Grant went to the Adjutant-general's office in Springfield, and, after putting everything in the train of organization, was assigned as Colonel of the Fourteenth Illinois Infantry; that the Regiment refused to accept him as their Colonel; that he went and addressed them, with General Logan; and that he was commissioned Colonel of the Regiment. I have heard General Logan speak on the subject and partly to the same effect.—The Forty-sixth, Colonel John Davis,—who was killed at the Battle of the Hatchie,—the Forty-eighth, Colonel Isom Haynie,—who was afterwards Brigadier-general and Adjutant-general of the State of Illinois, under the administration of Governor Major-general R. B. Oglesby —: the Forty-ninth, Colonel William R. Morrison,—formerly Speaker of the House of Representatives, from the Eighth Congressional District of Illinois, and who was wounded at Fort Donelson; resigned his service while his Regiment was stationed at Bethel, Tennessee; went home; was elected Member of Congress; attached himself to the Copperhead party, H. R. S. O'Melveny & Company of Centralia; and was defeated, and very justly, at the ensuing election—an Iowa Regiment, whose number I do not remember,—these constituted the Army of the Tennessee; and there is not a Regiment that I have named, with the exception of the Twentieth and the Forty-ninth, that has not given to the country from one to three Generals. In the above, I overlooked naming the Eighteenth Illinois Infantry, Colonel Michael Lawlor, of whom I will speak more lengthily hereafter, particularly when I come to the Battle of Big Black River, which was entirely his own. The Artillery attached to this Army was Captain Schwartz's Battery, (commonly known as Battery Schwartz) Dresser's Battery—both from Chicago, Illinois—and a Section of a Battery, I do not now remember from what State, I believe Ohio,

The Cavalry attached to this Command were Captain James Dollin's Independent Company, raised in conjunction with the Thirty-first Illinois Infantry, Colonel (Major-general) Logan's Regiment; Captain Stewart's Company, raised on the same authority, and used as the escort Company of General John A. McClernand, who commanded the Division; and a Squadron of the Second Illinois Cavalry, under command of Major —, whose name I do not recollect. This was the Army of the Tennessee, in embryo, that afterwards reflected so much credit upon American military glory; who went into the field above the minimum and, in many instances, above the maximum of Regimental organization; and after being recruited, three times, to their minimum strength, returned to their homes scarcely two hundred strong—in many instances not ten of the original Regimental organization remained to tell of deeds of valor done on fifty battle-fields nor to point to the sacred spot immortalized by being the grave of a Union hero: yes, a more than hero, a martyred hero, who died in sustaining the flag that shrouded the cradle of Liberty.

Fort Henry is admirably situated for defence; its water-batteries having a range of four miles fire-line. The main work was of a very formidable character, the principal salient being mounted with a piece of very large calibre, which burst during the siege: the others were not very heavy. The Fort proper is situated on a low promontory, and would, undoubtedly, have stood out much longer had not the Tennessee-river, at this time, overflowed its banks, being higher than it was ever known before to be, thus giving Commodore Porter a direct range; enabling him to return the fire of the enemy's batteries; and leaving the Fort at the mercy of the Infantry coming on the rear. Back of the Fort is a low marshy lagoon, which was now overflowed, and was only passed over with a great deal of difficulty by our Infantry. To the rear of this lagoon is a narrow strip of tangled scrub-oak and brushwood, bordered by a stream running next to the bluff upon which the enemy had constructed several works and rifle-pits, which could have been admirably defended had not the movement been made on their left-rear-flank. On this strip, we were ordered to encamp; and having, as yet, been furnished with no transportation whatever, company-property that had been brought from the camp of instruction, had to be carried by the men to the Company ground, a distance of nearly a mile, so that we had to bivouac in the rain, without any shelter. In the early morning, we commenced to cut out the color-line and clear off the camp-ground, the sub-soil of which was so wet that the men had to lay down the branches of the trees for the water to drip



through. Here I saw the first (butternut) Confederate soldier; and, from first appearance, in comparing him with our troops, I was then of the opinion we could ourselves, alone, clean out four Regiments of them. However, I had reason afterwards to change it, as this sketch will fully show. I also heard that the fall of Fort Henry had a decided effect; and that they believed, all through the country, that one gunboat was equal to ten thousand men. The whole topic of conversation with any of the citizens I chanced to meet, was all about gunboats: "How far their cannon would kill?" "How many of them had the Yankees?" "How many were going up the river?" "Would they fire on peaceable citizens?" and a host of other ridiculous questions which I have often since laughed over. I remember meeting one Union man who told me that he believed God was on our side; or, if he was not, why was it that the Tennessee-river rose so high as it did just at the time of year it was never known to before! Of course, to all those questions, I answered as I thought would best promote the cause I was engaged in. We had just pitched our tents, determined to have a day's rest; the weather had cleared up, it was mild as an April day, when, at four o'clock on the evening of the tenth, orders were received (our first marching orders) to be prepared to move at six o'clock, P. M. Vague and many were the rumors that spread like wildfire through the camp. The sick were to be left in camp, with all the Company-furniture; the men were to be supplied with two day's cooked rations and forty rounds of cartridges. Men, on hearing this order, besieged the Company officers with all sorts of questions; and the Company officers, in return, the regimental officers; and we consulted among ourselves; but all were in the dark as to the intended movement—a guide was to be furnished, and we were to move positively on time; an Orderly would bring full and explicit orders, some time that night, when we were ordered to halt for the night, six miles from Fort Henry. We saw the first Brigade form into line and march out at four o'clock, the Second Brigade forming at the same time and moving out at five o'clock, after "Battery Schwartz;" and, at six o'clock, precisely, the head of column of our Regiment was on the move, after Dresser's Battery. Everybody was in good humor: we were going to battle in earnest: there was no imaginary enemy now, as at Camp Butler: every tree, to us, had a live rebel in imagination crouched behind it. Were we soldiers? would we run? what was a real battle? were the conflicting ideas that chased one another through my brain, as I moved slowly along, at the head of the column, at times talking to the Colonel, trying to guess what the movement meant. I knew it was to fight; but where? whom? and

what? Was it in the moon or elsewhere? I could not have been more anxious than I was. At last arrived at the junction of the road leading from Fort Henry to Dover (by the telegraph road) with the road leading to Batsto, we were halted; and our guide led us off to the right, by what is known as the Dover-ridge road or Weymouth-furnace road, when we arrived at a point within a mile of the Weymouth-pine Collieries, in a beautiful oak grove. As I said before, the night was beautiful in the extreme: not a breath of air rustled a leaf. After getting the Brigade into position they were ordered to rest on their arms for the night; fires were soon built of the rotten limb that had fallen; and oak leaves were gathered in abundance to make beds of. I had a large fire built at Headquarters; and the Orderly having brought up our blankets, the Colonel and myself were enjoying a snack, when an Orderly rode up post-haste, and delivered the long-wished-for package into the hands of the Colonel in person. Hastily opening it, he dismissed the Orderly. In dorsed, for the first time, and affixed an envelope on it, and began to feel myself every inch a soldier. As soon as he glanced hastily over the Order, he threw it to me, saying, "I cannot make anything out of it." As well as I can remember the Order ran thus: "General Order, No. 1. "The Eighth, Eighteenth, Twentieth, and Thirtieth Illinois Infantry, with Dresser's Battery, will constitute the First Brigade, First Division "Army of the Tennessee, Colonel Richard B. Oglesby, Colonel of the Eighth, commanding "The Eleventh, Thirty-first, Fourth, and Forty-sixth will, with Schwartz's Battery, constitute the Second Brigade, Colonel W. W. Wallace commanding. The Seventeenth, Forty-eighth and Forty-ninth, will constitute the Third Brigade; and in the absence of Colonel Leonard F. Ross and Colonel Isom M. Haynie, will be commanded by Colonel William M. Morrisson, son of the Forty-ninth Illinois Infantry. They will all be obeyed and respected accordingly. "By order Brigadier-general JOHN A. McCLELLAND, Commanding First Division. MASSOBRAYMAN, Assistant-adjutant-general." Attached to this Order were the following instructions: "The First Brigade will move at daylight, Colonel Oglesby, commanding, by the Dover-ridge road, in the direction of Fort Donelson, and halt at the cross-road leading from Weymouth-furnace, to Batsto, its right resting on the Dover-ridge road, with Artillery on the left flank." [*This point is about one and a half miles from Fort Donelson.*] "The Second Brigade will move at daylight, on the lower Dover road, halting at the road leading from Weymouth-furnace to Batsto, and forming, with the lower Dover-road on the left flank; the Artillery in reserve. Should the distance between

the two roads be too lengthy to be occupied by the First and Second Brigades, the First Brigade will move by the left flank and close on the Second Brigade. The Third Brigade will act as a reserve, in case the position is fully occupied by the First and Second Brigades, between the two roads; if not, the Third Brigade will form on the right of the First Brigade, with one Section of Artillery on its left. The utmost secrecy with regard to the movement is enjoined upon all field-officers." After attentively reading the document, of which the above was the substance, I immediately made a rough sketch of the position; and I must do my Colonel the justice to say that he immediately (approved?)

This was my first field-sketch, my first attempt at practical military engineering in the field. The road from Fort Henry to this point is over a broken rolling country, heavily timbered; the soil is of a tenacious clay, very sticky, and affording the greatest resistance, particularly to artillery and transportation-wagons on the march.

At early daylight, we moved in the direction of Fort Donelson: having arrived at the designated point, we found the First Brigade in column, by the flank, at a halt. The Cavalry having met the enemy, had repulsed them and driven them within their works. Our Brigade was immediately ordered to deploy a Company of skirmishers, to each Regiment, the Seventeenth and Forty-ninth; and having formed a line-of-battle, the Forty-eighth having not as yet come up, we occupied the position on the left of the Dover Ridge-road. We next received an order to leave our knapsacks and blankets, with our overcoats, in rear of the fence, where our line was formed. From this point, we overlooked a valley of some six hundred yards range: The Cavalry had been ordered to the front, to feel the enemy, and see if they were without their intrenchments. Having discovered no opposing force, we were ordered to move by the right flank, and take position on the opposite ridge, in line-of-battle, and hold the position at all hazards. The order was executed, and no enemy found. In this position, we remained until the afternoon; and, at dusk, were moved again by the right flank, to cross a deep ravine. After ascending a hill and moving to the left flank, we found the entire woods on fire. I afterwards learned that it was set fire to for a purpose, by the enemy, to retard our progress.\* We had hardly arrived in position when we heard musketry on the right, and were ordered to fall into line-of-battle, in which position we remained until after eleven o'clock, P. M. I afterwards learned that a portion of

the First Brigade mistook the Second Brigade for the enemy, and fired into them, which was immediately responded to, a few being killed and wounded on each side before the mistake was discovered. From this position, we were moved by the left flank to a position within one hundred yards of the enemy's lines, where we lay on our arms until morning.

Long before daylight, we were on the move again, silently, by the right flank. I understood the movement of the previous evening was made to give a Battery of Artillery an opportunity to get into position, and also to allow the leaves and underbrush to burn out, so that we could occupy the position we had moved from the night before; however, by eight o'clock, we got well into line on the left of the Second Brigade; and at twelve o'clock, noon, on the thirteenth of February, 1863, our Brigade, (the Third) was ordered to charge and take the Fort and Battery in our front. Colonel Morrison rode up and told me the Order he had received. I asked him, "Is the charge simultaneous?" He said he did not know; and my remark to him was this; "It is a d—d fool's movement: "If those men on our right flank do not charge "at the same time, we cannot take that point "and hold it under the fire of the enemy's guns "to our front and right rear. Even if we should "occupy the position, we cannot hold it." I have never had reason to change my opinion since—we must obey orders and take it or die. "I want you to conduct the right to victory or "death."

In front of this position and between us, lay an open field; for about fifteen hundred yards to the left was a dense woodland; and to move from the position we were in, it was necessary to take down the fence—worm-fence—that divided the open ground from the woodland. While moving in this position, our entire right flank would be exposed to an enfilading fire from the enemy's earthworks, six hundred yards distant. Why they did not fire on us, I cannot say, as I have never been able to learn. This I know, they were not engaged at any other point.

At the moment the word forward was given, Colonel Haynie rode up to Colonel Morrison and said, "Morrison, I think I rank you." Morrison said, "This is no place to test a question of rank. I will conduct the men to position; "and as soon as they are engaged I will relinquish the command to you." Haynie said, "Morrison let us take it together." Morrison turned to me and said, "Tressilian, forward." We immediately moved—I must say very much against my opinion, which experience has taught me was right; but McClelland was ambitious to capture the first Fort; and I do not hesitate in saying that I believe that, at that moment,

\* It is somewhat curious that this expedient was not resorted to oftener; likewise, to clear the way for an advance on works, or reveal the position of defences, etc.



he would have sacrificed every man of the Brigade to gratify this selfish feeling. I again say emphatically it was not a military movement. I thought so at the time, when I was but an amateur in arms; and I believe the result hereafter stated will bear me out. We commenced to tear down the fence; and, in a very short time, were within a few yards of the works: here we found a strong abatis, the branches thoroughly interlaced and well pointed: it was in fact impregnable. I saw, at a glance, that the closer we could get to the works the better, as the position, being a very elevated one, the natural surface sloping off to either side, at an angle not less than forty-five degrees; and that the enemy, to reach us with their range, would have to expose the body in depressing their fire; and I ordered some of the men to lay down on their arms while the others kept up a running fire at the parapet. I really believe that every man that showed his head was either killed or wounded. I found it impossible to move a single tree so well were they spiked down. I then ordered the men to kneel down and keep up the firing as before; while I stood up myself and, moving along the line, directed the firing. Colonel Morrison, on horseback, was riding along the line, urging the men to go over, when he was shot in the hip and was taken off the field. We remained in this position for two hours and forty minutes, under a withering fire which overshot us, General McClelland looking on, all the time, with his glass, before he sent the Forty-fifth Illinois to our assistance, under whose cover we fell back by the left flank into the woods and, by-the-rear-into-column movement, to the position we started from. We lost in the engagement five killed and seven wounded, one of the killed being Captain Brokaw, of the Forty-ninth Infantry, a gallant officer and a gentleman.

Thus opened the siege of Fort Donelson. That evening, the enemy made a desperate movement on the left. They drove the First Brigade back, but were again driven within their lines. About six o'clock, it commenced to rain, dreadfully: shortly after, a heavy snow storm set in, which lasted till early the morning of the thirteenth. Our men suffered dreadfully: they had to remain in line-of-battle all through the night, while the enemy were making sortie after sortie, to feel our strength and position, now on one part of the line, now on the other. The men had neither overcoats nor blankets; and were not allowed to light a fire. They were out of rations, and no transportation having been as yet furnished the Quartermaster, they could not be brought up; one barrel of crackers arrived for the Regiment in an ambulance, about seven o'clock; when the line was drawn back from the crest of the hill it oc-

cupied during the night, and was allowed to light fires. The muskets were in such a condition after the night, that it was necessary to withdraw the charges and squib them off. About ten o'clock, we saw the enemy coming out in beautiful style, deployed as skirmishers, by fours, followed up by a line-of-battle. Our skirmishers were immediately deployed, and advanced to meet them. This was a glorious spectacle from my stand-point. I could see, for two miles to the left and for two thousand yards in front, the entire movement, at this time. I had fully demonstrated to myself, yesterday, that I was not a coward; and I looked on as calmly as if we were going to have a grand curling-match. Immediately, the gun-boats in the river, to our left, opened a terrific cannonade, answered from the Fort Smith's Artillery next opened. Our's followed up. Next, our line of skirmishers opened along the line; then the "pomp and circumstance of a glorious war" fully spread out before me; my feelings at this moment I cannot describe; every man in the line seemed to look a perfect tiger and I had to run, back and forward, along the line to order them to keep steady, until our skirmishers were withdrawn. "Steady men, steady men," was heard from every point; in many places, in voice of thunder and accompanied by an oath. At length, the skirmishing being over, the enemy having deployed into line, they were eventually withdrawn. An Orderly now came dashing along the line, with orders to the (Generals) Colonels commanding Brigades; then came Aid-de-camps, with verbal orders, and the caution to hold our position at all hazards. The enemy now had thrown his strength against the right of our line; and was driven back with terrific slaughter. Next, they were precipitated against us; and we drove them back gallantly, with heavy loss. He then massed his men, and moved on the right when the engagement became general, on the right flank. Now, Oglesby was driven back, then the enemy; now, Wallace, then, the enemy; now our Brigade, then, the enemy; until night set in and all was quiet. Hundreds had been killed, on both sides; thousands had been wounded; ambulances were running backwards and forwards conveying the wounded from the field to the hospital: the dead were left to "bury themselves in the snow, for, at this time, the enemy's and our forces held the position in common. While here I will state my opinion of Oglesby and Wallace. Oglesby is a dogged tenacious man: he has some soldierly qualifications; is brave; but much better fitted for the position which he now occupies, as Governor of the State of Illinois, than for the field. Wallace was everything in civil life that goes to make up the courteous gentleman and scholar. He was as gallant a soldier as ever lived. He was a strict disciplinarian; very deter-

mined; and gave orders with such a grace, yet with such firmness, that his officers told me he was a particular favorite, and did not have an enemy in his entire command. I heard one of his command say "Be gorra it was a pleasure to be punished by him." I was sent for from Headquarters, by orders of General McClelland. At that time, I thought that an officer on the general staff was something extraordinary. I could not see what the General wanted of me. I thought over my actions for the past two days, to try if I could remember whether I had done anything wrong or not: yes, I had. I remembered my passing an opinion, openly, of the movement of the day before. He must have heard it, and I was going to be reprimanded. As I approached the Head-quarter tent, I was half afraid of the coming interview. However, I put on the best appearance of soldierly dignity that I could, and stepped up to the Orderly and sent in my name. I was ushered into "his Majesty's presence." "Ah, Sir! I am glad to see you! I watched your gallant advance on the Fort, yesterday, and saw your every movement through my glass. You are a hero, Sir. I looked for you to fall every minute. I hope you were not wounded, Sir. I shall mention you in my Report, Sir." I, of course, thanked him and was proud of the honor he conferred upon me; but, at the same time, I could not see for the life of me what I had done; but I prudently kept it to myself, for I really believed he was mistaken in the man, and intended, as soon as I could discover from his Aid-de-camps, who he meant, to set the matter right. He continued: "You brought the men off in splendid style, Sir. That rear-in-column movement of your Regiment was as well executed under fire as if you had been on a parade ground. The repulse of the enemy to-day was gallant: we did a good day's work: we must decide it to-morrow. The Quartermaster, d—n him, will not furnish me with transportation; and our men cannot stand it after another day. I was talking to your Colonel, he says you are a Civil Engineer. Orderly! tell Lieutenant Freeman I want him. Quick, Sir!" All this was said in a few minutes, in a sharp, quick, overbearing manner, as much as to say, look at me, I am Napoleon's successor. Lieutenant Freeman came in; and we were introduced. "Lieutenant! see to constructing that work in front of the Third Brigade. Quick, Sir! It must be finished before morning." And, without even saying good afternoon, he turned on his heel, and left us. From this short interview, I could not form an estimate of the man; but I did afterwards, at my leisure, of which more anon. I was soon introduced to other members of the Staff. The Staff were Major Mayson Brayman, Chief of Staff and Assistant Adjutant-general; Captain Dunlap, Chief Quarter-

master, (his father-in-law); Captain Schwartz-Chief of Artillery; Captain Mudd, Chief of Cavalry; Lieutenant Freeman, Chief Engineer; Captain Warren Stewart and Lieutenant Jones, Aid-de-camps.

Lieutenant Freeman and I now proceeded to the front to select the position for the work the General had ordered. I was ordered by the Lieutenant to construct a double lunette, and positively have it finished by daylight. I immediately set to work. The enemy soon surmised what we were about; and opened upon us with two twelve-pounders. Twice I was driven from the position while trying to lay out the work; I finally had to resort to the following method of laying it out: as soon as they ceased firing, I took a bundle of stakes and a hatchet; and laying myself on my back, took my own length for six feet and drove a stake at my head; then moving forward, put my feet against the stake last driven, aligned myself, and then drove another at my head; and so on, until the work of laying out was completed. I had to wait until after dark to commence operations; and had it completed in time. This was the first work I ever built; and it was the only work constructed by us at Fort Donelson. I never suffered more in my life than I did that night. I had not slept a wink for two nights, had nothing to eat, and worked, myself, with a shovel and pick to keep warm; but all to no purpose. The men were in a dreadful condition. I don't believe there were ten men in the entire command that were not frost-bitten, more or less; my ears were, and two of my toes. At daylight, the enemy came out in all his strength and hurled himself against our lines. The work I constructed was twice occupied by him, and recaptured by our troops. On the right, the battle raged continually: our troops were driven back a mile or more, and afterwards regained the lost ground. Smith, on the left, had done some splendid fighting and had captured one of the enemy's Forts. His flank acted entirely on the offensive; while our flank acted on the defensive. He was trying to occupy the enemy's works; while McClelland had sufficient to do in trying to hold his position against the enemy, and could not have done so had the siege lasted another day. This afternoon, I went to the General Hospital to see Colonel Morrison. The ball had not as yet been extracted. I found him in the same bed with Colonel John A. Logan. This was the first time I had seen him. While on the field, he was suffering dreadfully; but bore it well. He was shot in the right arm and left thigh. I heard his officers say that when he was shot and knocked down, he refused to be taken off the field; that, when they were driven back from position, he raised himself and, calling out at the top of his voice, "Suffer death men, but never dis-



"honor," rallied them and drove the enemy within their works; and, that as he stood up, he took the sword in his left hand and pointing to the enemy said, "Men! there is work there," and then pointing up to Heaven, "There is rest there." From here, I returned to the Quarter-master's Headquarters; and seeing a pile of unshelled corn, I covered myself up in it, and slept for the first time since we arrived. I was up to join the Regiment, before daylight; and just as day broke I was first on our line to notice the white flag of surrender. I forgot hunger, frost-bites, fatigue, and everything else; I threw up my cap; and hurrahed at the top of my voice. The Quarter-master, Lieutenant James W. Davis, jumped up, and, in fact, every one within hearing distance. They thought I had gone crazy or that the enemy was coming down on us. I pointed to the flag, and cried, "Fort Donelson is ours." It spread like wildfire; the troops took it up; and one shout rent the heavens. Everybody rushed to see the flag; and it was with great difficulty that anything like military discipline could be kept. No more growling about fire; no more talking about rations; everything was forgotten. We were a victorious army; we had defeated the enemy; everybody was shaking hands with everybody; privates with officers, officers with superior officers, congratulating one another on their fortunate escape. What glorious news for home. Bull-run was wiped out; and Grant's star shone in the firmament of military glory. "Unconditional 'Surrender Grant' had won a victory. At eight o'clock, on Sunday morning, on the fifteenth of February, 1863, we marched into Fort Donelson. This position I found to be an exceedingly strong one. The citadel, if it is entitled to the name, is situated on the Cumberland-river, about a mile and a half below the town of Dover. The work may be called a rectangular bastion; the upper work commanding the river, in a cavalier position, for miles; while immediately underneath, was a very formidable water-battery, mounting several heavy guns, that the enemy used, with telling effect, against our gunboats. The outer-works, or rifle-pits, were about four miles in length, and were all protected with a strong abatis, which was impassable, mounting several small guns. The place was surrendered by Buckner; Floyd having escaped up the river, during the night. I don't remember, now, the casualties or trophies. Here, for the first time, I saw the "Arkansas 'Toothpick,' a horrible looking knife, or bill-hook, more properly speaking; this was the weapon with which the rebels declared they would cut the Yankee's throats. The instrument is made out of an old rasp, or several of them, welded together; the blade is from eighteen to twenty-four inches long—I have seen some thirty inches—at the back, it tapers, in thickness, from

one-quarter of an inch to a sharp point; is rounded, sword-shaped; and the width of the blade, at the handle, varies from two and a half to four inches; tapering to a point. A cross-guard, similar to that of the bowie-knife, is placed between the handle and the blade; and the whole encased in a heavy rough leather sheath. There were several thousand of these, at this point; but I do not believe that blood was ever drawn with one. The rebels found out, to their entire satisfaction, that one of the so-called "chivalry" could not whip four Yankees. On entering the works, I was struck with the motly appearance of the men who fought us so bravely, for the past four days. They were all dressed in the everlasting butternut clothes; and, being short of blankets, they had pieces of carpet distributed to them, in lieu, of all imaginable hues and colors, from the dingy-colored rag carpet to the more brightly-colored Brussels. These, I understand, were distributed by the Ladies Sanitary Commission of Richmond, as they often told me, "for the brave 'defenders of their homes and firesides.'" The clothing was of a substantial character. The officers were all tastefully dressed, either in Kentucky jeans or gray cloth; and were a fine dashing-looking set of fellows.

Our Command was encamped on the grounds that we fought for on Thursday. We found excellent quarters and plenty of rebel provisions, such as barrels of flour, hams, shoulders, and all kinds of cooking utensils, which were soon put in use by our soldiers, who were nearly half-starved. They never hesitated to consider whether the provisions were poisoned or not: fortunately, they were not, or the entire army would have been sacrificed. I have since learned that, in the latter part of the War, the rebels resorted to this means of destroying our Army; but I have never seen any of it. We remained in this Camp but a few days, when we were ordered to take position near the town of Dover, on the West of the village, on a fine, open, rolling, piece of ground, there; the sub-soil being thoroughly impregnated with iron. The entire Army was located on this aventurinated substrata; and the water, being filtered through it, brought on diarrhea in its worst form. While stationed here, I had an opportunity of examining the entire works, and made a topographical map of the country, for General McClelland, which was afterwards captured at Shiloh; of which more anon. I found fifteen graves in the Fort that we tried to storm, on Thursday, but failed in. Our men, who were left on the field, on that day, (the leaves being dry took fire, or were set on fire, I cannot say which—charity prompts us to say the former)—were burned up where they lay; and some of the bodies were frightfully burned and charred.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth, we set out

for Paris-landing, and halted about six miles from Dover. As it always seemed to be our luck, it set in a heavy snow-storm; and, after spending a very unpleasant, dreary night, we got under way and arrived at the Landing about dusk. Here, after two days paddling through the mud, we got on board the transport and steamed up the river, in the direction of Savannah. General Ross, who had just arrived, the evening before the fall of Fort Donelson, had taken command of the Brigade and appointed Lieutenant Ryan, of the Seventeenth, as Assistant Adjutant-general. Grant and McClelland had been promoted to Major-generals; Logan, Oglesby, and Wallace, to Brigadier-generals. On the twenty-eighth, we arrived at Savannah, a pretty town on the East bank of the Tennessee-river. The place is beautifully situated and, in my opinion, would have made an excellent point for defence; but the enemy having had to fall back on his new line, and being followed up so quickly, and the then terrible Gun-boats having ascended the river as far as the Muscle-shoals, he had not time to entrench himself. It took two days to get into position, the bank was so steep and rugged. General Ross ordered me to construct a military road over the bluffs, which I succeeded in doing, after a great deal of labor, as we had but few tools and as yet had no pioneer organization attached to the Army—General McClelland having entirely overlooked that branch of the service. I do not know whether to attribute this ignorance to him or his Engineer. We remained at this point until the nineteenth day of March, when we received orders to strike tents and await marching orders. I was glad to hear it, as the rest and good quarters our men had had for the past few weeks, had entirely resuscitated them; and they were again in excellent fighting trim. New overcoats, knapsacks, and blankets had been issued; also, good strong brogans in lieu of bootees. I prefer the latter for troops, where they can be had, particularly on long marches.

On the morning of the twenty-first of March, 1863, we arrived at Pittsburg-landing. Our Brigade was commanded by Colonel Leonard T. Ross. Captain Freeman, Chief-engineer of the First Division, called upon me to accompany him to the front, where he would point out to me the position we should occupy, to give me time to get it in shape before the arrival of the Brigade. I was, by this time, looked upon as Brigade-engineer, although I had to attend to the duties of Adjutant at the same time. My first opinion of Pittsburg-landing was anything but favorable. Perched on a bluff, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet above, stood a house and outhouse of logs, with the word "Post-office" on a shingle, sticking out from one corner. This was the great city of Pittsburg-landing, and

was approached from the landing by a road that was at least forty degrees elevation. The bluff, itself, presented a ragged, craggy appearance, being destitute of foliage of every description; while, to the right and left, a bold upright front presented itself, showing a thick ledge of shelving rock, over which trickled two miniature cascades. To the right and left, the crest of the upper and lower bluffs, that is above the upper and below the lower landing, were crowned with heavy timber. Lick-creek, that stretches itself for miles inward, on the left, was at its mouth a miniature sea, and could not be crossed except at two points, one on the road leading from the landing to Farmington, at a point about eight miles distant, and the other on the road leading to Monterey, about eleven miles distant. Two miles from Monterey, "the city of twelve shanties," as it was styled by our troops, and in this connection it may be well to state that Pittsburg-landing ———

#### X.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

#### UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF MADAME DE LAFAYETTE TO WASHINGTON.

Before we take leave of this interesting woman, we are tempted to lay before our readers two unpublished letters addressed by Madame de Lafayette to Washington, during the captivity of her husband, and before she joined him at Olmutz. These letters have been printed, in French, in the *Miscellany of the Philobiblon Society*, but they are otherwise unknown both in France and England. Their authenticity is undoubted, for they are taken from the family-papers of Mr. Dyson, formerly of Diss, in Norfolk, who resided for some time in M. de Lafayette's family, and who was employed, as Madame de Lafayette herself states, to transcribe them, as she was afraid to send them in her own hand-writing. Mr. Dyson kept a copy of the letters, which is still in the possession of his nephew, Thomas Lombe Taylor, Esq., of Starston Hall, Norfolk.

#### LETTER I.

"CHAVANIAN, Oct. 8, 1792.

"SIR: Without doubt you have learnt our misfortunes; you know that your disciple, your friend, has never ceased to be worthy of you and liberty; you know that the attachment to the Constitution which he has sworn, has gained him the hatred of the powerful



"faction which wishes to destroy it; that, proscribed by this criminal faction, accused at the head of his army, and wishing to spare his fellow-citizens the commission of a fresh crime, he had avoided the sanguine fury that pursues the true friends of liberty, and was already on the way to neutral territory; from thence he was prepared to go to your country, there to offer up prayers to at his own ungrateful land might find defenders who would serve it with as much disinterested zeal and love of freedom as he had done. His wish was that I and the rest of our family should join him in England, to go and establish ourselves in America, enjoying there the consoling spectacles of virtues worthy of liberty; but before reaching this much-desired end—before even he had reached neutral ground—he had to traverse a small part of our enemies' country: there he encountered them, and was taken prisoner. Since the second of August, he has been in their hands. He was first conducted to Namur, then to Fivelle, thence to Luxembourg; at last, I learn (and that only from the newspapers) that, on the sixth of September, he was taken to Wesel in Westphalia, a town in the dominions of the King of Prussia; and that there he is to be separated from the three members of the Assembly who had hitherto shared his fate, and is to be taken alone to the citadel of Spandau, between Berlin and Potsdam. The motive and the design of such strange and cruel conduct, on the part of the allies, are alike unknown to me. He is not permitted to write a single line. It was by the troops of the Emperor that he was arrested: now, it is the King of Prussia who keeps him prisoner in his dominions; and while he is experiencing this inconceivable persecution from our external enemies, the faction which now rules us at home detains me as a hostage here, at one hundred and twenty leagues from the capital. Judge how far removed from him.

"In this abyss of misfortunes, the idea of owing to the United States and to Washington the life and liberty of M. Lafayette comes to revive hope within my heart. I hope everything from the goodness of the people from whom he learned all those virtues and that love of liberty of which he is now the victim; and I venture to say all that I hope—I venture to ask of them, through your mouth, that a vessel may be sent to demand him, wherever he may be, in the name of the Republic of the United States; also an Envoy who, in the name of the Republic, may take all the engagements that that may be thought necessary for detaining him in America, even as a captive. If his wife and children may be included in the terms of this happy mission, it is easy to judge what a

"blessing it would be for her and them; but if such a stipulation were likely to embarrass or retard its success, we would defer the joy of our reunion; and when we knew him to be safe with you, we should support with greater courage the pain of separation. I trust that my request is not too bold.

"Pray accept the feelings of attachment and deep respect which have dictated this letter, and with which I am, &c.,

"NOAILLES LAFAYETTE.

"If the kindness of the United States could be extended to the companions in misfortune of M. Lafayette, it would indeed fill up the measure of their goodness; but, as these gentlemen are not persecuted with the same bitterness, I do not think I fail in delicacy towards them if I ask with regard to them, as well as to myself and my children, that care for their interests should not interfere with the speedy help which the position of M. Lafayette demands. M. Maubourg, M. Bureaux de Pusy, and M. le Colombe (who has had the advantage of having served the United States), deserve to be distinguished among the number.—MM. Romeuf, Pillet, Masson, Curmeur, the two young brothers Maubourg, are prisoners, and merit from us the most tender interest from their devoted attachment to M. Lafayette, since the beginning of the Revolution."

#### LETTER II.

"CHAVANIAU, BY BRIOUDE,  
"DEPARTMENT OF THE HAUTE LOIRE,  
"March 13, 1793.

"SIR: The Gazettes inform me that you are a second time elected President of the United States; and the happy tidings revive my courage a little, which has been sorely tried by the silence of the United States, on the fate of M. Lafayette. During the six months that he has been in captivity to our enemies, after the unheard-of proscription by his own country, I have heard but few expressions of interest, and those only from private American citizens.

"I had the honor of writing to you, Sir, in the beginning of October, 1792, when I was kept prisoner by the order of the Committee of Public Safety, which, after ordering me to come to Paris, about the time of the massacres, had permitted the administration of the Department to keep me first under lock and key, and then to send me here under the surveillance of the Municipality of my Village. It was from this that I had the consolation of writing to you. I did not dare to sign my letter, not even to send it written by my own hand; a young English agriculturist, Mr. Dyson, who had passed some time in our retreat and who was return-

"ing to England, promised to get a copy conveyed to you. Did such a letter ever reach you? Or was it necessary to awaken your interest? I cannot believe it; but your silence, Sir, I confess, and the neglect you have for six months shown towards M. Lafayette and his family, is among all our misfortunes, the one that I am least able to explain to myself. I hope it will not always continue; and if I have any earthly hope for him or for our reunion, it is still founded on your kindness and that of the United States. The public papers will have told you that M. Lafayette and his companions in misfortune were transferred from Wesel to Magdebourg, towards the end of December; and when the French troops were approaching this citadel, I was told that it was intended to remove him to Spandau. I was even, for a moment, given better hopes; but nothing has confirmed them. As for myself, I am no longer the prisoner of the Municipality of the Village. At the end of two months, the orders of the Committee of Surveillance were revoked; but tyrannical laws which forbid us to quit French territory and pronounce sentence of confiscation of property against all who do so (or who have done so since the ninth of February), condemn me to remain and to preserve, at least for our creditors, my small personal fortune, on which the children exist now that their father's property has been seized. I am obliged to keep them with me—not for my own consolation, which I would far rather sacrifice for him, but Providence meanwhile offers me this, of hoping that they will grow up worthy of him. But I am powerless to do any thing for him; I cannot receive one line from him, nor contrive to let him receive one by any means whatever. Certainly I will never take any step unworthy of him whom I love nor of the cause to which he has never ceased to be faithful, and which his fellow-citizens have shown themselves unworthy to defend—unworthy, also, for a long time hence, of being served by virtuous men. Believe, Sir, that in the present state of Europe we have everything to fear for Lafayette, while he remains in the power of the enemy. I do not know how to urge you: I will only repeat that my confidence in General Washington, though rudely tried, still exists; and that I still venture to offer him the homage due to his character and virtue."

"NOAILLES LAFAYETTE."

It does not appear that any answer was made by Washington to this affecting appeal—or, at least, no answer ever reached Madame de Lafayette, though at a later period the good offices of the American Government were employed to a certain extent to obtain the release of her husband.—*Edinburgh Review*.

THE OLDEST LIVING NATIVES OF OHIO.—The *Marietta Register* gives the following list of aged living natives of Ohio:

ALPHA DEVOL, of Waterford, Washington-county, born in Marietta, August 12, 1789.

WILLIAM MOODY, of Cincinnati, born in Cincinnati,——, 1790?

JEREMIAH WILSON, of Waterford, Washington-county, born in "Fort Frye," Waterford, April 21, 1791.

Dr. DAVID OLIVER, of Butler-county, born in "Farmers' Castle," Belpre, May 18, 1791.

WILLIAM PITT PUTNAM, of Belpre, Washington-county, born in "Farmers' Castle," Belpre, April 5, 1792.

Colonel ENOCH S. MACINTOSH, of Beverly, Washington-county, born in Marietta, May 23, 1793.

The oldest living white native of the present State of Ohio, is Mrs. Evan W. Thompson, of Philadelphia, a widowed lady, and a daughter of General Josiah Harmer, U. S. A. She was born in Fort Harmer, in 1787.

SANGUINARY FUNERAL RITES.—On a high hill, in York, Maine, called Agamenticus, lies buried the Indian Apostle, St. Aspinquid. He was ninety-four years old when he died, on the first of May, 1682. At the age of forty-two or forty-three, he was converted to Christianity, and spent fifty-eight years of his life in preaching to the sixty-six different nations or tribes of Indians in the country. But, after all, his funeral was conducted with heathen pomp and ceremony. The Indians sacrificed the following wild animals to the departed spirit: twenty-five bucks, sixty-seven does, three ermines, thirty-two buffaloes, one hundred and ten ferrets, eight hundred and thirty-two martins, two hundred and forty wolves, eighty-two wild-cats, four hundred and eighty-two foxes, six hundred and twenty beavers, five hundred fishes, ninety-nine bears, thirty-six moose, fifty weasels, four hundred otters, five hundred and twenty raccoons, one hundred and twelve rattle-snakes, three catamounts, nine hundred musquashes, sixty-nine woodchucks, fifteen hundred minks, thirty-eight procupires. On his headstone was placed the following inscription:

"Present, useful; absent, wanted;  
"Lived, desired; died, lamented."

WILLIAM A. PHILLIPS, who was *The Tribune* correspondent in Kansas, in 1855-6; afterwards one of John Brown's friends there; and, in the War, Colonel of an Indian Regiment and commander of a Brigade of Indians, is writing a *History of the North American Aborigines*, the first volume of which will come out next Autumn.



It will be devoted to the families or tribes with which he has been connected—the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Seminoles, Chickasaws, and other southern nations, now extinct or moved elsewhere, etc.

He mentions some curious little points that have come under his notice. For instance, the Shawnees tell him that the word "Potomac," is derived from Pot-o-ma-key—to carry two children on their back. "Pocahontas," he says, is not the name of person, but is the general term to designate a girl or young woman. Its meaning is "daughter or child of my tribe;" and the same word, substantially, is still in use among the people of whom the Colonel writes. It indicates a curious fact. An Indian man seldom or never speaks of a female child as his or my daughter, but as Poc-o-hon-tas—daughter of his people, or girl of my tribe. The squaws say "my daughter," or its equivalent.

Another curious matter, in which Phillips agrees with Doctor Brinton, is the Indian terms respecting God. He will show that all such terms as "Great Father," "Great Spirit," or any other which personifies or presents a first great cause, are expressions of ideas implanted by the white man. Whenever any reverential or religious terms are used, which mean or are related to the planets, the sun, to fire, or other manifestations of natural forces, they are derived from purely Indian sources; and express ideas of their own. He finds the southern Indian nations to be, without exception, planet or fire-worshippers.—*Springfield Republican*.

MR. ALBERT LEA, now a resident of Galveston, Texas, writes to the Minnesota Historical Society, that, in 1841, he being Acting Secretary of War, he gave the names to several of the States of the Union which were at that time unorganized. We owe to him, it appears, the names Dakota, Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, which certainly speak very well for his good taste, and should procure for him the contempt of Admiral Porter, the worst of godfathers. The name Dakota has been given to a region further West than that to which Lieutenant Lea applied it—a still better name, Minnesota, having been bestowed upon the latter, by "my friend" Sibley," as the Lieutenant calls him—a gentleman whom we do not identify. A name which has not yet been used—Ozark—the Lieutenant wished to give to a State which, as we make out, would have included the present Indian Territory, which would be all the better off for having a name so good as that. On the whole, we may thank fortune that we have had no worse luck in our system of State nomenclature. Unless we choose to find fault with the names containing

"North," or "South," or "New"—New York, for example, and South and North Carolina—we have nothing to find fault with except the name of Wyoming, which, by right, belongs to Pennsylvania, and to which Campbell has given associations a little sentimentalistic and artificial. The resident Indians had already given the region in question a very good name too—Absaraka, the home of the Crows, as the tribe is called—and it is a thing to be desired that Congress should change the present designation.—*The Nation*.

#### BOAT RACING, IN 1824.

##### TO THE EDITORS:

It was my fortune to witness what I suppose was the first boat-race, regularly arranged and carried out, in the United States. It took place on the North-river, at New York, in the Winter of 1824-5. A British frigate arrived from the West Indies and anchored off the Battery. The Captain of the frigate, who, it was said, had been preparing his men for some time, published a challenge in the newspapers, to any American boat, to pull a given distance against his boat and crew.

It was something new to Whitehall; but the challenge was promptly accepted by the boatmen of New York, who at once went about selecting a boat and the men to pull it; although I remember it was thought a hopeless undertaking, on their part, considering their want of training and of a suitable boat, and the manifest confidence of the English commander, who had made his preparations for the race before sailing for the United States. But little time elapsed between the challenge and the race, less I think than a week.

On the day appointed, the boats met at the frigate, which was anchored off the Battery. The distance to be rowed was, I should judge, about two miles, one mile up the North-river, round an anchored boat, and thence back to the frigate. Each boat had, as I remember, six men at the oars and a Cockswain. The Captain of the English frigate acted as Cockswain of his boat. He wore his uniform, or certainly his chapeau; for I well remember that it spread a considerable sail, and as the wind was quite strong, and ahead, as they pulled up river, it seemed, even to us green landmen, that a tight-fitting cap would have held less wind. The Whitehall men had handkerchiefs tightly bound round the head.

The whole city seemed to be on the shores, watching, with eager anxiety, the result—which was not in doubt, for a moment, after the start. The "Whitehall" took the lead and kept it, and constantly increased the distance between the boats; so that, according to my recollection, the

British boat was at least one-fourth of a mile astern at the conclusion of the race. As you may well believe, the shouts were loud and long; and the day was given up to rejoicing at the victory of the untrained crew. The boat, with the crew in it, was carried in triumph through the principal streets and, in the evening, was exhibited at one of theatres, and a sort of ovation given to the men. It was but an ordinary boat for work. I think that neither "Oxford" nor "Harvard" would select it for their next race. I suppose the other boat was one belonging to the frigate.

The English officer took his defeat with good nature; and was complimented for his fairness and ready submission to the result, which some thought was in no small degree attributable to his cocked-hat. Anyhow, that hat was portentous. K.

—*Boston Daily Advertiser.*

**FIRST CITY GRANT IN AMERICA.**—On our first page, we give an interesting account of a recent visit of J. H. H., to Cape Neddick, in the old town of York. We have reserved the closing paragraph of his account, to say a word, by way of introduction, to the site of the first City granted in America.

Sir Fernando Gorges, to perpetuate his reputation as Lord Proprietor, in 1641, gave the plantation of York, the name of Gorgiana, and granted it a Charter of incorporation as a City, governed by a Mayor and eight Aldermen. Later experience shows that he was wise in not adding a *Common Council*. His nephew, Thomas Gorges, was the first and last Mayor of the City. For about twelve years, it retained the name of Gorgiana. In 1653, the town was incorporated by Massachusetts, by the name of York. The same year, Kittery was incorporated by its present name. It previously bore the name of the town of Piscataqua.

In 1676, the Indians came into our immediate neighborhood. Kittery was infested with them. On, or near the location of the St. John's Church, a fort was built; and the discharge of the cannon from this locality, over the river, affrighted the Indians and drove them away. Kittery was no more troubled; although York suffered severely from the Indians, for several years. This was the fort referred to in the will of Mrs. Graffort, in *Ramble 12th*.

We now give our correspondent's account of his visit to one of the old Mansions at York.

#### THE BARRELL HOUSE.

At the close of the day, we steer our course from Cape Neddick in another direction. This time, we are speeding along through the pleasant

roads and by-lanes of old York. We are to visit the Barrell Mansion. Arriving at the door of this time-worn structure, said to have been built one hundred and fifty years ago, we fasten our horses, knock at the door, and are soon ushered into the drawing-room. The house, which is now occupied by Misses Elizabeth and Mary Barrell, daughters of the late Jonathan S. Barrell, is situated on the river bank, over-looking York Harbor. In point of architecture, it resembles the Wentworth house, at Little Harbor. The room into which we were ushered was furnished with furniture made a hundred years ago. A massive mahogany side-board graced one side of the room; a tall eight-day clock stood, like a sentinel, in one corner; a lofty secretary was near the fireplace, which was guarded with a pair of antique brass andirons; and chairs of curious shape were placed about the floor. From this room, we were invited to walk into the parlor, overlooking the river for many miles. This room contained numerous curiosities, which well paid us for our visit. Three full-length oil paintings were hung at the end of the room. One of them was but partly finished, having been commenced by an English artist, at the time of the Revolution, who suddenly left the country for his safety. They were the family of Saywards, ancestors of the present residents. The colors of those old paintings, although executed so long ago, were as fresh as if put on but yesterday. The family coat-of-arms hung on the mantle; and below it were old engravings of the commanders of the English Army and Navy, in 1760. Fine portraits of General Wolfe (whose burial Byron so tenderly refers to,) and that of Frederick III, of Prussia, were hung opposite. A long damask curtain was drawn away from a recess, at one corner of the room, displaying an elegant set of ancient India China, and other curiosities of the last century. Among them, was a brass tea-urn, taken at the capture of Louisburg.

This room, like the first, was filled with ancient furniture. Club-footed chairs, quaintly-formed tables and sofa, carried one back to the days of yore, when York was one of the busiest sea-port towns on the coast. Her wharves and store-houses, now dropping to decay, her streets laid out with so much care and precision, all spoke of a time when she had seen better and more prosperous days than now.—*Salem Gazette*.

#### XL.—NOTES.

**BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS, BY MONTHS.**—November 12 1769, John, son of John, Worden married Elizabeth, daughter of Joshua Babcock, Jun., deceased, in Westerly, R. I. Almost a century has passed. I have gathered records of their descendants, and those



intermarried—scattered from Maine to Oregon—to the number of nine hundred and seventy; and the omissions and additions will swell the total to over one thousand. As returned, there have been, in the six generations, four hundred and ninety males, four hundred and forty-eight females, and some are returned as “children” only. About two hundred and ninety are dead, six hundred and forty-eight living, and some unknown. Divided among the months, the births, marriages, and deaths, as far as reported, were as follows:

	Births.	Marriages.	Deaths.
In January.....	66	17	21
February.....	71	13	22
March.....	64	24	17
April.....	64	12	16
May.....	53	12	8
June.....	44	4	15
July.....	55	9	27
August.....	52	9	27
September.....	60	12	27
October.....	65	21	19
November.....	63	17	15
December.....	81	20	19

These statistics of one family may or may not illustrate the months in which most births, marriages, and deaths occur in other families.

NEW MILFORD, PA. O. N. WORDEN.

#### LETTER FROM REV. MR. MURRAY.

*An Extract of a Letter from Mr. John Murray, Preacher of the Gospel at New York, to the Rev. Mr. Moorehead, in Boston; dated June 6, 1764.*

REVEREND SIR,

As I have been lately an unworthy witness of a most glorious descent of the *New Jerusalem* from above, in various places in Long Island, from whence I am just returned. Often, in your hearing, have I lamented that mine eyes had never been blessed with the light of such seasons of grace as you had represented to me, had been displayed, years ago, in town and country: but now have I seen the arm of the Lord made bare indeed, and thousands made *willing in the day of His power*. In five congregations, in the East end of the Island, every heart seems captivated to the Lord Jesus. No age, from six to seventy years old, is passed by: all are inquiring the way to Zion. In many other places, on the Island, this work is gloriously proceeding, in various degrees; but, altho no religious influence has ever appeared less exceptionable, so that the mouth of the enemy is yet effectually sealed and the Devil himself can find no room to blaspheme, yet where so much metal is put into the furnace, we must expect some dross to

skim off. And I am much afraid, lest the overheated zeal of some friends to the cause, who may not be cautious enough in distinguishing; together with the wild enthusiasm of the wild old Separatists, who determine to take all for gold that glistens, may tarnish the purity of the work, and cause what is good to be evil spoken of. I have been ten days amongst them, and have endeavored to cast in my poor worthless mite, by preaching twice, and exhorting once every day publicly, besides conversing, day and night, with the serious and distress'd; and I can say, “The labor is sweet indeed, when “God thus assists and with his love warms our “souls.” The whole week, when there, was as a Sabbath; and the people will scarce consent to be dismissed from the house of God at eleven o'clock at night! And no wonder, when the Spirit of God moves powerfully, on the face of the waters. Rejoice, O Lovers of Zion, and praise the Lord with cheerful voice! I have some comfortable hopes that this is the Elias of the latter day glory, since I find 'tis spreading in New England, and wonderfully in parts of the Old. And what confirms me farther is, I have by the Packet just received intelligence that the iron legs of the Prophet's image, are crumbling to dust. The Pope and France are got by the ears once more; and the Letters Nuncio\* is disgraced by all the electors of a King of Poland, and refused the privilege of voting amongst them. Let all the tribes of Dagon fear! He totters, he falls, he dies! If these omens are not deceitful, our dear native country will not be forgotten. My very heart bleeds for it. O that the Lord would revive his work there, where Zion sits in sackcloth! O Lord arise, and visit all nations with thy all powerful grace. Amen. Come, Lord Jesus!

I am, Sir, your humble servant  
and real friend,

JOHN MURRAY.

THE PENNSYLVANIA LAND OFFICE.—We take from an old Report of the Surveyor-general, the following list of Officers in the *Colonial Land Office*, which we have supposed would be useful for reference:

*Colonial Surveyors-general.*—Thomas Holmes, (Holmes—Holme,) commissioned March 22, 1682; and Edward Pennington, commissioned February 26, 1698.

*Commissioners of Property.*—From November 10, 1701, the Commissioners of Property transacted the business of the Land Office, viz: Edward Shippen, Griffith Owen, Thomas Story, and James Logan.

\* The Pope's Ambassador.

*Surveyors-general* appear to have been again called into requisition, a few years later; and the following, subsequently, held the office: Jacob Taylor, commissioned November 26, 1706; Benjamin Eastburn, commissioned October 29, 1733; William Parsons, commissioned August 27, 1741; Nicholas Scull, commissioned June 14, 1748; and John Lukens, commissioned December 8, 1761.

The offices of the Secretary of the Land Office, Keeper of the Great Seal and Master of Rolls, and Receiver-general, were also filled during the Colonial period.

Since the Revolution, the following persons have held the office of Surveyor-general, Secretary of the Land Office, Master of the Rolls, Receiver-general, and Surveyor-general: John Lukens, sworn April 25, 1785; Daniel Brodhead, sworn November 5, 1789; Samuel Cochran, commissioned April 23, 1800; Andrew Porter, commissioned May 10, 1809; Richard T. Leech, to fill vacancy; Jacob Spangler, commissioned May 10, 1818; Samuel Cochran, commissioned May 10, 1821; Gabriel Hiester, commissioned May 10, 1824; Jacob Spangler, commissioned May 10, 1830; John Taylor, commissioned May 10, 1836; Jacob Salla'e, commissioned May 10, 1839; John Laporte, commissioned May 10, 1845; J. Porter Brawley, commissioned on the first Tuesday in May, 1851; John Rowe, commissioned on the first Tuesday in May, 1857; and William A. Keim, commissioned on the first Tuesday in May, 1860.

*Secretaries of the State Land-office.*—David Kennedy, sworn April 25, 1785; Nathan Lufborough, sworn December 10, 1799; Tench Coxe, sworn January 3, 1800; Andrew Elliott, commissioned October 1, 1801; John Cochran, commissioned May, 1809; William Clark, commissioned May 10, 1818; James Brady commissioned May 10, 1821; Joshua Dickerson, commissioned May 10, 1824; Samuel Workman, commissioned May 10, 1830; John Gebhart, commissioned May 10, 1836; John Klingensmith, Jr., commissioned May 10, 1839; and William Hopkins, commissioned May 10, 1842.

The office of Secretary of the Land Office was abolished by the Act of the seventeenth day of April, 1843; and the duties devolved upon the Surveyor-general.

*Master of Rolls.*—John Morris, commissioned March 22, 1777; Matthew Irwin, commissioned March 14, 1785; and Timothy Matlack, commissioned April 14, 1800.

The office of Master of Rolls was abolished by the Act of the twenty-ninth of March, 1809. A portion of the books and papers were placed under the charge of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and the rest in the care of the Secretary of the Land Office.

*Receivers-general.*—Francis Johnston, commissioned April 29, 1785; Frederic A. Muhlenberg, commissioned December 3, 1799; and John M'Kissick, commissioned June 30, 1801.

The Act of the twenty-ninth of March, 1809, abolished the office of Receiver-general of the Land Office, and directed the books, etc., to be taken in charge by the Secretary of the Land Office, and all moneys due on lands to be paid to the State Treasurer.

## XII.—QUERY.

A QUESTION FOR THE CURIOUS.—An old gold coin, evidently of great antiquity, was brought to Statesville, last week; alleged to have been ploughed up in a field eight or ten miles North-east of town, by a man of the name of Tanner. It has been very much clipped and reduced in size and weight; yet it weighs, at present, half an ounce.

On the reverse side is a cross with arms of equal length; with stars in the angles; and semi-circles around the ends of the arms. Whatever letters were impressed on this side have been cut off. On the obverse is, in the center, the figure, with various compartments, which used to be seen on Spanish coins that passed originally among us for twenty cents; with a crown at the bottom of it.

The date and nearly all the letters of the name of the Sovereign have been removed by clipping. But, on the left of the central figure, and near the top, are left the bottom part of an L and of an I; and, in a corresponding position on the right, where the No. in the title of the monarch would come, are four I's (IIII). From the point in the circumference, where the name of the monarch would begin, up to the fragment of the L, is just about room enough for the letters PHI; and, after the II, is room enough for the rest of the word "Philip," and the word "Rex," King, before IIII.

We infer, then, that it is the coin of a Catholic Government. That it is a Spanish coin. From the purity of the metal and from the rudeness of the dies from which the impression was taken, we should infer that it was ancient. From the IIII, in two places, we see that it was issued by a monarch, the fourth of the name.

We turn to the Table of Contemporary Sovereigns in Smyth's *Lectures on History*, and within any modern period we find Philip IV., reigning from 1621 to 1665, and Charles IV., from 1788 to 1808. Before these, there are none with that number, till we go back to Henry IV., 1454, and before the discovery of America. But we can make out no trace of Henry who is too ancient, nor of Charles, who is too



modern; and as other indications correspond, and we find a trace yet left of Philip, we infer, with almost certainty, that it belonged to Philip IV.

In its mutilated condition, it is thought to be worth about ten dollars. It is said that a similar piece was found in a field, in the same neighborhood, about eight years ago, by a negro woman hoeing corn, and sold in Statesville for sixteen dollars.\* But the impression and inscription upon it cannot now be recalled. This was found upon land that, in the first settlement of the country, was owned by a Mr. Gay, whose descendants, in the third generation, still reside there. The question returns then, how these ancient coins came to be lost here? A man by the name of McElwrath, who owned an immense body of land in the region, lived just below, but he was not known to have gold about him.

In the days of Fort Dobbs, three miles North of Statesville, 1755-63, there was a smaller fort, about ten miles further towards Salisbury, near the house of Alexander Reed, (on the old map of Fourth-creek Congregation,) about where now is the residence of Mr. Mays; and not far from a church called New Union. Soldiers were sent from the main fort to this block-house, on great emergencies and in times of danger. A public road, too, went from the old fort, in this direction, crossing the North fork of Fourth-creek, above the late Andrew N. Allison's meadow; went on near the late residence of Colonel John H. McKee; and thus, eastward, by the locality where these pieces of money were found, to Renshaw's Ford, on the South Yadkin, and into Davie and Davidson-counties. So that persons coming from the East, could reach the fort much easier than to come on to Salisbury and then turn up to the right, by the route ordinarily travelled. But we may speculate and make endless conjectures as to the way in which these pieces of gold came here, and be no nearer a satisfactory solution.

\* Since the above was written, we have received a letter from Mr. Frederic Eckfeldt, Assayer in the Branch Mint at Charlotte, who has seen the coin above mentioned, and who says that "it is a half-doubloon, struck by Spain for her Colonies (principally for Mexico) about one hundred and thirty years ago. They were made with very little machinery, being shaped and reduced to proper weight with shears. It is 0.895 fine, and worth seven dollars and eighty-eight cents, gold valuation."

It seems, therefore, to have the full, or nearly the full value of a half-doubloon; and what has the appearance of clipping, is only the original shaping with shears; and there is a deficiency in the stamping so that a large part of the inscription is omitted.

It has been suggested that a Spanish vessel had been wrecked on the coast, and the Indians had brought them into the interior. This is not probable. We think the Assayer is mistaken as to its age; and that it belongs to Philip IV., 1621-1655, from two hundred and fourteen to two hundred and forty-eight years ago.

STATESVILLE, N. C., Aug. 2, 1869.

E. F. R.

It is either connected with the presence of the officers and soldiers at the fort, who were from abroad, or with the immigration of some of the first settlers who brought from England or Ireland funds in this form to buy land. If any one can offer any other explanation, we should be glad to hear it.

E. F. R.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

### XIII.—BOOKS.

#### RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

#### A.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

1.—*Lectures delivered in a Course before the Lowell Institute, in Boston, by members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, on subjects relating to the Early History of Massachusetts.* Boston: Published by the Society. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 498.

Our readers are not unacquainted with the character and some of the contents of this volume. It originated, if report speaks truly, in a commendable desire, on the part of George E. Ellis, D.D. to re-model the standards of the history of Massachusetts, to make new tests of historical orthodoxy—to do, in short, what Daniel Webster proposed to do, in the Hayne debate, when he requested the Secretary of the Senate to read the question that was before that body, in order that Senators might take an observation and revise their reckonings. The distinguished Senator was well aware that the Senate had become somewhat "mixed" in its ideas on the question under consideration, and needed a recurrence to first principles; and the eloquent Divine of Charlestown had discovered that Massachusetts had drifted so far to leeward that she was endangered by the imprudence of her own historians—both Senator and Divine, therefore, sought the means of ascertaining their *true* positions and of correcting the errors which were respectively perplexing them.

The first of these Lectures, that by Mr. Winthrop, was noticed in our April number; and we need not return to the subject.

Doctor Ellis followed Mr. Winthrop in two lectures,—the first on "The purposes and aims of the founders of the Colony;" the second on "the treatment of intruders and dissentients" by those founders—in the first of which the learned Divine commenced by bringing forward, as the standard by which to test the character of the Puritanic forefathers' words and motives, their very questionable *actions*, in the management of their affairs; and he followed that heavy blow with another, positively and

directly impeaching "the last and incomparably the best" of New England's historians and convicting him of a falsification of his acknowledged authorities. The authors and vendors of the apocryphal republicanism and tolerance of the Puritan fathers were next staggered with a flat and manly denial of their truthfulness; and, worse than all, he *proved* that Mr. Palfrey—"the last and best"—is no better historian and no more of a truth-teller, in history, than the earliest and the worst of the retailers of known falsehoods concerning the Pilgrim and Puritan fathers, under the guise of historical verities—he does not tell us, however, since "the *latest and best*" is nothing more nor less than a swift witness in behalf of an acknowledged lie, on which individual, of the swarm of Massachusetts' historians and orators which crowd the market with their paltry wares, those who are not of Massachusetts may hereafter rely, with safety, concerning the *real* history of that notable Commonwealth, as it has been revised by the "members of the Massachusetts Historical Society." William Frederic Poole, Esqr.—the notorious "P" of *The Boston Transcript*; a slanderer, for pay, of those who have dared, hitherto, to tell the truth concerning these Puritan fathers; and the ready manufacturer of a spurious "Edward Johnson" to fill an ugly gap in as spurious a history—is also rebuked by Doctor Ellis, as few others besides Mr. Palfrey have ever been rebuked, concerning Massachusetts history, by a recognized and authoritative Massachusetts man; and the lecturer announced, as the revised truth, "That the simple truth is, that the founders never professed or promised any thing that is implied to us in the phrase, 'liberty of conscience.' After having read every thing that I know of as extant, in print or manuscript, from the pens of those exiles, I feel justified in stating positively that they did not come here to seek, nor even to indulge themselves in, 'liberty of conscience'—in any thing like the meaning which that phrase has to us. We mislead ourselves when we assert or allow that they recognized any thing of the sort. Not a single sentence can be quoted from any one of them committing them to it. You may find the words, the phrase, in their writings, often repeated and very emphatic; but when it is used to express any thing of what we mean by it, that thing is sternly repudiated; and when the phrase is a part of their own vernacular, it covers something which is only a part of a much larger whole, and which defined rather a limitation, a subjection, than an enfranchisement, of natural liberty"—in other words, he tells us that when the Puritan fathers of Massachusetts spoke or wrote of "liberty of conscience," they employed the term as a

cloak to "cover" "limitation of natural liberty," rather than as a bold and manly avowal of "soul-freedom;" and that, in fact, while they faced one way they rowed another. How much genuine Christianity and how little of that regard for human rights which Sidney died for, those Puritan fathers really possessed, and how much or how little such "historians" as Palfrey, and Washburn, and Poole, and such songsters as Mrs. Hemens and John Pierpoint have told of the truth concerning those fathers, our readers can easily determine.

Doctor Ellis has analyzed the Puritanic idea of "liberty," with admirable precision: he recognized it, first, as the equivalent of what is popularly known as "Jesuitical;" and, next, as a freedom to obey, but not to *disobey*, a rule, or series of rules, covering nearly every branch of action, which the law-making power had enacted without consulting either the consciences or the convenience of by far the greater number of those whom they were intended to govern.

We are told, too, by Doctor Ellis, that of "liberty of conscience, either as an abstraction or as an absolute right, they with whom [he was] dealing had no conception, as of a good thing. Certainly, they had no respect for it, no confidence in it. They would have dreaded it beyond our power in these days to imagine. They had begun to see around them, in their native England, the threatenings of some of the effects and results of just what we mean by 'liberty of conscience;' and they shuddered at them. Their dread of those consequences was one of the satisfactions which they afterwards found in their exile. It would be much nearer the truth,—indeed, it is the truth itself,—and it would be truer to all the facts of the case, to the integrity of history, and to the right use of terms which get changed in their import and burden, to say, frankly and boldly, that OUR FATHERS CAME HERE TO GET AWAY FROM, TO GET RID OF, SUCH LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, as, to them, a hateful, pernicious and ruinous thing, sure to result in impiety and anarchy."

This, be it remembered, is not the language of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, but that of a Massachusetts man, representing and speaking for The Massachusetts Historical Society, before a Massachusetts audience, convened in the capital of the Commonwealth. It is the orthodox modern version of the subject, as promulgated by the fashionable leaders of modern Massachusetts; and, while it portrays the true character, as far as it goes, of the Puritan fathers, it brands, in letters of living, burning red, on the foreheads of those who have told them, the marks of the unadulterated falsehoods which, one after another, under the name and guise of "History," have been unblushingly



thrust before an outraged world, by the Palfreys, the Washburns, the Pooles, the Websters, the Storys, the Choates, and other Massachusetts men and scyphants of Massachusetts men, for a couple of generations. It tells us, too, that the Puritan fathers of the Bay Colony were little better than living frauds, notwithstanding they were church-members: that they pretended to recognize "liberty of conscience" in their settlements, while they really used that glittering generality as nothing more than a "cover" for what are also recognized as the intolerance and tyranny which they exercised throughout the Colony. It exposes, also, in its descent, from father to son, the origin of that system of deceit and falsity and of that radical hypocrisy which distinguish the greater number of the high-toned, "Christian men" of New England, of to-day, in all that they say concerning their Puritanic ancestors, and in all that they unblushingly assume to be and to do because of their descent from a stock, of such assumed sterling integrity and from such pretended disinterested lovers of the rights of man.

We are not insensible of the fact that Doctor Ellis subsequently sought to release the memory of the Fathers of Massachusetts from some portion of the odium which he had thus boldly cast around it, by urging that, in the exercise of their judgment, erroneous though that judgment might have been, they were conscientiously upright, as individuals. So, too, was Mrs. Stow's Lagree undoubtedly honest, from his own standpoint, in his barbarous treatment of her Uncle Tom; and even Treason, when brought to that novel standard, would no longer be "odious," even to Parson Brownlow. Our readers can estimate the value of such an apology.

But there are other portions of this volume which are entitled to our attention: some of them have been already noticed; others will be, hereafter.

Besides Mr. Winthrop and Doctor Ellis, Messrs. S. F. Haven of Worcester, William Brigham, Emory Washburn, C. W. Upham, O. W. Holmes, Samuel Eliot, Doctor Chandler Robbins, Joel Parker, Edward Everett Hale, and George B. Emerson lectured in this celebrated Course; and, while some of these honored themselves and the occasion, as honorable gentlemen and intelligent and upright students of Massachusetts history, at least one of them unblushingly pocketed the original documentary evidence of his own insolent disregard of the truth, which a correspondent had politely sent to him; and as insolently persisted in presenting, as veritable history, what he knew was a deliberate falsehood. Of the last named, we shall take early and thorough notice; and with that exposition of the way in which they sometimes

"put things" in Boston, we shall dismiss the subject.

The volume is an elegant one, from the press of J. Wilson & Son.

2.—*The Tehuantepec Railway*, its location, features, and advantages under the Le Sere Grant of 1869. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. xxiii, 73, (il.) 1-32, 33\*-40\*, 25-38.

This curiously-constructed volume opens with an Introduction, in which the character of the Le Sere Grant, for a right of way, from ocean to ocean, is carefully described; with copies of the Charters granted by Mexico and Vermont; and specifications of the proposed work. Then follow, what possess most interest to us—*Historical and Geographical Notes, 1459-1869*, the former by Henry Stevens, the widely-known Bibliopole of London; the latter by some unknown hand. The whole is elaborately illustrated, with Maps and Engravings; and, typographically considered, it is a volume of great beauty.

In his *Historical Notes*, Mr. Henry Stevens has briefly glanced on the old world, as it was four hundred years ago—that world which was merely "a strip of some seventy degrees wide, mostly North of the Equator, with Cadiz on the West, and farthest India, or Cathay, on the East; lying between the frozen and the burning zones, both impassable by man." He then alludes to the "India beyond the Ganges, which, from the days of Moses, Alexander, and Aristotle, to say nothing of the geographers, Ptolemy, Mela, Strabo, and Ptolemy, was deemed the land of promise, the abode of luxury, the source of wealth, and the home of the spices;" to the routes of commerce thither, by way of Egypt, Arabia, Asia Minor, and the Black and Caspian Seas, through Persia and Tartary; to the occupation of those several routes, one after another, by the Turks and Arabians; to the anxiety of Christianity to discover some other way, which should be beyond the control of Islam; to the discoveries of the compass and astrolabe, and to the consequent advance of navigation; and to the progress of discovery, under Prince Henry and others. He next introduces Columbus, Vespucci, and Cabot; reminds his readers that Aristotle had written that "there was but a small space of sea between Spain and the eastern coast of India," while Strabo and Seneca had confirmed that opinion; introduces the *Opus Majus* of Roger Bacon and the *Imago Mundi* of d' Ailly; traces the progress of knowledge and the development of the plans of Columbus, which led that navigator to sail to the westward, as a short way to Cathay; and opens to view the great discovery, itself.

He does not forget, too, the modest announcement, by Columbus, of his discovery of "the

"Islands of India beyond the Ganges," and of the death of the great navigator, fourteen years after, without having been undeceived. He tells of Juan de la Cosa, the companion of Columbus, on his second voyage, and the sharer with him, in his geographical mistake, concerning the character of the American coast. He tells, too, of the discovery, by the Cabots, in 1496-7, of Newfoundland and the American coast, from Labrador, southward—Cabot, like Columbus and la Cosa, supposing that he was coasting along the eastern coast of Asia.\* He describes, too, the voy-

\* How far to the southward, Cabot sailed, is matter of dispute: but there seems little room to doubt that those who were more nearly his contemporaries supposed he sailed as far as the *thirty-eighth degree of Latitude*—far beyond the regions referred to by Mr. Kohl, and including, in Ruysch's map, the entire coast of New England.

Peter Martyr, (1455-1525) writing on this subject, says in Latin what may be thus translated: "He" [Cabot] "was thereby brought so far into the South, by reason of the land bending so much to the southward, that it was there almost equal in Latitude with the sea of the Strait of Hercules" [*Gibraltar*], "having the North Pole elevated in a manner in the same degree." *De Rebus Oceanicis et Nova Orbe*, Decade iii, Cap. vi.—Edit. 1574, 267. Gomara, too, who wrote prior to 1553, after describing Cabot's run to the northward, says, in an early English translation: "But consyderynge the comde and the strangeness of the unknowne lande, he turned his course from thence to the West, folowynge the coast of the lande of Baccalos unto the xxxviii. degrees, from whence he returned to Englande."—*Historia general de las Indias*—Eden's translation, *Decades*, 318.

Hakluyt, notwithstanding his inaccuracies on some other points, agrees with his predecessors on this; and he gives "a discourse of Sebastian Cabot," in which that navigator is represented as saying: "saying along by the coast for to see if I could finde any gulfe that turned, I found the lande still continen to the 56. degree under our Pole. And seeing that there the coast turned toward the East, despairing to finde the passage, I turned backe againe, and sailed downe by the coast of that land to ward the Equinoctiall (ener with intent to finde the saide passage to India) and came to that part of this firme lande which is now called Florida, where my victuals failing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults." \* *Voyages*—Edit. 1600—iii, 7.

The Public-Record Office in London, contains, among other manuscripts, (*Colonial Papers*, No. 45) the papers of Sir Joseph Williamson, of the date of about 1653, in which, among the reasons assigned in support of the assumed legality of the projected seizure of New Netherland by England, is the following: "I humbly conceive that wch gives a Nation right to Countreys undiscovered, is a primary discovery, & those places we pretend in behalf of his Sacred Majesty & Successors were by his Royall Predecessors at a vast expence of the treasure of the nation, as well as of the lives of many of his good subjects (several of them being persons of honour & parts) discovered, & longe after hid from those, who now presume to possess them, wch we shall prove as well by foreigne Geographers as our owne.

"First, that Sebastian Cabot in the 14 yeare of Kinge Henry 7th of happy memory, discovered from Cape Florida, wch lies in 25 degrees North latitude, & from thence to 61 degrees 30, is demonstrated by Clement Adams, a French gentleman, who ingraved a Mapp of the aforesaid Sebastian discoveries. Galeations Butrigarius, the Popes legatt in Spaine, asserts the same. Baptista Ramusius in his preface to the third volume of navigation, speaks of the gratuity of the aforesd King Henry the 7th to the said Sebastian Cabot for his discovery of the Northern parts of America, and the like is mentioned in the sixt Chapter of the third decad of Peter Martirs *Ab angleria*, & Franciscus Lopez de Gomara (Spaniard) in the 4th Chapter of his *generall historie of the West Indies*, grants us to have the right from them & all other

age, in 1498, of Columbus, and his discovery of Venezuela, which he supposed to have been Paradise; and he tells of the discovery of Brazil; of the elaborate works published by Fernandez. Vespucci, and Beneventanus.—all of which "pointed to the same thing—the enlightenment of the public as to India beyond the "Ganges" [*which America was supposed to be*] "and how to go and trade thither"—and of the continued mistake of the geographers and navigators of that period, concerning the locality of Cathay and the real character of America.

He enters largely on the first map, published at Rome, in 1508, on which "all these discoveries," by Columbus, Vespucci, and the Cabots, "were collected. and laid down, by Johann Ruysch, a German, who had probably visited "the new found islands with the Cabots, and "knew well what he was doing;" (pp. 16, 17.) and he gives, as Ruysch's authorities, for his delineations of the discoveries of Columbus, "no "doubt, Columbus's own letter;" for those of the eastern coast of South America, the *Mundus Novus* of Vespucci; and for those of the discoveries of the Cabots, "represented by them as "part of the main-land of Asia," his own personal knowledge, aided by the materials furnished by the Cabots themselves. That portion of the coast which was not covered by the three authorities referred to, was probably copied, with modifications, as Mr. Stevens suggests, from Marco Polo's Chart.

As we have said, Mr. Stevens dwells on this Ruysch map; and in this portion of his *Notes* reposes the greater portion of the interest which those Notes possess to our readers. We shall be pardoned, therefore, if we, too, dwell on that subject.

The formation of the eastern coast of Asia and that of North America, are very similar—both

"nations of the north part of America; the improvement of this discovery was obstructed at first by the troubles "that broke out in Scotland in ye eveninge of King Henry "the 7th." \* \* \*

As Sir Joseph was the Under-secretary of State, of England, at the period referred to, his opportunity to obtain correct information on such a subject, was unsurpassed; and the fact that on him seems to have devolved the duty of investigating and reporting on the assumed title, in law, of England to New Netherland, to say nothing of his subsequent elevation to the offices of Secretary of State and Keeper of his Majesty's State Papers, clearly indicate that he was, also, a man of high character and influence.

Other authorities might be adduced, were it necessary, to show the undisputed opinion of those in authority, in England, more than two hundred years ago; but we content ourself with referring to the best-informed of Americans, thereon, more than a century since, and thus dismiss the subject, for the present.

The very celebrated Colonial Congress, which assembled at Albany, in 1754, thus referred to the subject: "His Majesty's title to the Northern Continent of America, appears to be founded on the *discovery thereof* first made "and the possession thereof first taken in 1497, under a "Commission from Henry the 7th of England by Sebastian "Cabot."—*Journal of the Congress*, Tuesday afternoon, July 9, 1754.



trending from the South-west to the North-east ; both terminating, in the South, in an Archipelago ; and both, in the North, being distinguished by a promontory and a large river, the latter flowing from the South-west and discharging its waters into a magnificent gulf. The early navigators, therefore, not unreasonably supposed, in that early period, that they were coasting along the eastern shores of Asia, when they were thousands of miles distant from that continent ; and their commentators were equally pardonable, when they, too, fell into a similar error.

Ruysch evidently drew his map, as Marco Polo had drawn his, supposing that he was describing Cathay rather than a new world ; but he had personally traversed a portion of the new coast which he thus portrayed, and that portion, at least—which is the portion which Mr. Stevens notices—was entitled to the confidence of the world. In the absence, therefore, of any important authority to impeach the map, and in view of Mr. Stevens's own description of Ruysch's professional character and of the accuracy of his works, we must be pardoned if we differ from Mr. Stevens on the particular subject on which he particularly dwells ; and we must be pardoned, also, if we prefer to respect such a map as Ruysch's,—of which that portion now under review, is admitted to have been made from actual observations, either by the Cabots or by Ruysch himself—no matter what other map, old or new, it either resembles or fails to resemble. It is enough for us to know that the particular coast-line now under review, was faithfully laid down on that map, from what were the most accurate observations of that coast-line which had then been made : we do not care a button if the persons who made those observations were entirely mistaken as to the exact character of the continent along which they coasted ; nor do we care a button what other coast-line, thousands of miles away, resembled that along which these observations were made and of which this map was faithfully drawn. Whether the coast-line delineated on the map made by Ruysch was considered as Cathay or America was immaterial, so long as it was accurately delineated ; and it matters just as little, and effects its credibility just as little, that Marco Polo or any other person drew other lines, on other maps, of other coasts, which either closely or remotely resembled those which were drawn on the particular map under consideration, from other and entirely independent sources of information.

But Mr. Stevens appends a foot-note to this portion of his *Notes* ; and that foot-note contains a sting which has served to make these *Notes* more notable, in some quarters, than they otherwise would have been.

La Cosa, the companion of Columbus, seems

also to have made a chart, some years before Ruysch issued his map ; and la Cosa, following the imperfect light which then prevailed, traced the coast-line of North America in a less perfect manner than it was subsequently traced, by those who knew more of the subject than he.

But Mr. Stevens admits that *Cabot's* map had been in Spain not less than two years, and probably much longer, when la Cosa made his map ; and he admits, too, that it is probable that, in his delineation of the coast-line between Cape Sable and Labrador, la Cosa actually followed *Cabot's* map, although, yielding to the prevailing error of the times, he supposed, while he did so, that it was the coast of Asia, and consequently applied to its prominent points the names of other points, somewhat similar in appearance, which were known to have been in Asia.

But, as we have said before, it is not a matter of *lettering* on maps, but one of *line-drawing* ; and whether the Gulf and River St. Lawrence were regarded by Cabot and those who copied from him, as in Cathay or in America, and whether or not they confounded that Gulf and River with some other Gulf and River, or called St. Lawrence, "Polisacus," or not, when they *lettered* their respective maps, amounts to nothing, if the maps are really what are claimed for them—maps of the north-westernmost shores of the Atlantic-ocean, as those shores were then understood by the geographers who made them. Of this there is and can be no doubt—indeed Mr. Stevens offers no doubt on that all-important subject—and there the notice would have ended had not the poisonous trail of a serpent disfigured what, under less favorable circumstances, it would have destroyed.

Our readers will remember that the State of Maine has appropriated money for the prosecution of certain investigations in the records of her early history ; and that the first fruits of that investigation have appeared in a volume recently published under the direction of the Maine Historical Society. Some of those readers are aware, also, that that volume has, in some unexplained way, crossed the orbit of Massachusetts ; and that some of the satellites of that modern Jupiter have thrown their second-hand borrowed light on the hapless volume which Maine has thus issued. The effect of that imperfect illustration is seen in the tint with which the peculiar light from Massachusetts has invested the subject and in the distortion of some of its parts.

As an instance of this distortion by Massachusetts influences, one of her most notable writers boasts that he has been "paid for" writing that "the coast line of la Cosa's map is evidently "like that of Ruysch, a copy of the old Asiatic "charts, and has no reference to the shores of the "United States," notwithstanding it is notorious.

that both those maps were intended to represent what we know to have been the *American* coastline, although THE ARTISTS who delineated it erroneously supposed they were drawing the coastline of *Cathay*. This bold misrepresentation of the truth, by a modern Puritan of the Bay, was made for money, in order that discredit might be thrown on a map which was inserted in the Maine volume, and that the influence of the narrative which it served to illustrate, might also be destroyed with its reputation.

As we have said, these *Notes* of Mr. Stevens have been caught at, as drowning men are said to catch at passing straws, by those who are engaged in bolstering up the tottering fortunes, in history, of the founders of the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth. We are interested in the discussion no further than any other "outsider" who witnesses the contest; but we are free to say that, with no other pens to oppose and misrepresent her than those of such mercenaries as we have alluded to, Maine need not tremble, either concerning her first volume or her own honest fame.

But to return to Mr. Stevens. Having thus given his rival, Doctor Kohl, a passing shot, he proceeds with his inquiries to a later date. He lances, as he goes, at the naming of the new world, America; at the discoveries, in Central America, by De Solis and Pinzon; at the circumnavigation of Cuba, by Ocampo; at the persistent mistakes, concerning the main-land, of the geographers of that day; at the explorations, in Florida, by Ponce de Leon; and at the peculiar features of Peter Martyr's map of 1511. The settlement of Cuba, under Velasquez, comes next under notice; and Hernando Cortez and his wonderful expedition are duly considered. The voyage of de Pineda, the great discovery of the Pacific by Balboa, and the absorption of the term "America" by the entire Continent, come next, in his panorama of wonderful events; and the one great purpose of Spain, in these unceasing explorations—the discovery of a passage to Cathay—high should be independent of Portugal—is readily kept in view, in a vivid portrayal of the subsequent services in her behalf, of Cabot, de Solis, Magellan, Gomez, Cortes, Pizarro, and the Congress of Badajoz.

In this portrayal, the commercial importance of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and the Coatzacoalcas-river is first developed, in his plan; and he brings into prominence the action, concerning them, of Cortez, who selected that portion of the new world as the seat of his family estates.

It is proper to remark, that Mr. Stevens is very severe on the pretensions of our friend, Buckingham Smith's, hero, Estevan Gomez; and he boldly declares the expedition of that navigator to have been unimportant and "not worth discussing,"

yet, as if to discredit it his own snap-judgment in the case, he immediately declares that, concerning it, "no authentic maps or papers have come down to us."

Mr. Stevens also refers to the disastrous expedition of Aillon, as well as to the not more fortunate expeditions, "to Cathay," of Loyasa, of Sebastian Cabot, and of Saavedra; and he closes with the moral, that "it is reserved to us, of to-day, to make the Isthmus of Tehuantepec the 'world's highway.'"

Such a paper, sandwiched in a prospectus for a new railway, is as unusual as it is judicious. The volume which contains it will be sought for and preserved by hundreds who would not otherwise have cared for it; and it will be advertised and talked of, within Massachusetts and without, as no other similar production has hitherto been.

For that reason let us advise our readers who are interested in such inquiries to seek to obtain a copy.

3.—*The Gospel Committed to Inspired Witnesses: A Sermon* preached at the dedication of the fifth house of worship of First Church, Dec. 10, 1863.

*The Mind is Work: A Sermon* preached in First Church, Sunday, Dec. 18, being the first Lord's Day after the Dedication Services.

*Address at the laying of the Corner Stone.* With an Appendix. Printed by request. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son. 1869. Octavo, pp. 52.

After considerable trouble, we have ascertained that the "First Church" referred to on the title-page of this beautiful tract was that of *Boston*; but we failed to find that very important fact, either on the cover or the inside title, on the imprint of the tract or the Resolution of the Committee by authority of which it was printed, in the two Sermons, or in the description of the new Meeting-house, or in the "Order of Services" at the Dedication, or in the inscription of the tablet over the door—the copy of the silver plate which was deposited under the corner-stone and a casual word in the Address, delivered when that corner-stone was laid, alone reveal the secret. If this omission was intentional, the fashion is a poor one; if accidental, it is to be regretted.

This "First Church" in Boston was organized in 1630; met, originally, under a large tree; and afterwards assembled in the houses of its members. About 1632, it erected a shelter for itself, in what is now State-street—a mere cabin of wood and earth. In 1640, it erected a wooden building, and afterwards one of brick, where Joy's building now stands, in Washington-street. In July, 1808, it entered a new house, standing in Chauncey-street. In December last, as will be seen, it again removed—the fourth time—to Berkeley-street.

The Dedication Sermon is a very well written production; but, in one respect, it might have



been somewhat improved, with very little labor. On page 1, we read of the Puritan founders of the Church, as "Christains, who, *for conscience sake*, went out from their fair and stately "churches" [*meeting-houses, we suppose he means*] "in our mother-land, and accepted for their holy things such humble shelter as the wilderness "could afford:" whereas, had the excellent Pastor enjoyed the light of his brother, Doctor George E. Ellis's, superior knowledge on that subject, he would have seen that "a merely "mercenary spirit, bent on *pecuniary* gains, had, "in the main, guided the Company in its origin, as it had similar Patentees corporated by "prior Grants and Charters."—*Massachusetts and her Early History*, 43.

The Address is very good and perfectly appropriate; and the accompanying description of the new edifice indicates a structure of very great beauty.

The typography is excellent, as all that passes from Wilson's Press must be.

4.—*Twelfth Annual Session. Proceedings of the Wisconsin Editorial Association. Held at Milwaukee, Wis., June, 1865. Madison, Wis.: Atwood & Rumble. 1869. Octavo, pp. 109.*

Our brethren of the press, in Wisconsin, seem to have had an annual "good time," during thirteen years past, when they have met, in Convention, discussing matters of general interest, becoming personally acquainted with each other, and having a social talk and general but rational frolic.

The pamphlet before us is the record of the twelfth of these assemblages; and we congratulate the happy fellows on the happy hours which they evidently spent with each other on that occasion.

5.—*Seventh Annual Announcement of the New York Medical College for Women, 1869-70. New York: 1869-70. Octavo, pp. 14.*

The Annual Announcement of what is evidently a very useful institution, controlled by the Homeopathists of the vicinity of New York City.

6.—*Union League Club of New York. Annual Reports of the Executive Committee and Treasurer. By-laws and House Rules. January 14, 1869. Club House, Madison Square. 1869. Octavo, pp. 48.*

The Union League Club of New York is so well known, as the most pretentious Republican organization in the country, that we need not describe it.

In these Reports, we have the record of its doings, during 1868, and of its financial condition, at the close of the past year; and its numerous members have reason to congratulate themselves

on the exhibit, which is made of its affairs. It must be a subject of deep regret to those members, however, that, by the terms of its association, it is to be dissolved at so early a date.

7.—*Roll of Students of Harvard University who served in the Army or Navy of the United States during the War of the Rebellion. Prepared at the request of the Corporation, by Francis H. Brown, M. D. Second edition. Cambridge: Welsh, Bigelow, & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 52.*

This is a record, as briefly told as possible, of the respective positions in the Army or Navy, of such of the Students of Harvard as entered the service of the United States during the recent War, arranged by Classes—commencing with Chaplain Watson, of the Class of 1815, and ending with Lieutenant-colonel Muzzy, of the Class of 1869.

It is useful for reference and as a portion of the written History of the College; but it is sadly defective in the omission of a summary of the numbers—a statement which would have occupied not more than half-a-dozen lines.

#### B.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATION.

8.—*Geology of New Jersey. By Authority of the Legislature. George H. Cook, State Geologist. Published by the Board of Managers. Newark: 1868. Royal octavo, pp. xxiv, 900.*

In 1835, the Legislature of New Jersey authorized the first Survey of the State; and Professor Henry D. Rogers was commissioned by Governor Vroom to execute it. It was completed in 1840; and the final Report is said to have been "one of the best that had then been "made in the United States, and is worthy of "Professor Rogers's eminent abilities in his department of Science."

In 1854, a second and more detailed Survey was ordered. Doctor William Kittell was ordered by Governor Price to superintend the work; and competent assistants, in the various departments, were named in the commission.

It was continued during the years 1854, 1855 and 1856; and full Reports of the progress of the work were published annually and widely circulated. The necessary appropriation for continuing the work through 1857 was, however withheld; and the work was suspended until 1864, when a new commission was authorized and issued to Mr. Cook, who had been Doctor Kittell's assistant; and under his control the Survey has been prosecuted steadily, until a recent date. Five preliminary Reports have been issued, at yearly intervals; and in the elegant volume before us, we have the final Report, embracing the results of the entire work.

Of the great importance of the undertaking there can be no question: on the steady prese

verance with which it has been prosecuted, too much praise cannot be bestowed: of the entire competency, the sterling fidelity, and the great success, of those to whom the several duties have been assigned, the records of their respective labors afford sufficient testimony.

The exceeding importance to the State of these several Surveys, will be seen in the fact that the *practical*, rather than the merely *ornamental* and *scientific*, objects have been kept in mind. The marl deposits, the iron mines, the character and capabilities of the vast tracts of unoccupied lands, and the analysis of the subsoils, are among those which are most noteworthy; and to these Mr. Cook has paid due attention. It is true, that the plan that Mr. Kitchell worked on was greatly modified when it was placed in Mr. Cook's hands; and that the topographical survey, which the former included, was entirely abandoned, after great expenditures had been made on it, while the geological survey itself was changed to a general one, instead of being continued as a series of special surveys of each County and Township, as was originally intended.

In the volume before us, after introducing New Jersey, in both her Geography and Geology, Mr. Cook takes up, successively, in, I. Detailed Geology, the Azoic, the Paleozoic, the Triassic, the Cretaceous, and the Tertiary and Recent Formations, in each of which the Age and Geographical Extent, the Geological Structure, the Rocks, and the Geology of the Surface, are reviewed; in, II. Historic Geology, he notices the Azoic, the Paleozoic, the Triassic, and Cretaceous Formations, the Greensand, Denudation and Drift, Peat and Shell Marl, Elevation and Subsidence, and the common and characteristic Fossils of the Marl Beds. Under the division of Economic Geology, Mr. Cook notices, *First*, the Fertilizers—soils, lime stones and limes, marls, peat, and marine productions—*Second*, Building Materials—building-stone, slates, flags and paving stones, limes and cements, and brick and tile materials—*Third*, Ores—Iron, Zinc, Copper, Lead, Gold, Nickel—*Fourth*, Manufacturers' Materials—Clays, Sand, Fossil Fuel, Water, etc. A Supplementary Chapter is devoted to the Cranberry lands; in an Appendix, we have sundry Tables of Invertebrate Fossils, extinct Reptiles and Mammalia, Minerals, existing Vertebrate Animals, etc.; and an elaborate Index closes the volume.

It will be seen that, in view of the limited scope of his enquiries, Mr. Cook has carefully kept in view the practical good of the State, in whatever promotes the welfare of her members, rather than the mere advancement of science; and we are particularly pleased with the unusual simplicity of his various descriptions, every portion

of which may be read, understandingly, by every intelligent Jersey man, without the least difficulty.

The volume is a very handsome one, carefully and handsomely illustrated with numerous woodcuts and maps; and we earnestly congratulate Mr. Cook on so satisfactory a completion of his very valuable labors.

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9.—*Provincial Papers*. Documents and Records relating to the Province of New Hampshire, from 1686 to 1722: being Part I. of papers relating to that period. Published by authority of the Legislature of New Hampshire. Volume II. Compiled and Edited by Nathaniel Bouton, D. D., Corresponding Secretary of the New Hampshire Historical Society. Manchester: John B. Clarke, State Printer. 1868. Octavo, pp. vi, 764.

In our number for January, 1869, we called our readers' attention to the first volume of these *Provincial Papers*, and to the improper manner in which the new-born bounty of New Hampshire, in historical matters, had been controlled and squandered by Doctor Bouton; and we opened this volume with a hope that some evidence would be afforded therein of a change in his plan of operations.

We regret to say, however, that there has been no change in his mode of treatment of the material which was placed before him; and that all that we said of the first volume and of the self-sufficient old man who edited it after a fashion of his own, is equally applicable to this volume and its Editor. Indeed, he boldly announces, at the head of his Preface, that, "in the preparation of 'this volume, the Editor has adhered to the rules 'adopted in the first.' He has, in other words, 'doctored' all except those which he is pleased to term 'strictly original papers'; and, by punctuation and the use of modern words, he has made the writers of the greater part of the papers say and write what they never either said or wrote—indeed, it is evident, from the face of the papers, that, in the forms in which Doctor Bouton has presented them, they are not genuine, and therefore useless as materials for history.

The volume is very neatly printed.

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10.—*Third Annual Report of the Metropolitan Board of Health of the State of New York*. 1868. Albany: 1868. Octavo, pp. 635.

In this portly volume, we have the yearly Report of the Metropolitan Board of Health—one of those Commissions which a partisan Legislature has thrust upon the City of New York, in violation of her Chartered Rights, and placed under the control of men who are as little in political sympathy with those whose money they expend and whose persons and interests they control, as were those whom George III. thrust upon the Colonies and who furnished one of the most telling counts of the indictment which, in July, 1776,



the insurgents presented against their Sovereign, "the best of Kings."

We have no means at hand for comparing the mortality of the city, under the administration of this very expensive Commission, with that under the administration of poor Frank Boole, the last Inspector; nor have we the means, within reach, of comparing the relative expenses. We hope the contrast when we shall make it, will prove more favorable to the Board than it did last year; and we shall be happy to notice any such improvement—an expenditure of one hundred and three thousand dollars on that little island, in *official* quarters alone, ought to have produced some marvellous improvements in the health of the city; although we fear it has not.

There is one portion of this volume which is entitled to very much wider attention than, we fear, it will enjoy—we refer to a very elaborate Report on the Texas Cattle Disease, illustrated with drawings, in colors, of the operations of the disease, on the animals that are affected with it. It is eminently entitled to the careful attention of every one, whether within or without the city.

The volume is very neatly printed and forms a very important addition to the local literature of the city of New York.

11.—*Acts and Joint Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of South Carolina, passed at the Regular Session of 1863-69.* Printed by order of the General Assembly, and designed to form a part of the fourteenth volume of the *States at Large*, commencing with the Acts of 1868. Columbia, S. C.: John W. Denny, Printer to the State. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 169—293, 6.

The elaborate title-page of this volume very fully indicates what its contents are.

Among the Acts are very many Special Acts of Incorporation; one of them (*No. 90*) recognizes, in the Ordinances of the State Constitutional Convention, all the weight of authority that the Constitution of the State possesses; another (*No. 91*) abolishes the benefit of clergy in the Criminal Jurisprudence of the State; another (*No. 98*) forbids the discrimination of any person because of his race, color, etc.; another (*No. 122*) confirms, in an illegal election of municipal officers in Charleston, certain "irregularities" by means of which "the largest number of votes" were secured for certain specified persons; another (*No. 125*) mixes the colors in the University of South Carolina; another (*No. 144*) establishes a lien law; and another (*No. 187*) determines the relative values of "lawful money" and Confederate State Notes, from January 1, 1861, until May 1, 1865,—a most important paper, as material for history. Among the "Joint Resolutions" is one "ratifying the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States"—a measure that cannot be *legally* effected by a mere "Joint

"Resolution," as the action of South Carolina herself, on the first ten Amendments would have indicated to her legislators, had they desired to ascertain their constitutional authority in the premises.

12.—*Statement of the disposition of some of the bodies of Deceased Union Soldiers and Prisoners of War whose remains have been removed to the National Cemeteries in the Southern and Western States.* Volume iv. Washington: Government Printing office. 1869. Octavo, pp. 43.

*Roll of Honor, (No. XVIII.)* Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in National Cemeteries at Port Harrison, Va., Wilmington and Raleigh, N. C., Port Hudson, La., Brownsville San Antonio, and Galveston, Texas, Little Rock, Fayetteville, and Fort Smith, Ark., Indianapolis, Ind., Mound City, Ill., Cincinnati, Ohio, Springfield, Mo., Forts Scott and Leavenworth, Kansas; and in local Cemeteries and at military posts in Texas, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Wisconsin, Michigan, Iowa, and Kansas. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1868. Octavo, pp. 469.

(*No. XIX.*) Names of Soldiers who died in defence of the American Union, interred in the National Cemeteries at Baltimore, Maryland, Petersburg, Virginia, New Berne, North Carolina, Florence, South Carolina, (Additional) Baton Rouge, Louisiana, Fort St. Philip, Louisiana, Jefferson City, Missouri, and various Posts in the States of Minnesota and New Mexico, and Arizona, Colorado, Dakota, Indian, Montana, Utah, and Washington Territories. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1869. Octavo, pp. 349.

In our numbers for January and February last, we noticed the earlier volumes of this sad record; and the Quarter-master-general of the Army has kindly enabled us to return to it.

The very full title-pages will convey to the reader the exact character of these volumes; and in the first of the three is recorded "the removal of "sixty-three thousand, eight hundred, and forty-seven bodies, from two hundred and ninety-five "different localities to twenty-three of the National Cemeteries"; in the second of them is "the record of twenty-two thousand, nine hundred graves of Union soldiers," in the various Cemeteries referred to on the title-page; and the third "records the burial places of seventeen thousand, four hundred, and forty-three deceased Union soldiers," in the Cemeteries referred to in the title-page.

The volumes are very neatly printed.

13.—*County of New York. Communication from the Comptroller relative to Expenditures and Receipts of the County of New York, on account of the Damage by the Riots of 1863.* Document No. 13. Board of Supervisors, December 27, 1867. New York: N. Y. Printing Co., Printers to the County. 1868. Octavo, pp. (Vol. I.) 1215, (Vol. II.) 1082.

Who has not heard of the Draft Riots in New York? Who does not remember the changes which were rung, a year ago, on Governor Seymour's "friends," by those whose peculiar friends were evidently the real rioters?

The portly volumes before us contain the records of the various claims for damages, with the

detailed evidence presented in each of the cases by every person who is known to have suffered by that notable outbreak; together with the amounts paid thereon. They present, therefore, the most minute descriptions of the damage to property, as defined by the various sufferers; and they present, too, some very curious evidence of the elasticity of sundry consciences, among divers prominent citizens of that tax-ridden and grossly-abused municipality.

Those who shall have any inclination to ascertain how much the rioters were "the friends" of Abram Wakeman, recently the Republican Postmaster of New York City, and how admirably that gentleman was treated by those *friendly* rioters, will be gratified by turning to Volume I., Pages 648, 667.

The volumes are very fairly printed.

14.—*Proceedings of the Fifth Anniversary of the University Convocation of the State of New York, held August 4th, 5th and 6th, 1868.* Albany: 1869. Octavo, pp. 310.

The University of the State of New York is organized on a plan which is, we believe, peculiar to itself; and the Regents who govern it are vastly more important, in their official relations, than is generally supposed.

By the system referred to, the several Colleges and Academies which are scattered throughout the State form, in the aggregate, one University, under the control of a Board of Regents; and there is no just reason for supposing that as marked a success should not attend such an organization, if properly governed, as would attend a similar organization, under similar circumstances, of as many separate Colleges and Academies, clustered in one little town, on the bank of some muddy river, in the interior of this or any other State.

At any rate, under the control of Chancellor Pruyn and the present Board of Regents, the University has become "a grand reality;" and, among the good effects of it, there is a yearly Convocation of officers of Colleges and Academies, for the purpose of mutual consultation respecting the cause of Education, especially in the higher branches.

The pamphlet before us relates to the fifth of these Convocations, when Addresses were delivered by Professors North, of Hamilton College, Nicholls, of the College of the City of New York, Cooley, of the State Normal School, Martin, of Rutgers Female College, Clarke, of Canandaigua Academy, Anderson and Robinson, of Rochester University, Drisler, of Columbia College, Flack, of Claverack Academy, Raymond, of Vassar College, Pomeroy, of the University of the City of New York, etc.; and it closes

with one of the best historical papers, on the Schools of the New Netherlands, by Mr. Pratt, which we have seen for many a day.

Our readers need not be told that *Public Education*, such as we now see in this State, finds no favor in our eyes; and, while we have nothing to say against the subject matter of these papers, *per se*, we insist that all of it is foreign to the interest of the tax-payers, since it ensures a high grade of education to a few—and mostly to those who are able to pay for it themselves—at the expense of the great body of those tax-payers.

Concerning Mr. Pratt's paper, it is too good to extend no further than the close of the Dutch administration; and we earnestly hope that it will be brought down, with minute exactness, to the date of the organization of our present system of Public Schools.

15.—*Forty-eighth Legislature. Senate No. 1. State of Maine.* Sine loco, [Augusta?] sine anno. [1869?] Octavo, pp. 18.

Under this disguise, we have a letter from Hon. John A. Poor to the Governor of Maine, concerning the population, value of property, manufacturing capital employed, railroads in operation, the extent of commercial facilities, and other departments of industry in, and on the resources of, that State.

It is certainly a tract of the greatest importance, in all collections concerning the State of Maine; and every "collector" of locals should hasten to secure a copy.

16.—*Journal of the Council of Censors of the State of Vermont*, at its first Session held at the Capitol in Montpelier, June 2d, 3d, and 4th, A. D. 1869. Published by order of Council. Montpelier: 1869. Octavo, pp.

State of Vermont. Report of Special Committee on Woman Suffrage. Council of Censors—Second Session. 1869. Octavo, pp. 8.

Report of Special Committee on Biennial Sessions and Elections. Council of Censors—Second Session. 1869. Octavo, pp. 9.

Report of Executive Committee. Council of Censors—Second Session. 1869. Octavo, pp. 4.

Report of Committee on Taxes and Expenditures. Council of Censors—Second Session. 1869.

Majority Report of the Special Committee on changing the mode of amending the Constitution. Council of Censors—Second Session. 1869.] Octavo, pp. 6.

Minority Report of Special Committee on changing the mode of amending the Constitution. Council of Censors—Second Session. 1869. Octavo, pp. 11.

Report of Special Committee on the Judiciary. Council of Censors—Second Session. 1869. Octavo, pp. 23.

Report of Special Committee on Woman Suffrage on the Resolution of Mr. Dewey, relating to the Militia. Council of Censors—Second Session. 1869. Octavo, pp. 5.



..... Supplemental Report of Majority of Special Committee on changing the Mode of amending the Constitution. Council of Censors—Second Session. 1869. Octavo, pp. 6.

..... Report of Special Committee on the Resolution of Mr. Lane, relating to Corporations. Council of Censors—Second Session. 1869. Octavo, pp. 3.

[.....] Article of Amendment, No. —. Octavo, pp. 1.

[.....] Articles of Amendment. Octavo, pp. 1.

..... Proposed Articles of Amendment to the Constitution. Pending in the Council of Censors—Second Session. 1869. Octavo, pp. 7.

It may not be known to all our readers, that Vermont elects, every seven years, what she knows as a "Council of Censors," whose duty it is to assemble and ascertain if any noticeable defect exists in the Constitution of the State; to propose such Amendments thereto as it shall judge necessary; and to call a Convention of the State, for the purpose of considering the proposed amendments.

One of these "Boards of Censors" assembled at Montpelier, in June last; and, in the pamphlets named at the head of this notice—for which we are indebted to Hon. Charles Reed, one of the Censors—we have the Journal of its doings and a complete series of its Documents—among them, two on the question of Woman Suffrage.

As portions of the written history of the Constitution of Vermont, these papers possess the highest importance to the student and the jurist; and, as such, we have willingly yielded to a description of them an extent of space which some may have supposed might have been otherwise appropriated to a better advantage.

17.—*First Annual Report upon the Geology and Mineralogy of the State of New Hampshire.* By C. H. Hitchcock. Manchester: John B. Clarke, State Printer. 1869. Octavo, pp. 36.

Among the States, New Hampshire was early in the field, taking a survey of her territory, with a view of promoting the welfare of its inhabitants.

At the June Session of the Legislature of that State, 1839, an Act was passed "to provide for 'the Geological and Mineralogical Survey of 'the State;'" and, in September following, Doctor Charles T. Jackson, of Boston, was appointed the Geologist of the State. In 1842, the Legislature resolved to continue this survey, and appropriated three thousand dollars to defray its cost; but, in 1843, there was a re-action in that body and it was discontinued.

Of this Survey, there were some three or four Annual Reports; and, in 1844, pursuant to Resolves of the Legislature, passed in June, 1843, a "final Report" was published under Doctor Jackson's direction, in a very handsome quarto, elaborately illustrated.

We are not aware that any further notice was taken of the subject until the June Session of the Legislature, 1868, when another Act, "establishing the Geological and Mineralogical Survey of New Hampshire," was enacted; and, in September following, Professor C. H. Hitchcock, of Hanover, was appointed Geologist. He entered, at once, on the duties of his office; and commenced with an examination of the new Ammonoosuc Gold Field, in Grafton-county, and in making a hurried reconnaissance of the West and North parts of Coos-county.

During the present year, the survey has been continued in the Gold Fields of the State; and, in the little volume before us, we have the First Report of this exceedingly important undertaking.

In it, we have careful descriptions of the Ammonoosuc Gold Field, in the valley of the Connecticut, the Dodge mine, in Lyman, the Grafton Company's mine, in the same town, the Pittsburg Company's works, in Bath and Lyman, the Williams Company's property, and the New Hampshire Company's mines; and the question of the profits attending Gold-mining in New Hampshire is also carefully discussed. Attention is also paid to the Copper mines throughout the State, the Zinc mine at Warren, the Slate quarries in Littleton, the Peat-fields throughout the State, and the Limestone of East Lisbon and East Haverhill.

We are sure that a work possessing so much importance as this will be very welcome, both within and without New Hampshire; and we hope that the State will not withhold the small amount of money which shall be necessary to complete it.

18.—*First and Second Annual Report of Progress by a State Geologist and the Assistant and Chemist on the Geological Survey of the State of Iowa,* together with the substance of popular lectures contributed to the Newspapers the State, during the years 1866 and 1867, in accordance with Law; also extracts originally contributed to scientific journals as a part of the work of the survey. Des Moines: W. Palmer, State Printer. 1868. Octavo, pp. 234.

In March, 1866, for the purpose of completing this yet unfinished survey, an Act was passed by the Legislature, appointing Charles A. White to the office of State Geologist; authorizing him to employ an Assistant, a Chemist, and such other assistance as should be necessary; directing him to continue the Survey, and especially the examination of soils, to notice "such matters as pertain to Physical Geography," and, generally, "to give to the people of the State the great amount of practical information in relation to its resources." He was directed, also, to use words in his Reports, as far as is practicable, are in common use; to add a Glossary to each Report; and to forward to the Newspapers

the State, from time to time, such information concerning the soil, deposits of coal, etc., as shall be locally interesting to the public.

The volume before us contains the two Reports, for 1866 and 1867, respectively; and, although the Reports themselves are mere shells, the novel Newspaper Reports seem to fill the vacancy and supply the information which the Survey was intended to secure.

The result of this curious, but popular and useful, mode of publishing the result of the enterprise is seen in the unusually simple style of the Reports; and we are not sure that Iowa has not set an example to her sister States, in this instance, which may be usefully followed in all of them.

We shall look for the future issues of this Survey, with much interest.

19.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Wisconsin for the year ending June 23, 1869*, with a statement of the courses of instruction in the various departments. Madison, Wis.: 1869. Octavo, pp. 88.

The title-page conveys to the reader a correct description of the contents of this work.

There are, in this institution, *of males*, four Resident Graduates, nine Seniors, twenty-five Juniors, thirty-four Sophomores, thirteen Freshmen, fifty-two "University Students," a hundred and ninety-one in the Preparatory Department, and fifteen Law Students: *of females*—for this University admits both sexes to its halls—eight are Seniors, eleven in the "Senior Middle Class," forty-three in the "Junior Middle Class," eighty-six Juniors, and two special students, in German.

The expense of tuition is eighteen, and room-rent, six, dollars per year; board is three dollars per week—who, at these rates, need be without a collegiate education?

20.—*Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, held in Columbia, S. C., September, 1865*, together with the Ordinances, Reports, Resolutions, etc. Published by order of the Convention. Columbia, S. C.: J. A. Selby, Printer to the Convention. 1865. Octavo, pp. 226.

*Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of South Carolina, held at Charleston, S. C., beginning January 14th, and ending March 17th, 1868. Including the Debates and Proceedings.* Reported by J. Woodruff, Phonographic Reporter. Two volumes in one. Published by order of the Convention. Charleston, S. C.: 1868. Octavo, pp. 926.

*The Constitution of the State of South Carolina*, with the Ordinances thereunto appended, adopted by the Constitutional Convention which was held at Charleston, and adjourned on the 17th March, 1868. Charleston: 1868. Octavo, pp. 46.

In March, 1776, the Provincial Congress of South Carolina, on its own motion, framed a temporary Constitution for the insurgent Colony; and, in 1778, the Legislature of the State, passed a Statute, which it was pleased to term a Consti-

tution, which superceded the temporary affair which had been adopted two years earlier.

In 1790, a Convention was assembled for the purpose of framing a new Constitution; and, with a few amendments, enacted in 1808 and 1816, the Constitution then promulgated continued in force until 1860. In the latter year, the Convention which adopted the celebrated Ordinance of Secession made some necessary changes in the Constitution, to adapt it to the new order of affairs; and, in the Fall of 1865, by order of the Acting President of the United States, a fifth Constitution was framed, by a Convention which was called for that purpose.

The first-named of these volumes, referred to at the head of this notice, is the record of the doings of the last-mentioned Convention; and our readers will perceive, therefore, how much importance attaches to this dingy little volume.

In 1867, the Congress of the United States very sensibly declared that the Acting President possessed no such authority, under the Constitution and Laws, as he had undertaken to exercise, in the organization of the Convention of 1865; but the measure of its own real respect for the "Supreme law of the land" was seen in the promulgation, *by itself*, of an Act for the assembling of a new Convention, for the purpose of framing still another Constitution—like the former, without regard to the People of South Carolina—and, in accordance with the provisions of that Act, such a Convention was assembled at Charleston, in January, 1868; and it issued what is yet designated the Constitution of South Carolina.

The second of the volumes referred to, at the head of this notice, is the complete record of the doings of the last of these assemblages; while the third is the official copy of the instrument which that Convention sent out into the world, as *The Constitution of the State of South Carolina*.

If there ever was a fraud in this world, the pretence that the United States form a republic, governed by the People of the several States, under the provisions of the written Constitution, is such a fraud; and for the evidence of that fraud, nothing better is needed than these volumes. The transgressions of Jefferson Davis and his compeers were bad enough—they openly violated and defied the supreme law to which they owed obedience—but Andrew Johnson and the Congress of the United States, in these usurpations of undelegated authority, have severally outstripped the others in wickedness and will severally go down to future ages, stamped with deeper infamy, as law-breakers, than either Mr. Davis or any of his party. The latter were open violators of the Constitution: so were each of the former. The latter violated the Constitution without hypocrisy and without cant: the former



falsely and hypocritically pretended to honor the Constitution, at the very moment when they were striking at its integrity; and their lips were overflowing with professions of unusual integrity, even while they, themselves, were fattening on the plunder of their criminality.

As we have said, these volumes are among the most important of the recent issues from the press, to every close student of the history of the Republic.

21.—*Calendar of Historical Manuscripts relating to the War of the Revolution, in the office of the Secretary of State.* Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Co. 1868. Quarto, pp. (I.) vi, 682, (II.) Title and verso, 295.

Some years since, the Senate ordered five hundred copies of the Calendars of the historical manuscripts, in the Secretary of State's office, from 1630 to 1801, to be published at the expense of the State; and, first, those of the Dutch period, and, subsequently, those of the English period, have been thrown before the world, much to the gratification of every working student and as much to the benefit of the State, in correcting and promulgating its History. In these volumes, the series is extended through the War of the Revolution, or—as we see very few after that date—until the date of the establishment of the Constitutional State Government, in 1777; and it has been prepared with all the painstaking accuracy which has so long distinguished the work of Doctor O'Callaghan.

In these volumes, however, we notice one difference from those which have preceded it—they are not merely a *Calendar*, but they give, instead, the different papers *entire*; and these, with the elaborate Index at the close, leave nothing to be desired which has been left undone.

The venerable Editor has now reached that period in our history in which occurred the great contest of parties, concerning the spirit and form of the *Constitution of the State* and the temper in which it was to be administered; and concerning the still more aggravated contest in which was subsequently resisted, by the best blood of the State, that proposed *Constitution for the United States*, which although proposed, and nominally ratified, was almost as speedily overthrown by the ten Amendments which were attached to it and which overrode its more questionable provisions.

*There was no State which had so faithfully discharged its duty during the War as New York: there was no State which had more honorably discharged its duty to the Confederacy than New York: there was no State which was as prosperous, under the Confederacy, as New York: there was no State which sacrificed more individual advantage, and individual prosperity, and State*

*property, for the common good of all the States of the Confederacy, as New York, when her sanction to "the proposed Constitution" was stolen from her, with the aid of those of her servants whom she had directed to resist it; and the forthcoming volumes of the series will unquestionably reveal some of those evidences of individual wickedness and associated fraud which, hitherto, we have known only by their fruits. We shall most anxiously await the next installment; and the laborious and accurate Editor has our best wishes in his labors.*

22.—*Fifty-first Annual Report of the Trustees of the New York State Library.* Transmitted to the Legislature Feb. 2, 1869. Albany: The Argus Company. 1869. Octavo, pp. 204.

This Report shows that, during 1868, twenty-five hundred and seventy-two volumes were added to the Library, making a total of seventy-eight thousand, one hundred, and fifty-nine. Forty-two hundred dollars were expended for books; two thousand dollars for binding books; eleven hundred and forty dollars for contingencies; and a little over a hundred for international and State exchanges. There are few libraries in this country which are as well arrayed as economically managed as this.

#### C.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

23.—*Memoirs of Service Afloat, during the War between the States.* By Admiral Raphael Semmes of the late Confederate States Navy. Illustrated with Steel Engraving Portraits and Six Engravings from Original Designs printed in Chromo-Tints. Baltimore: Kelly, Piet, & Co. 18 Octavo, pp. 833.

Among the most readable of books, the best of narratives, and the most important to students of the history of that period, is one entitled *Service Afloat and Ashore, in the Mexican War*; and the writer of it has been generally recognized, as an officer of superior abilities and as a historical writer of great merit.

When the recent Civil War broke out, the author of that work, we believe, was a Commander in the Navy of the United States; but when the South required his assistance, he resigned office and retired to Alabama, in order to enter the service of the new Confederacy. This was followed by a visit to New York and New England, in order to purchase supplies for the prosecution of the expected War; and it is a significant fact that he was permitted to visit the Arsenal, in the city of Washington, on his return to the North, to inspect the machinery there, and confer with mechanics "whom he desired to 'duce to go South.'" He also visited "the principal workshops in New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts;" "purchased large quantities of percussion-caps in the city of New

"York, and sent them, by express, without any disguise, to Montgomery;" and "made a contract for the removal to the Southern States, of a complete set of machinery for rifling cannon, with the requisite skilled workmen to put it in operation;" etc. without interference. As the Agent of the Confederates, he freely made purchases in their behalf; and he coolly remarks of some of those northern men with whom he thus had dealings, "Some of these men, who would thus have sold body and soul to me, for a sufficient consideration, occupied high social positions and were men of wealth. I dined with them," he says, "at their comfortable residences, near their factories, where the music of boring out cannon accompanied the clatter of the dishes and the popping of champagne-corks; and I had more than one business interview with gentlemen who occupied the most costly suits of apartments at the Astor House, in New York City." "Many of these gentlemen," he continues, "being unable to carry out their contracts with the Confederate States, because of the prompt breaking out of the War, afterward obtained lucrative contracts from the Federal Government, and became, in consequence, intensely loyal." Comment on this statement is unnecessary, since many of those men are known, notwithstanding their plunder now protects them and makes them what is called "respectable."

The Confederate officer with whom these Northern "loyal" men thus hobnobbed, and of whom we are writing, returned to the South, soon after; and, as the Commander, successively, of the *Sumter* and the *Alabama*, he is not likely to be very soon forgotten.

It is not, however, with the author of the volume referred to, but with another matter, which we have to do. The author of *Service, afloat and ashore*, has written another book not less interesting, nor less graphic, not less important as material for history, than that; and of this last work, our present writing takes cognizance.

The volume referred to is a handsome octavo, of large size, and well illustrated. It opens with six Chapters of political material—a kind of "Apology" for what the author conceives to be the truth and a kind of a plea in justification, for what, it must be admitted, he honestly conceives to have been his duty.

As may be supposed, this preliminary matter is a new presentation of the Southern arguments in defence of its assumed rights, as independent States of a confederated Republic, and of its assumed right and authority, legally, to dissolve its connection, in the Union, with the North, East, and West. It is a new presentation of old arguments and old evidences, by a skillful hand; and it is successful as far as such evidences and such arguments can warrant success.

There is very much which the author has written in this portion of his volume which every close student of our country's history and every honest student of our country's organic and controlling laws will freely and frankly admit to be true; but neither the one nor the other will admit,—indeed, both must promptly deny—that, *without an exercise of the fundamental right of Revolution, and strictly within the limits of the supreme law*, "the South had the right to dissolve the compact of government under which it had lived with the North."

It is entirely immaterial by what term the Union is known. It may be stiled a "copartnership," a "compact," a "sisterhood," a "family" "of States," an "Union," or anything else; the stern fact remains, untouched and unimpeached, that those sovereign States which are parties to that Union had entered into a compact, each with the others, for the formation of a Federal Republic; that the terms of that compact were strictly defined, clearly written, and generally understood; that with the full and free assent of each of the several parties thereto—the several States—that compact—which is known to us, generally, as, *The Articles of Confederation*—was subsequently amended by the substitution for several of its provisions, of others which are known to us, in the aggregate, as *The Constitution for the United States*; that, notwithstanding the substitution of these new provisions in the compact, for sundry old provisions which were thus superceded, and the addition of sundry new provisions which were then considered necessary in order "to make a more perfect Union," etc., than it had been previously, those provisions of the original compact which had been neither superceded by new provisions nor positively nor necessarily cancelled, remained unimpaired and in full force and effect, as the supreme law of the land, and binding alike upon every member of the Union; that among those original *Articles of Confederation* which were thus neither superceded nor repealed by any provisions of *The Constitution*, were one which confederated the several independent States and formed a Federal Republic, under the style of "The United States of America," with those several States as its individual members; and another, which declared that that Union should be "perpetual;" and no Statute of the Federal Congress, and no Ordinance of a State Convention, and no Joint Resolution of a State Legislature, can cancel those unrepealed provisions of the original compact, nor can the binding force of the latter, in law, be broken, except either by the general consent, to such breach, *before making it*, of every party to the compact, or by successful Revolution—neither of which was secured and both of which were dis-



regarded, if not positively disclaimed. The South, in assuming to dissolve the Union by its own action only, was, therefore, indisputably, a violator of the organic law of the Republic: as she insists that in this she did not intend to be revolutionary, she was necessarily *insurgent*; and, as she was such, the Federal authorities had no alternative but to compel her to obey the laws, as far as they could do so, or to criminally neglect their duty.

Whether or not the crime of the South was treason, is immaterial for the purposes of this inquiry; and, as our author expressly denies it, we shall take him at his word; recognize him only as an *insurgent*; remind him that he was thus confessedly a violator of known and recognized laws which were merely distasteful to him; that he was overcome by the legally-constituted authorities of the Republic, exercising their legal authority to suppress insurrections; and that many of his terms, being applicable only to the parties in a "public War," between independent sovereignties, are, therefore, entirely inapplicable and misplaced.

The Ninth Chapter opens with the history of the cruise of the *Sumter* and the Twenty-ninth with that of the cruise of the *Alabama*; and that portion of the volume, therefore, which follows the Eighth Chapter, is that which is most important.

The author's Chapter on the legality of the *Alabama's* equipment, is entirely inapplicable, since it is based entirely on the supposition that the South was in Revolution rather than in Insurrection—a condition of affairs which no one has more strenuously denied than this very writer, in this very volume.

The South had openly defied, and attempted to violate, one of the original Articles of the compact on which she most resolutely depends: was she, in this, merely an insurgent, like the Whisky-rioters of Pennsylvania and the followers of "Big Thunder," in the Heldeberg; or a more formidable Revolutionist, such as Samuel Adams, and John Morin Scott, and George Washington? If the former, there is no room for the least apology, anywhere, for the equipment of either the *Sumter* or the *Alabama*: if the latter, we need say no more, for the purpose of noticing this volume, than that the author has not been consistent with himself, in this portion of his work; and that we shall await his reconciliation with himself, before proceeding to notice at length any portion of his "apology," on this subject.

Concerning the annals of the cruises of the *Sumter* and the *Alabama*, as they are here presented, we can say nothing which will add to their importance. They are absolutely essen-

tial to every one who pretends to take careful notice of the history of that eventful period in the history of the Republic; and they will repay a careful perusal of them by the elegance of the style in which they are presented, by the frankness of the author's avowal of his unbroken sympathies with "the lost cause" and of his unbroken hatred of those who overpowered it, and by the high importance, as material for history, of the statements which are thus authoritatively made.

As we have said, the volume is a handsome one; but the want of an Index is a grievous wrong to the reader and should be remedied in a new edition.

24.—*The History of the Great Republic, considered from a Christian stand-point.* By Jesse T. Peck, D.D. With thirty-four steel portraits. Sold by subscription only. New York: Broughton & Wyman. 1869. Octavo, pp. 710.

A History of the United States, "from a Christian stand-point," is certainly desirable, in the aggregate; but before we can judge of the merits or demerits of his productions or of the measure of praise which is due to him, as either a historian, in fact, or as one who only aspires to be such, it is important to know just where the author considers "a Christian stand-point," and just what are his capabilities and his means to make a History, from *any* stand-point, which is worth the paper on which it is to be printed.

In the volume before us, the Author seeks to maintain "that God is the rightful, actual Sovereign of all nations; that a purpose to advance the human race beyond all its precedents, in intelligence, goodness, and power, formed this great Republic; and that Religion is the only life-force and organizing power of Liberty." He claims to have been, "for at least a quarter of a century, a careful student of his country's history;" and, "among the most valuable works" which he has used in this, the only portion of his labors which have been printed, are those of Bancroft and Hildreth, J. Fennimore Cooper and Professor Greene, Frank Moore and Sir Morton Peto, Doctor Stevens and Doctor Baird, Goss, Partridge, Prime, Greeley, de Gasparin, Swinton, Kennedy, J. Ross Brown, B. F. Morris, Alexander Delmar, Doctor Reed and Doctor Cumming, Doctor Peck, Doctor Draper, and Doctor Hough, Appleton's *Encyclopedia*, Mr. Pollard, and Mr. Headley—truly a mixed assemblage from which to weave a history of the United States, "from a Christian stand-point."

The first six pages of the work are occupied with an argument to prove, what few will deny, that "Jehovah is to-day the Sovereign of all nations;" and the American Republic is "responsible to him." The author then undertakes to tell what the purposes of God were in

reserving the Western Continent from the occupation of civilized man, until a recent date, and what He now intends to accomplish here, by those whom He has placed or whom He shall hereafter place here. He then assumes to trace the details of this plan of God, in the discovery and settlement of the Continent by Europeans; and he points out what he, curiously enough, considers "grand errors" in that plan of God, wherein the union of the Colonies and a Church was legally consummated, and wherein African Slavery was firmly fastened on America. He sees in "the rejection" of some Colonists and the acceptance of others—in what he assumes to be the *exclusion*, we suppose, of France, Spain, and Holland, and the *ascendency* of England—the outcroppings of the particular plan which he has invented; and he refers to the "Romanists" as flippantly as if Maryland was never settled, as if Florida was a wilderness, and as if Louisiana and its surroundings had never existed. The "Christian stand-point," in short, from which Dr. Peck has evidently written his History, is that which considers "Christianity" as a synonym of "Protestantism": and to be a "Protestant," and therefore "a Christian," one must evidently be what is very curiously considered as "a Republican" in politics and a Methodist in church-relation.

Now, all this may be so, but we do not believe it; and as Doctor Peck has favored his readers with no foot-notes, he must pardon us when we say that we think he has no competent authority for the statement. God is, indeed, the Supreme Ruler of the Universe; and to him all men, individually and collectively,—Methodist preachers as well as outsiders,—are unquestionably accountable for all that they shall do or say. But to say that God intends this or intends that, or that his "plans" are defective, here or there, in spots, is presumptuous and blasphemous; and even when the writer is a Doctor of Divinity, the matter is not thereby improved. To be a "Romanist," too, is not to be, necessarily, a bad man, any more than to be a Protestant is to be, necessarily, a good one; and we shall be glad to learn wherein, *as between God and man*, the latter has any such "rights" as Doctor Peck has so learnedly told us of, in this volume, or, indeed, *any* "rights" whatever.

From Doctor Peck's "Christian stand-point," "the noble and gallant" John Smith figures largely in Colonial Virginia; and the Doctor sees therefrom, also, "the hand of God," in the story of "the rescue of Captain John Smith" by "the young and beautiful Pocahontas,"—a story which a twenty-five year old student should have known is a mere fable. He discovers, also, from that "stand-point," that, "doubtless," Lord Baltimore was a hypocrite, because he was

a Roman Catholic; that the Christian-like invitation by that noble "Romanist," to the oppressed for conscience sake, to take shelter in Maryland, from their Protestant oppressors, was a fraud; and that his voluntary guarantees, to his Colonists and the world, of political and religious freedom to all within his Colony, were to be overthrown at the first opportunity—as they were subsequently overthrown, not, however, by Romanists but by Protestants. From the same "stand-point," Winthrop is discovered to have been "mild and loving;" Wilson, of Boston, "honest;" and John Cotton, "godly" and one who "breathed a devout temper." The Eastern Indians were massacred or sold into slavery, from the same "stand-point," because "they would not listen to moderate counsel;" and Calvinism, therefrom, is grossly and unjustly libelled. The New England primitive Puritans, as seen from Doctor Peck's "Christian stand-point," were really models of republicanism, christianity, and love. From this "stand-point," also, Lexington is seen to have been a marvellous "battle;" and the refugees from Bunkers-hill formed, it seems, the nucleus of the Continental Army. Bennington and Saratoga, too, are seen therefrom as no other writer has seen them; and "the patriotism of Vermont was too profound" and pervading to be destroyed by trials, however severe or unjust they might be." The operations in New Jersey, ending with the action at Princeton, are made to come after the Northern Campaign under Burgoyne and in the latter part of the *third* year of Washington's command-in-chief; and, from "a Christian stand-point," "on the *Gaspé* was shed the first blood of the Revolution." From "the Christian stand-point" occupied by Doctor Peck, the great insurrection of 1775, does not assume the character of a rebellion; and if that gentleman has ever read the Treaty of Peace which terminated the War of Independence, he is a *willing* falsifier of history; if he has not, he is unfit for the solemn duty which he has undertaken. So, too, Doctor Peck has ascertained, what no lawyer has ever heard of, that "to the General Government belonged the right of eminent domain," even in the earliest days of the unconfederated States; and his descriptions of the Republic, its organization, and its Government, are uniformly entirely erroneous, and so peculiarly so that they are much more like the result of deliberate misrepresentation than of accident or ignorance.

We have not space to follow Doctor Peck further through his incoherent mass of words—a jumble of high-toned phrases, thrown together either without knowledge or with an intention to conceal the honest truth; and exhibiting, everywhere, either the most surprising ignorance of even the leading features of the history and char-



acter of the Republic or the most barefaced disregard of his known duty, in his new vocation as a writer of History.

The volume is not, in short, what we confidently expected to find. We supposed that we should see before us an honest, earnest, truthful narrative of the rise, progress, and present condition of "the Great Republic"—a narrative in which the influence of Religion would be recognized, not only in the doings of others but in those of the author himself. We supposed the Author would denounce error and approve the truth; that crime, whether in high places or low, would be condemned; that virtue, in low places as well as in high places, would be honored; that the author, himself, in his own writing, would appear like a Christian, fully qualified to occupy the stand-point which he aspires to. We expected to find, truly, a History of the Great Republic, from a *Christian* stand-point. Instead of this, we have a ponderous octavo of mere *cant*, and one which is wholly useless as an authority for students and worse than useless as a volume for the family book-shelf.

25.—*New-England's Jonas Cast up at London*. 1647. By Major John Child. With an Introduction and Notes, by W. T. R. Marvin. Boston: W. Parsons Lunt. 1869. Quarto and small quarto, pp. lii, (Title-page) 2, 40.

In this beautiful little volume, we have a careful re-print of one of those early tracts on New English history which serve to illustrate New England as she really was, or, at least, as those of her own people who were not within her official "ring" saw her, and felt the influence of those who were more favored than they.

From the beginning until now, Massachusetts has consistently pursued the same two-faced policy of selfishness; and we know of no parallel to it, for inconsistency of principle or dishonesty of purpose.

Originally, a private body-corporate, formed for the purpose of trade and the settlement of waste lands, in order to make gain thereby, with the seat of its Government in England, with authority vested in it to make By-laws, subordinate to the laws of the Realm, for its own government and for the government of those who should be employed by it, it suddenly, and secretly, and in violation of known law, transferred its seat of Government to New England; assumed the rights and prerogatives of a body-politic; and, although pretending to recognise its allegiance to the King, set itself up for, and habitually styled itself, a "Commonwealth." For the enjoyment of all the privileges, and protection, and advantages in trade, which Englishmen enjoyed in England and her dependencies, Massachusetts was always, from the beginning until the

separation of the Colony from the Mother Country, intensely *English*, and eager for a full share; but, when the reciprocal duties and obligations which she owed to the King and the Mother Country were under consideration, she was always as intensely *Massachusetts*; invariably considered herself as an independent Commonwealth; and constantly maintained that she was entirely beyond the control of the Home Government and in no wise accountable to it for her action.

Nor has that policy ceased to be asserted and acted on since the Revolution separated Massachusetts from the Mother Country. In her organic law and in all her intercourse with her sister States and with the Federal authorities, when *Massachusetts* has been the subject under consideration, *she* has been and still is, in her own words, "a free, sovereign, and independent Commonwealth, or State;" and, as such, has claimed that she is entitled, both in law and in fact, to set up her sweet will as authoritatively and as rightly as Catharine of Russia or Elizabeth of England set up their notions as the supreme law, within their respective territories, in their days and generations. If a negro settled in Boston, *she* was to be consulted as to his right to remain there. If a War was to be declared by the Federal Congress, for the redress of grievances, real or imaginary, *she* was to decide when and in what manner; and she declared in the Congress, by her leading Representative, that in default, she would retire from the Union. If men were needed to man the forts which were built by the confederacy for her protection against a public enemy in time of public War, the constitutional requisition of the President of the United States, on *her*, was considered of no binding force whatever, until *her* Governor was pleased to determine whether or not, in *his* august opinion, there was any existing necessity for those troops and any existing necessity, to *his* party, for honoring the requisitions. If the action of the constitutional authorities of the Republic, legally exercised, displeased *her*, she assembled in Convention with those other States which she had influenced, for purposes which the *interposing authority of the Governor of New York, ACTING AS A MAJOR-GENERAL OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, prevented her from consummating*. If the Federal Congress enacted a Statute for the return of some of *her* subjects to those, in other States, to whom they legally owed labor, she coolly nullified the law; and when the Federal authorities enforced the Statute, in Boston, *she* sullenly put on the garb of mourning; denounced what she was pleased to consider the unwarrantable invasion of her territory; and pharisaically assumed to be a rigid stickler for righteousness, as it was seen in a rigid obedience to the very smallest letter of the Federal

Constitution. At the same time, and at all times, however, when *others than Massachusetts* are the subjects under consideration, there is, in her opinion, no "Commonwealth" but the one "Nation;" and that is the wide United States, with Massachusetts as its controlling element: the idea of "a free, sovereign, and independent Commonwealth, or State," existing anywhere, except in *Massachusetts*, is monstrous heresy: that there is, and should be, "no North, no South, no East, no West, only 'our Country:'" that a man must necessarily be considered a *man*, provided he is not in *Massachusetts*; and his right to do and to say agreeably to his own notion, must be controlled by the local laws, nowhere, except within *her* borders: that a difference of *opinion*, merely, from those in authority, is Treason; while adverse action works a taint in the blood and demands instant extermination: that a Congress of States, *elsewhere than at Hartford*, works the dissolution of those States and returns the elements of which they are composed into their original condition, as individuals without property and without rights of any kind: that the Constitution which, she maintained, had given no warrant to *other States* to recover the labor which was due by those who had fled from their jurisdiction, had given full warrant to *her* for seizing, for her own use, not only the labor which was due to others, but the laborer who owned it.

In short, whether as a Colonial dependency or as an independent Commonwealth, whether as an individual State or as a member of an acknowledged Confederacy, *Massachusetts* has steadily pursued the same fraudulent policy of two-facedness and hypocrisy. Then, she was a Commonwealth; now, she is a Colony: then, she was independent of Home Government; now, the Home Government must shelter her from her enemies: then, it was a crime in her eyes that legal papers, issued by her legal Governor, *did not run* in the name of the King; now, she considers it as great a crime in any one who insists that similar papers, issued by the same officer, *must bear* the King's name in order to be possessed of any binding force: then, words in opposition to the President, who was *one of her subjects*, in time of Peace, was "Sedition," and made punishable by severe penalties; now, his successor, *not a Massachusetts man*, may be legally reviled as man was never reviled before, both within and without *Massachusetts*, and the privilege of doing so is declared to be a right which no one can gainsay without being guilty of downright heresy: then, *her* Representatives could openly declare, from their seats in the Federal Congress, *her* right to withdraw from the Confederacy whenever *she* shall be pleased to do so, without consulting either the convenience or the inclination of those who are her co-members

in the Union; now, the mere assertion, by those who are not of *Massachusetts*, of the existence, in the abstract, of such a legal right, *in any other State*, fits him who merely, even incidentally, asserts it, for the social lazaretto or the military prison: then, *she* could properly nullify a Statute of the Federal Congress, because *she* considered it "a wicked law:" now, *another State* who shall consider a Statute to be "wicked," *without attempting to nullify it*, is to be disfranchised, overthrown, and dispersed at the point of the bayonet, for entertaining such a spirit of dissatisfaction.

The volume before us is the record of one of early *Massachusetts'* deviltries, as those records were written by some of "the mean whites" of the *Massachusetts* of that day—the scrub-oaks of that lively forest, the heavy timber of which, as in these our days, had its roots in the neighborhood of the Old South, in Boston. It is the story of those who went "out into the wilderness for to see" what they did not find there: it is story of one party of settlers in *Massachusetts* complaining to the Home Government of the border-ruffianism of another party of settlers, in the same *Massachusetts*: it is the testimony of *Massachusetts* herself, concerning the merits of these claims—because of the pretended superior godliness, and superior integrity, and superior Christian humility, and superior republicanism, of their ancestors—which the Brahmins of Boston are so fond of thrusting before the mudsills of New England and the outer world, to the westward of Byram-river: it is the direct testimony of those who were there and saw it, concerning the hypocrisy, the intolerance, and the treason, of the Puritan fathers who were within "the ring," in the *Massachusetts* of the seventeenth century, and, indirectly, of the intolerable effrontery and either the inexcusable ignorance or the equally inexcusable disregard of known truths, by those—the successors of the others, in the society of Boston—who, in the nineteenth century, have been adding to the vices which they have inherited from the fathers of the Colony, those which are peculiar to themselves.

Mr. Marvin has bestowed unusual care on the Introduction which he has prefixed to this ancient and very rare tract; and he has faithfully presented the case, in its primitive ugliness, for the information of his readers.

As we have said, the tract is a very neat one; and the edition numbered twenty copies on large paper and a hundred and fifty on small.

26.—*Studies in Philosophy and Theology.* By Joseph Haven, DD. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1869. Small Octavo, pp. 502. Price \$2.

These Essays are studies which, from time



to time, during the years of professional life, have engaged the author's attention and occupied his most thoughtful hours. Many of them have been already published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* and elsewhere. The themes discussed are for the most part of permanent interest and, as such, the discussions have a value as contributions to Philosophical and Theological science. For convenience, they are now gathered into a volume, with such notes as seemed to be required.

Although neither Metaphysics nor Theology commend themselves to the popular taste, at the present day, there are yet not a few who, amid the busy activities of an earnest and practical life, are accustomed to think on these matters; and who have felt the peculiar fascination of those grand themes and problems, which, in all ages, have exercised the most thoughtful minds: for such are these Essays written.

These discussions are presented, not in the interest of any particular form of faith, but as simple and independent investigations of truth, which should ever be the aim of the Christian scholar.

The subjects discussed, in Philosophy, are, The Philosophy of Sir William Hamilton; Mill versus Hamilton; The Moral Faculty; The Province of Imagination in Sacred Oratory; and The Ideal and the Actual. In Theology, they are Natural Theology; The Doctrine of the Trinity; Theology as a Science—its Dignity and Value; Place and Value of Miracles in the Christian System; Sin, as related to Human Nature and the Divine Mind; and Arianism—the Natural Development of the Views held by the Early Church Fathers.

The very wide range of subjects which Professor Haven has examined in these Essays, the variety of his illustrations, and the thoroughness of his mode of treatment, need more space than we can now bestow on the volume; we must content ourselves, at the present, therefore, with this brief announcement of the work, mainly in the author's own words, and leave, until a more convenient season, a more extended examination of its peculiar claims on the respect of the world of science and letters.

We can not say much for the typographical appearance of the work.

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27.—*The Alabama Manual and Statistical Register for 1869*, containing information for Immigrants, Capitalists, Manufacturers, Planters, Mechanics, Agricultural laborers, Merchants, and Politicians, with reference to the Soil, Climate, Population, Topography, Education, Productions, Mineral and General Resources of the State of Alabama. Edited by Joseph Hodgson, Editor of the *Montgomery Mail*. Montgomery: Mail Building. 1869. Octavo, pp. 154, xlv, 71.

We are indebted to His Excellency Governor Smith, for this useful volume and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to it.

The very ample title-page describes the contents

of the volume with great precision; and nothing remains for us to say beyond the expression of our entire concurrence in the high praise which Mr. Hodgson has secured from intelligent men of all parties, in Alabama and its vicinity; and our hope that those of our readers who are interested in such works, either as collectors of "locals" or as business-men having intercourse with the South, will liberally support the Publisher of so useful a volume.

It is to be continued yearly, after the manner of *The Texas Almanac*, which we noticed in a recent number.

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28.—*Epitaphs from the old Burying Ground in Dorchester, Massachusetts*. Boston Highlands: 1869. Octavo, pp. 21.

This new contribution to the local history of Dorchester, is the work, we believe, of two lads, not more than sixteen years of age—evidently "chips of the old block," or very well schooled in the mysteries of delving in antiquarian lore.

There is excellent reason for supposing that these epitaphs have been most faithfully copied; and the biographical notices which are interspersed are evidently drawn from authentic sources. The tract, therefore, must be a welcome addition to the local history and biography of the town; and its authors should be liberally dealt with, because of their very commendable service.

The tract is very neatly printed.

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29.—*The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*. By J. P. Lange, D. D., and the Rev. F. R. Fay. Translated from the German by J. F. Hurst, D. D., with additions by P. Schaff, D. D., and the Rev. M. B. Riddle. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. vi, 465.

We have hitherto described this work of Doctor Lange, as the several volumes have appeared, one after another, from the press of the American publishers; and we return to the subject on the receipt of the eighth volume of the series.

We have often thought, and an examination of this volume very clearly establishes our suspicion, that the "much learning" in Paul, of which we read, is pretty well overslaughed by what is supposed to be the greater learning of those who have undertaken to explain it; and that the intensity of thought, and the profound wisdom which distinguished Paul as the greatest of Apostles, is obscured by an undue display of entirely too much philological pyrotechnics and an amount of pedantry, on the part of Doctor Schaff and his co-editors, which serve rather to bewilder than to assist the ordinary reader.

We notice also, with regret, that Doctor Schaff, even in this volume, strains himself in his undue leaning toward Arminianism; and he has displayed very poor judgment, in the exposition of the Epistle to the Romans, in passing, so jauntily

ly, without noticing it, such a sterling and peculiarly sympathetic exposition of the Epistle as that of John Gill.

30.—*Gowans' Bibliotheca Americana*, 5. New York: William Gowans. 1869. Octavo, pp. 125. Price \$2.50.

This is the general title of what is a re-print of George Alsop's very rare *Character of the Province of Maryland*, with an Introduction and copious historical Notes, by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. It is the fifth of Mr. Gowans' series of reprints; and, although it is in modern type and, evidently, sometimes, modified in its spelling, punctuation, and use of capital letters, it is, in Doctor Shea's somewhat equivocal words,—"except for the few who want *accurate* copies"—reproduced so nearly in *fac simile*, that little "need be said about it."

The author of this tract was a London scallawag, of upwards of two hundred years ago—a scallawag, too, who may, as Doctor Shea suggests, have come from England for England's good, though the agency of "an order of transportation, issued in the name of the Commonwealth of England." At any rate, he went to Maryland in the Fall of 1658; was indentured to Thomas Stockett, a Planter, for four years; returned to England soon after the expiration of his term of service; and published this tract in 1666.

The original is exceedingly rare; contains very little concerning Maryland history; and is chiefly important because of its *Relation of the Susquehannah Indians*. Its style, too, is exceedingly extravagant; yet, with all its defects, as a very early memoir of the climate, productions, resources, etc., of Maryland, it must be very interesting to all who read such books, although it may not be, historically, important.

This re-print is from the Munsell Press and is very neat; and it is judiciously edited, as far as it afforded an opportunity for any such service. It must be welcomed, therefore, by the few who are interested in the study of Colonial affairs in America, unto whom the original, from its rarity, has been generally a sealed book.

31.—*The Philosophy of Teaching*. The Teacher, the Pupil, the School. By Nathaniel Sands. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 60.

We do not know Mr. Sands nor are we aware of the character of his profession; but this volume clearly indicates that he is a man who employs his eyes and ears, whose judgment is admirable, whose knowledge of the nature and requirements of children is unsurpassed.

The volume before us treats of the science of teaching; and it presents that science in a new and most attractive form. It condemns, as mis-

chievous, the sacrifice of time and labor on what are known as "classical studies;" and it insists that the teacher and the school shall be transformed—the former from his position as a mere task-master, to that of a trusted companion and tried friend; the latter from a prison to that of a pleasant place of resort. It insists that Nature shall be employed in teaching, as well as Books; that natural flowers shall be used as "subjects," as other "subjects" are used in the schools of anatomy; that animals and birds, also, shall take their parts as instructors; that "the farm, the factory, the shop, the counting-house, and the kitchen, should each have its type in the school, and present to the minds of the children a picture of real life;" and it insists, too, that "their practice would impart a skill and adaptability to the pupils which would insure their preparedness for all the vicissitudes of the most eventful life."

It is, in short, an urgent appeal from the monstrosities which infest our school houses, both in the form of teachers and systems, to the sober sense of every parent and every thinking man; and, although it will not produce any visible change on this thoughtless, superficial generation, the author may rest assured that he has secured the respect of those whose respect is worth possessing.

The volume is a very handsome one; and should find an extended circulation.

32.—*Order and Chaos*. A Lecture, delivered at Loyola College, Baltimore, in July, 1869, by T. W. M. Marshall, Esq. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 45.

This very handsome tract contains a report of a lecture in which the speaker, from the Roman Catholic standpoint, contrasts Protestantism, under the term "Chaos," with Roman Catholicism, under the term "Order."

From the speaker's position, this Address may have been quite effective before a popular audience of members of his own Church; but if, by the term "Protestantism," we are to understand a principle or set of principles, which are necessarily antagonistic to another principle or set of principles, represented by the Doctrines and Practices of "the Catholic Church," this Address is not what it might have been and, therefore, it is not what it should have been.

The *principles* which are known in this Address as "Chaos," are neither uncertain, unmethodical, or chaotic—we wish we could say as much for the *practices* of many of those who profess to be controlled by those principles, which, because of the evident desire of those professors to serve more than one master, at the same time, are too often inconsistent and too generally chaotic. Thus, it is the corner-stone of "Protestant-



"ism," that the Bible is the only rule of faith and practise; yet we see the positive injunctions of that Bible deliberately disregarded by a majority of all who profess to be Protestants, on more than one branch of Christian practise—the unfounded traditions of such fathers as John Knox, and John Cotton, and John Wesley, being made superior to the professed "Rule;" and *duty* being jostled and thrown from its seat by *expediency* and *convenience*.

On the other hand, the principles which are known in this Address as "Order," like the last, are neither uncertain, unmethodical, or chaotic—we should be pleased, too, if we could say as much for the creeds and practises of many who have *professed* or who now *profess* to receive and be controlled by those principles. This we certainly cannot do, in the face of either the records of the Past or the every-day testimony of the Present; and, if we understand the matter aright, the approaching Council is to be convened for the very purpose of stamping, as genuine and official, or of rejecting, as unworthy and unauthorized, certain Articles of Faith which, without due authority, have been and are unduly entertained or unduly disregarded by those who *profess* to be Catholics.

If, therefore, Protestantism is chaotic because of the inconsistency of some who *profess* to be Protestants; so, too, is Catholicism equally chaotic because of the inconsistency of some who *profess* to be Catholics. Both, as far as these faithless ones are concerned, are alike chaotic; yet, despite these wanderers and triflers, on either side, the great antagonistic principles which underlie, alike, the *true* Catholic and the *true* Protestant, remain, alike, systematic and effective.

We are free to admit, and we freely assert, that the great body of, so-called, "Protestants," do not, in their every-day practises, take *the Bible* as the only Rule of their Faith and Practice, and that, so far, they are, in very fact, Roman Catholics; and we are equally free to admit, and we also as freely assert, that there are many, very many, Roman Catholics—males as well as females, Priests and Laymen as well as Sisters of Charity—whose purity of heart, and disinterestedness of conduct, and Christian uprightness of every-day walk and conversation, lift them above all mere party ties and stamp them, thus early, as of those who shall be the Lord of Hosts', in the day when he makes up his jewels.

All this is true, yet the great fundamental principles of each, remain and will remain, uncompromisingly antagonistic, until the end of time. The individuality of man and his right of private judgment, limited only by the terms of the Scriptures, are pitted against the uncontrolled and uncontrollable supremacy, even concerning articles of Faith, of a hierarchy; and the accounta-

bility of every individual, *directly*, to God, is opposed to such an accountability, of each, *indirectly*, *only*, through the Church. The Bible, faithfully translated, as the *only* Rule of Faith and Practise, confronts the demand of an *implicit* and *primary* obedience to the declarations of the Church, and *indirectly*, to the pretence that the traditions of the Fathers, uncertainly transmitted, generation after generation, are to be received as standards, both in matters of faith and in matters of conduct. What that sterling Protestant, Anne Hutchinson, termed "the Covenant of Works," is openly and actively opposed, in the Catholic Church, to what she also termed, "the Covenant of Grace;" and man's individual helplessness, in securing salvation, either for himself or for another, resists the Catholic belief in the efficacy of good works, either for securing one's own salvation or that of others. There is no half-way, neutral ground, between these opposing sets of principles; nor can there be any. There is no uncertainty in either: there is no "Chaos" in the one which is not also in the other: neither is there more or less of "Order" in one than in the other.

It is to be regretted that such pamphlets as this find places in the printed literature of the day. They serve no good purpose; and what may have been unintentional, very often becomes a source of animosity and wrong-doing.

Like the greater part of Mr. Murphy's issues this tract is very neatly printed.

33.—*Reminiscences of James A. Hamilton*; or, Men and Events, at home and abroad, during three quarters of a century. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. x, 647.

Many of our readers need not be told that the venerable author of this volume is a personal acquaintance of our own, of many years standing; and there are very few unto whom his *Reminiscences* will be more acceptable than to ourself.

Mr. Hamilton is now more than eighty-one years of age; and, during his entire life, he has been brought into the company of distinguished men; been called upon to participate in notable events; and assisted in producing, therein, results which now are subjects of history.

The volume before us is his own record of his own busy life, prefaced with a Chapter on the "Early life of Alexander Hamilton," his own father; and, although there is much in the volume which we should not have found room for, therein, and some things which we cannot think were published understandingly, the writer and student of history will find it exceedingly useful and not to be lightly dispensed with.

We are not quite sure, as we have intimated, that Colonel Hamilton has not, sometimes, "let some cats out of the bag" which might have

remained therein, more advantageously; yet, we need not feel displeased, nor are we disposed to find fault with him, for having done so. We love details: we like to see the original papers: and, notwithstanding Mr. Hamilton has sometimes left his story while one-half of it was yet untold, sometimes thrown a mass of letters together without a connecting or an explanatory sentence, sometimes given us only one side of a correspondence without a word of explanation as to the other side, sometimes very provokingly introduced a name or a letter from some one of whom we would gladly hear more, we are thankful for his contribution to the secret history of the past seventy years; and hope for the speedy appearance of the next of the race.

The volume is very fairly printed, without being entitled to be considered as handsome.

34.—*Countess Gisela*. By E. Marlitt. Translated from the German, by A. Nahmer. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 125. Price 35 cents.

*Breaking a Butterfly*; or, Blanche Ellerslie's ending. By the author of *Guy Livingstone*. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 139. Price 35 cents.

*Henry Esmond and Lovel the Widower*. By William Makepeace Thackeray. With illustrations by the author. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 133 and 60. Price 50 cents.

*Library of Select Novels, No. 325. Hetty*. By Henry Kingsley. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 49. Price 25 cents.

....., No. 326. *False Colors*. A Novel. By Annie Thomas. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 152. Price 50 cents.

....., No. 327. *Meta's Faith*. By the author of *St. Clare's*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 124. Price 50 cents.

"*Love me little, love me long*." By Charles Reade. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 140. Price 35 cents.

*White Lies*. A Novel. By Charles Reade. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 171. Price 35 cents.

*It is never too late to mend*. A matter-of-fact Romance. By Charles Reade. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 242. Price 35 cents.

In this formidable mass of well-printed volumes we have an ample variety of fiction, from various pens, for the amusement of those who need this class of amusement, either on the railroad, or on the piazza, or in the parlor; and the cost of it, as will be seen, is a mere trifle.

35.—*Directory of the Village of Ithaca*, both general and business. Containing, also, historical sketches of the principal public organizations of the place, together with an accurate village map. 1869-70. Compiled and published by G. Whitfield Farnham. Ithaca, N. Y.: Octavo, pp. 132.

The Village of Ithaca was once our home; and therein still live some who are very near and dear to us. Our recollections of that village are those which were formed more than thirty years

ago; and the perusal of this volume serves rather to indicate the many changes which have occurred there, during that very eventful period, than to refresh our memory concerning matters which are no longer remembered without such a monitor. We see a few, very few, names on its pages which were familiar to us, when a boy; but the mass are those which are strange to us. Ben Johnson and Ebenezer Mack, Robert Halsey and Luther Gere, William A. Woodward and Amasa Dana, Henry Walbridge and Levi Hubbel, Charles Woodruff and T. S. Williams, and other familiar names no longer find places in the current village record of the Ithaca of to-day; and the places which they once filled are now occupied by others.

The volume is a neat; and the map is very well executed.

36.—*Edmund Randolph*: a memoir, by one of his descendants. Richmond: W. H. Wade & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 17.

A very satisfactory sketch of the life, and public services, and personal character, of one of the most eminent of Virginians.

37.—*Walter Savage Landor*. A biography. By John Forster. In eight books. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. viii, 693.

A curious compound was this Walter Savage Landor, more curious, indeed, than Samuel Johnson, and much more of a mystery. The latter had a Boswell to narrate his singular character and his varied career: the latter is more fortunate in having found a more judicious biographer in Mr. Forster.

The volume before us is Mr. Forster's narrative of the life, the doings, and the character of Landor. It is one of the most skilfully written biographies, and one of the most fascinating, which we have ever read, notwithstanding the peculiarity of its subject; and we have found ourself insensibly reading its pages when we could poorly afford to expend our time in such an occupation. We can say no more, in favor of Mr. Forster's volume, than this.

The volume is from Welch, Bigelow, & Co's University Press; and is very neatly printed.

38.—*Moral Philosophy*; or, the science of obligation. By James H. Fairchild, President of Oberlin College. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 326.

A short time since, we examined Doctor Hopkins's new treatise on morals; and now another aspirant for academic favor presents itself to our attention. Like most of its class, it originated in the Class-room of a College; and, like the greater number, it displays all the arbitrary inconsistency which distinguishes so many of the



pedagogues of our country from those among whom they live.

As may well be supposed, the volume commences with a Chapter of Definitions, which its author opens with a candid admission of his own *entire inability to define the term "obligation," which is the subject of his volume—his words are: "obligation, the theme of ethical philosophy, "admits of no definition, except by a synonyme."*

Now it seems to us that that author who *cannot define the subject on which he proposes to write*, is not qualified to write a volume concerning it; and that teacher who undertakes to instruct others on a subject which he cannot define, most certainly has mistaken his calling. That this indication, in the first page of the first Chapter, of the first Part, of this volume is true to its mission—proving that President Fairchild is not competent to teach a Class in Moral Philosophy, intelligently—will be evident to every one who shall carefully go over his arguments.

His definitions of the terms "intellect" and "sensibility" are well enough; but that of "free-will," is warranted neither by reason nor revelation. The idea that all "obligation" begins only with the ability to act freely, either in discharging it or in failing to do so, is simply preposterous. Does President Fairchild pretend that no "obligation" to discharge a known duty rests on one who has voluntarily disqualified himself, physically, for discharging that known obligation? Did the "obligation" to serve his country, anywhere, for instance, cease to rest on him who, in order to avoid the discharge of that obligation, during the recent War, cut off a finger or a toe, or knocked out a tooth, so as to incapacitate himself for pulling a trigger, or marching with his Regiment, or biting the paper off his cartridges? The idea cannot be entertained for a moment; neither are those relieved of their "obligation" to obey the Law of God who, by reason of the Fall, are incapable of obeying it and whose every action willingly violates it.

So, too, his definition of "a moral act" declares it to be "an act to which *obligation* pertains, of which *we* affirm that it ought or ought not to be done." Does President Fairchild's "we" include every individual man, of every grade of intellect and every shade of sensibility; or of some only, excluding others? If he really proposes to consider only that to be "a moral act" which *every* human being, *nemene contradicente*, would "affirm that it ought not to be done," the aggregate of his assumed "moral actions" will be very small: if that is not his meaning, his words are simply nonsensical.

We have not the room, in this place, to follow President Fairchild, even through his first Chapter; and were we to examine his second Chapter—wherein he makes the *approbation of an ac-*

*tion, by ourselves, the test of the real merit of that action*—we fear we should so far lose our patience, (with our full approbation, too,) that, the President being our witness, while it would thus become necessarily *virtuous* to us, it would be, at the same time, necessarily *wicked* to him who disapproved it, and neither one nor the other, to the happy-go-lucky person who attends to his own affairs, and who knows nothing about it or has formed no judgment concerning it.

So, too, Sin is that only which *we ourselves condemn*, if President Fairchild is to be believed, in Chapter III. "We," whether intelligent or the reverse, God-fearing or the reverse, are made to take the place of Deity, in the judgment-seat; and the Conscience, the Self-interest, the Stupidity, of that uncertain Judge is made to supercede the Law of God, which is really the only standard of right and wrong. The Apostle John tells us, admirably, that "Sin is the transgression of the law:" the President of Oberlin tells us that Sin is "the action which *we* morally condemn, and for which *we* pronounce the agent 'blameworthy.'" Need we say that we prefer the good old definition which the Apostle has sent down from the Past; that the fantastic skepticism of Oberlin must look elsewhere for favor than in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE; and that a teacher who thus defines his subjects is not only vicious but dangerous?

But it is not alone in *Theoretical* Morals that Doctor Fairchild is ridiculous as a teacher of the young people of the country; in *Practical* Morals he is equally at fault.

In his *Preliminary Remarks*, he as wholly disregards the Scriptures and the Law of God, as the standard of practise, as the King of the Cannibal Islands would have done; and when he tells his readers, that "the *sole* principle to guide us is the good of being; and in every case the final enquiry is, 'What will advance 'the general interests?'" he simply repeats what he did earlier in his career—he tips over the throne of the Almighty and lifts poor human nature on the ruins, as the final and unimpeachable Judge of right and wrong.

"In *every* Government," he tells us, "there are two parties"—the *ruler* and the *subjects*—as if the People of Ohio, who constitute the State, is *subject* to those individuals who, as the agents of the State, are called by it and deputized to administer its affairs. Evidently, he supposes he is in Turkey instead of the United States—indeed, his definition seems to indicate that he sees no difference between the *status* of "the Government" and the People of Turkey and those of Ohio.

"The proper end of Government," he tells us, "is to *secure*, to a greater or less extent, *conformity to obligations*." We have read some-

where, possibly Doctor Fairchild can tell where, "that all men were endowed by their Creator "with certain inalienable Rights, \* \* \* that "to secure those Rights, Governments were instituted among men." etc. In other words, Doctor Fairchild considers "every Government" as *offensive* in its character and purposes; while the Declaration of Independence asserts, on the contrary, that it is *defensive*.

He tells us that "the right of a Government "to exist" consists solely "in its adaptation to "secure the advantage of its subjects." We have supposed that "the right" referred to rested solely, in a republic, "on the consent of "the Governed," without the least respect to its adaptability, and, in a monarchy, on the *power of might*, without the least regard to either its fitness to secure the great ends of Governments or "the consent" of those whom it controls; and we have seen no reason, in this volume or elsewhere, to change our opinion.

He tells us that he "has the right to govern, "who possesses such qualifications and occupies "such a position, that he can best secure the "ends of Government"—which he has previously told us are to *enforce obedience to their obligations*, by those who are its "subjects." Verily, an apologist for *successful* tyrants has arisen in Ohio—"the right to govern" is to be tested, hereafter, in Oberlin, it seems, by the steadiness of his nerve and the success in holding his seat of empire, which any usurper can display.

"That form of Government is legitimate which "is best adapted to answer the end of Government, under all the circumstances of the case," he says; but he fails to tell *who* shall determine as to its adaptability to the proposed end, and what, in our case, shall be done with an adverse "supreme law of the land," which may, once in a while, possibly throw a cloud over the "legitimacy" referred to. Was Andrew Johnson "best adapted to answer the end of Government," as Doctor Fairchild understands "the case?" We doubt; yet even he will scarcely deny the official "legitimacy" of Andrew Johnson.

"The extent to which the authority of a Government may reach, is to be determined by "the wants of the community to which it pertains, and by its ability to meet those wants," he says: we supposed, in our verdancy, that "the extent to which the authority of a Government may reach," where there is a Constitution, is "determined" by the *terms of that Constitution*; and where there is no such supreme law, that the strength of the arm which holds and directs the bayonet, "determines" the extent of the authority of him who is behind that arm.

But we must devote no more space to this

subject; and we hardly consider it necessary to do so. Our readers will readily perceive that our sense of Doctor Fairchild's doings is that they are "blameworthy" and, according to his own theory, necessarily vicious and altogether wicked. We regret, too, that a volume that is so well calculated to work mischief has found a place on the book-lists of so respectable a house as Sheldon & Co.

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39.—*Notes, critical, explanatory, and practical, on the Book of Psalms.* By Albert Barnes. In three volumes. Volumes II and III. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. (II.) Title-page and verso, 333; (III.) Title-page and verso, 343.

In our January number, we referred to the first volume of this, the closing work of its distinguished author; and we have pleasure in noticing its completion, in these volumes.

They are neatly printed; and will be widely welcomed.

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40.—*Adventures in the Wilderness; or, Camp-life in the Adirondacks.* By William H. H. Murray. With illustrations. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. 236.

This is the volume concerning which so much has been written, both in praise and censure. It is a modest unassuming description of the Northern Woods in this State; and of the pleasure and benefit which *sensible* people may secure by a *sensible* visit to that region. It describes the Wilderness, briefly; it tells of the facilities it affords for *legitimate* sport; it instructs as to outfits for those who propose to visit it; it counts the cost; it describes the routes to the ground; etc,—all without any extravagance of expression and unnecessary words.

It is not encumbered with lac-a-daisical reflections, nor disfigured with stale jokes, or exaggerated stories, or elaborate conversations, crowded with slang phrases; but, in a pleasant, lively style, as befits the subject, it describes the locality and tells of its advantages and how to enjoy them. If half-witted simpletons have seen anything, in any part of this volume which can reasonably warrant the supposition that every consumptive may find there a cure for his ailments, and every thicket a deer awaiting the visit of a silly burgher, and every brook a string of trout each anxiously seeking a camp-fire, they have found in the volume what we have not seen in it; and they have seen there what, evidently, the author never placed there nor intended to place there.

But, our purpose is to call the attention of those who collect "locals," to this little volume, as one, concerning a vast section of this State, which they should not overlook. It is such an one as will serve a double purpose, hereafter,—



describing, at once, the locality to which it refers and the habits of those who frequent that remarkable region.

It is a very neat little volume and is very fairly illustrated.

41.—*Two years before the mast.* A personal narrative, by Richard Henry Dana, Jr. A new edition, with subsequent matter by the Author. Boston: Field, Osgood, & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 470.

The original edition of this work, issued twenty-eight years ago, is so well known, the world over, that we need not expend our space in describing it, beyond the reminder to our readers that it is one of the earliest modern locals concerning the coast of California, and, therefore, worthy of their attention. The edition before us is the author's, in which he has published some "subsequent matter," the result of a recent visit to the scenes to which his earlier volume had referred.

We need hardly say, since our readers will have anticipated us, that the charms which the earlier edition of this work presented to the reading world, have not been in the least abated by the lapse of time since they were written; while the contrasts which are presented by "the subsequent matter," add greatly to the interest of the original narrative.

The volume is very neatly printed; and is undoubtedly booked for another extended run, among those who never knew it, in its original form.

42.—*The Literature of the age of Elizabeth.* By Edwin P. Whipple. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. viii, 364.

It is now very nearly thirty years since we were associated with the genial John O. Choules, in the New York Lyceum, and assisted, on his earnest recommendation, in bringing from Boston, as a lecturer, the scholarly author of this volume; and, from that time to the present, Mr. Whipple has been steadily advancing, until, to-day, few writers in New England are more widely known or more generally respected.

The volume before us relates to that "literature," so called, which commenced about the middle of the reign of the vixen Queen of England; reached its maturity in that of the Scotch pedant who succeeded her; and perceptibly declined during that of the first Charles—numbering in its members, Marlow, Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger, Ford, Sidney, Raleigh, Bacon, and Hooker. It consists of a rapid review of the characteristics of that literature; followed by close descriptions of those who principally contributed to it, and as close an analysis of their varied writings and influences. It is well written; and to those whose taste leads

them in that direction, the volume must be very acceptable.

Like all the issues of the publishers of this volume, it is well printed.

*The Overland Monthly, devoted to the development of the country.* San Francisco: A. Roman & Co. This is one of the best of the periodicals, for general reading, which come into our hands. It is modest without being dull and meritorious without being insolent; and, as it makes no undue pretensions, we are never dissatisfied with it after going over its contents.

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SALEM WITCHCRAFT AND COTTON  
MATHER.

BY CHARLES W. UPHAM, SALEM, MASS.

INTRODUCTION.

An article in *The North American Review*, for April, 1869, is mostly devoted to a notice of the work published by me, in 1867, entitled *Salem Witchcraft, with an account of Salem Village, and a history of opinions on witchcraft and kindred subjects*. If the article had contained criticisms, in the usual style, merely affecting the character of that work, in a literary point of view, no other duty would have devolved upon me, than carefully to consider and respectfully heed its suggestions. But it raises questions of an historical nature that seem to demand a response, either acknowledging the correctness of its statements or vindicating my own.

The character of the Periodical in which it appears; the manner in which it was heralded by rumor, long before its publication; its circulation, since, in a separate pamphlet form; and the extent to which, in certain quarters, its assumptions have been endorsed, make a reply imperative.

The subject to which it relates is of acknowledged interest and importance. The Witchcraft Delusion of 1692 has justly arrested a wider notice, and probably always will, than any other occurrence in the early colonial history of this country. It presents phenomena in the realm of our spiritual nature, belonging to that higher department of physiology, known as Psychology, of the greatest moment; and illustrates the operations of the imagination upon the passions and faculties in immediate connection with it, and the perils to which the soul and society are thereby exposed, in a manner more striking, startling and instructive than is elsewhere to be found. For all reasons, truth and justice require of those who venture to explore and portray it, the utmost efforts to elucidate its passages and delineate correctly its actors.

With these views I hail with satisfaction the criticisms that may be offered upon my book,

without regard to their personal character or bearing, as continuing and heightening the interest felt in the subject; and avail myself of the opportunity, tendered to me without solicitation and in a most liberal spirit, by the proprietor of this Magazine, to meet the obligations which historical truth and justice impose.

The principal charge, and it is repeated in innumerable forms through the sixty odd pages of the article in the *North American*, is that I have misrepresented the part borne by Cotton Mather in the proceedings connected with the Witchcraft Delusion and prosecutions, in 1692. Various other complaints are made of inaccuracy and unfairness, particularly in reference to the position of Increase Mather and the course of the Boston Ministers of that period, generally. Although the discussion, to which I now ask attention, may appear, at first view, to relate to questions merely personal, it will be found, I think, to lead to an exploration of the literature and prevalent sentiments, relating to religious and philosophical subjects, of that period; and, also, of an instructive passage in the public history of the Province of Massachusetts Bay.

I now propose to present the subject more fully than was required, or would have been appropriate, in my work on Witchcraft.

I.

THE CONNECTION OF THE MATHERS WITH THE  
SUPERSTITIONS OF THEIR TIME.

In the first place, I venture to say that it can admit of no doubt, that Increase Mather and his son, Cotton Mather, did more than any other persons to aggravate the tendency of that age to the result reached in the Witchcraft Delusion of 1692. The latter, in the beginning of the Sixth Book of the *Magnalia Christi Americana*, refers to an attempt made, about the year 1658, "among some "divines of no little figure throughout England "and Ireland, for the faithful registering of remarkable providences. But, alas," he says, "it "came to nothing that was remarkable. The "like holy design," he continues, "was, by the "Reverend Increase Mather, proposed among "the divines of New England, in the year 1681,



"at a general meeting of them; who thereupon desired him to begin and publish an Essay; "which he did in a little while; but there-withal declared that he did it only as a specimen of a "larger volume, in hopes that this work being "set on foot, posterity would go on with it." Cotton Mather did go on with it, immediately upon his entrance to the ministry; and by their preaching, publications, correspondence at home and abroad, and the influence of their learning, talents, industry, and zeal in the work, these two men promoted the prevalence of a passion for the marvelous and monstrous, and what was deemed preternatural, infernal, and diabolical, throughout the whole mass of the people, in England as well as America. The public mind became infatuated and, drugged with credulity and superstition, was prepared to receive every impulse of blind fanaticism. The stories, thus collected and put everywhere in circulation, were of a nature to terrify the imagination, fill the mind with horrible apprehensions, degrade the general intelligence and taste, and dethrone the reason. They darken and dishonor the literature of that period. A rehash of them can be found in the Sixth Book of the *Magnalia*. The effects of such publications were naturally developed in wide-spread delusions and universal credulity. They penetrated the whole body of society, and reached all the inhabitants and families of the land, in the towns and remotest settlements. In this way, the Mathers, particularly the younger, made themselves responsible for the diseased and bewildered state of the public mind, in reference to supernatural and diabolical agencies, which came to a head in the Witchcraft Delusion. I do not say that they were culpable. Undoubtedly they thought they were doing God service. But the influence they exercised, in this direction, remains none the less an historical fact.

Increase Mather applied himself, without delay, to the prosecution of the design he had proposed, by writing to persons in all parts of the country, particularly clergymen, to procure, for publication, as many marvelous stories as could be raked up. In the eighth volume of the Fourth Series of the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, consisting of *The Mather Papers*, the responses of several of his correspondents may be seen. [Pp. 285, 360, 361, 367, 466, 475, 555, 612.] He pursued this business with an industrious and pertinacious zeal, which nothing could slacken. After the rest of the world had been shocked out of such mischievous nonsense, by the horrid results at Salem, on the fifth of March, 1694, as President of Harvard College, he issued a Circular to "The Reverend Ministers of "the Gospel, in the several Churches in New England," signed by himself and seven others, mem-

bering it, as the special duty of Ministers of the Gospel, to obtain and preserve knowledge of notable occurrences, described under the general head of "*Remarkables*," and classified as follows:

"The things to be esteemed memorable are, "especially, all unusual accidents, in the heaven, or earth, or water; all wonderful deliverances of the distressed; mercies to the "godly; judgments to the wicked; and more "glorious fulfillments of either the promises or "the threatenings, in the Scriptures of truth; "with apparitions, possessions, enchantments, "and all extraordinary things wherein the existence and agency of the invisible world is more "sensibly demonstrated."—*Magnalia Christi Americana*. Edit. London, 1702. Book VI, p. 1.

All communications, in answer to this missive were to be addressed to the "President and Fellows" of Harvard College.

The first article is as follows: "To observe "and record the more illustrious discoveries of "the Divine Providence, in the government of "the world, is a design so holy, so useful, so "justly approved, that the too general neglect of "of it in the Churches of God, is as justly to be "lamented." It is important to consider this language in connection with that used by Cotton Mather, in opening the Sixth Book of the *Magnalia*: "To regard the illustrious displays of that "Providence, wherewith our Lord Christ governs the world, is a work than which there is "none more needful or useful for a Christian; "to record them is a work than which none "more proper for a Minister; and perhaps the "great Governor of the world will ordinarily do "the most notable things for those who are most "ready to take a wise notice of what he does. "Unaccountable, therefore, and inexcusable, is "the sleepiness, even upon the most of good "men throughout the world, which indisposes "them to observe and, much more, to preserve, "the remarkable dispensations of Divine Providence, towards themselves or others. Nevertheless there have been raised up, now and then, "those persons, who have rendered themselves "worthy of everlasting remembrance, by their "wakeful zeal to have the memorable providences "of God remembered through all generations."

These passages from the Mathers, father and son, embrace, in their bearings, a period, eleven years before and two years after the Delusion of 1692. They show that the Clergy, generally, were indifferent to the subject, and required to be aroused from "neglect" and "sleepiness," touching the duty of flooding the public mind with stories of "wonders" and "remarkables," and that the agency of the Mathers, in giving currency, by means of their ministry and influence, to such ideas, was peculiar and preemin-

ent. However innocent and excusable their motives may have been, the laws of cause and effect remained unbroken; and the result of their actions are, with truth and justice, attributable to them—not necessarily, I repeat, to impeach their honesty and integrity, but their wisdom, taste, judgment, and common sense. Human responsibility is not to be set aside, nor avoided, merely and wholly by good intent. It involves a solemn and fearful obligation to the use of reason, caution, cool deliberation, circumspection, and a most careful calculation of consequences. Error, if innocent and honest, is not punishable by divine, and ought not to be by human, law. It is covered by the mercy of God, and must not be pursued by the animosity of men. But it is, nevertheless, a thing to be dreaded and to be guarded against, with the utmost vigilance. Throughout the melancholy annals of the Church and the world, it has been the fountain of innumerable woes, spreading baleful influences through society, paralysing the energies of reason and conscience, dimming, all but extinguishing, the light of religion, convulsing nations, and desolating the earth. It is the duty of historians to trace it to its source; and, by depicting faithfully the causes that have led to it, prevent its recurrence. With these views, I feel bound, distinctly, to state that the impression given to the popular sentiments of the period, to which I am referring, by certain leading minds, led to, was the efficient cause of, and, in this sense, may be said to have originated, the awful superstitions long prevalent in the old world and the new, and reaching a final catastrophe in 1692; and among these leading minds, aggravating and intensifying, by their writings, this most baleful form of the superstition of the age, Increase and Cotton Mather stand most conspicuous.

This opinion was entertained, at the time, by impartial observers. Francis Hutchinson, D. D. "Chaplain in ordinary to his Majesty, and "Minister of St. James's Parish, in St. Edmund's Bury," in the life-time of both the Mathers, published, in London, an *Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, dedicated to the "Lord Chief-justice of England, the Lord Chief-justice of Common Pleas, and the Lord Chief-Baron of Exchequer." In a Chapter on *The Witchcraft in Salem, Boston, and Andover, in New England*, he attributes it, as will be seen in the course of this article, to the influence of the writings of the Mathers.

In the Preface to the London edition of Cotton Mather's *Memorable Providences*, written by Richard Baxter, in 1690, he ascribes this same prominence to the works of the Mathers. While expressing the great value he attached to writings about Witchcraft, and the importance, in his view, of that department of literature which relates sto-

ries about diabolical agency, possessions, apparitions, and the like, he says, "Mr. Increase Mather hath already published many such histories of "things done in New England; and this great instance published by his son"—that is, the account of the Goodwin children—"cometh with "such full convincing evidence, that he must be a "very obdurate Sadducee that will not believe it. "And his two Sermons, adjoined, are excellently "fitted to the subject and this blinded generation, "and to the use of us all, that are not past our "warfare with Devils." One of the Sermons, which Baxter commends, is on *The Power and Malice of Devils*, and opens with the declaration, that "there is a combination of Devils, which "our air is filled withal:" the other is on *Witchcraft*. Both are replete with the most exciting and vehement enforcements of the superstitions of that age, relating to the Devil and his confederates.

My first position, then, in contravention of that taken by the Reviewer in the *North American*, is that, by stimulating the Clergy over the whole country, to collect and circulate all sorts of marvellous and supposed preternatural occurrences, by giving this direction to the preaching and literature of the times, these two active, zealous, learned, and able Divines, Increase and Cotton Mather, considering the influence they naturally were able to exercise, are, particularly the latter, justly chargeable with, and may be said to have brought about, the extraordinary outbreaks of credulous fanaticism, exhibited in the cases of the Goodwin family and of "the afflicted children," at Salem Village. Robert Calef, writing to the Ministers of the country, March 18, 1694, says: "I having had, not only occasion, but renewed "provocation, to take a view of the mysterious "doctrines, which have of late been so much "contested among us, could not meet with any "that had spoken more, or more plainly, the "sense of those doctrines" [*relating to the Witchcraft*] "than the Reverend Mr. Cotton Mather, "but how clearly and consistent, either with "himself or the truth, I meddle not now to say, "but cannot but suppose his strenuous and zealous asserting his opinions has been one cause "of the dismal convulsions, we have here lately "fallen into."—*More Wonders of the Invisible World*, by Robert Calef, Merchant of Boston, in New England. Edit. London, 1700, p. 33.

The papers that remain, connected with the Witchcraft Examinations and Trials, at Salem, show the extent to which currency had been given, in the popular mind, to such marvellous and prodigious things as the Mathers had been so long endeavoring to collect and circulate; particularly in the interior, rural settlements. The solemn solitudes of the woods were filled with ghosts, hobgoblins, spectres, evil spirits, and the



infernal Prince of them all. Every pathway was infested with their flitting shapes and footprints; and around every hearth-stone, shuddering circles, drawing closer together as the darkness of night thickened and their imaginations became more awed and frightened, listened to tales of diabolical operations: the same effects, in somewhat different forms, pervaded the seaboard settlements and larger towns.

Besides such frightful fancies, other most unhappy influences flowed from the prevalence of the style of literature which the Mathers brought into vogue. Suspicions and accusations of witchcraft were everywhere prevalent; any unusual calamity or misadventure; every instance of real or affected singularity of deportment or behavior—and, in that condition of perverted and distempered public opinion, there would be many such—was attributed to the Devil. Every sufferer who had yielded his mind to what was taught in pulpits or publications, lost sight of the Divine Hand, and could see nothing but devils in his afflictions. Poor John Goodwin, whose trials we are presently to consider, while his children were acting, as the phrase—originating in those days, and still lingering in the lower forms of vulgar speech—has it, “like all possessed,” broke forth thus: “I thought of what David said, *2 Samuel*, ‘xxiv. 14. If he feared so to fall into the hands of men, oh! then to think of the horrors of our condition, to be in the hands of Devils and Witches. Thus, our doleful condition moved us to call to our friends to have pity on us, for God’s hand hath touched us. I was ready to say that no one’s affliction was like mine. That my little house, that should be a little Bethel for God to dwell in, should be made a den for Devils; that those little Bodies, that should be Temples for the Holy Ghost to dwell in, should be thus harrassed and abused by the Devil and his cursed brood.”—*Late Memorable Providences, relating to Witchcraft and Possessions*. By Cotton Mather. Edit. London, 1691.

No wonder that the country was full of the terrors and horrors of diabolical imaginations, when the Devil was kept before the minds of men, by what they constantly read and heard, from their religious teachers! In the Sermons of that day, he was the all-absorbing topic of learning and eloquence. In some of Cotton Mather’s, the name, Devil, or its synonyms, is mentioned ten times as often as that of the benign and blessed God.

No wonder that alleged witchcrafts were numerous! Drake, in his *History of Boston*, says there were many cases there, about the year 1688. Only one of them seems to have attracted the kind of notice requisite to preserve it from oblivion—that of the four children of John Goodwin, the eldest, thirteen years of age. The rela-

tion of this case, in my book [*Salem Witchcraft*, i. 454—460] was wholly drawn from the *Memorable Providences* and the *Magnalia*.

## II.

### THE GOODWIN CHILDREN. SOME GENERAL REMARKS UPON THE CRITICISMS OF THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

The Reviewer charges me with having wronged Cotton Mather, by representing that he “got up” the whole affair of the Goodwin children. He places the expression within quotation marks, and repeats it, over and over again. In the passage to which he refers—p. 366 of the second volume of my book—I say of Cotton Mather, that he “repeatedly endeavored to get up cases of the kind in Boston. There is some ground for suspicion that he was instrumental in originating the fanaticism in Salem.” I am not aware that the expression was used, except in this passage. But, wherever used, it was designed to convey the meaning given to it, by both of our great lexicographers. Worcester defines “to get up,” “to prepare, to make ready—to get up an ‘entertainment;’ to print and publish, as a ‘book.’” Webster defines it, “to prepare for coming before the public; to bring forward.” This is precisely what Mather did, in the case of the Goodwin children, and what Calef put a stop to his doing in the case of Margaret Rule.

In 1831, I published a volume entitled *Lectures on Witchcraft, comprising a history of the Delusion, in Salem, in 1692*. In 1867, I published *Salem Witchcraft, and an account of Salem Village*; and, in the Preface, stated that “the former was prepared under circumstances which prevented a thorough investigation of the subject. Leisure and freedom from professional duties have now enabled me to prosecute the researches necessary to do justice to it. The *Lectures on Witchcraft* have long been out of print. Although frequently importuned to prepare a new edition, I was unwilling to issue, again, what I had discovered to be an inadequate presentation of the subject.” In the face of this disclaimer of the authority of the original work, the Reviewer says: “In this discussion, we shall treat Mr. Upham’s *Lectures* and History in the same connection, as the latter is an expansion and defence of the views presented in the former.”

I ask every person of candor and fairness, to consider whether it is just to treat authors in this way? It is but poor encouragement to them to labor to improve their works, for the first critical journal in the country to bring discredit upon their efforts, by still laying to their charge what they have themselves remedied or withdrawn. Yet

it is avowedly done in the article which compels me to this vindication.

The *Lectures*, for instance, printed in 1831, contained the following sentence, referring to Cotton Mather's agency, in the Goodwin case, in Boston. "An instance of witchcraft was "brought about, in that place, by his management." So it appeared in a reprint of that volume, in 1832. In my recent publication, while transferring a long paragraph from the original work, *I carefully omitted*, from the body of it, the above sentence, fearing that it might lead to misapprehension. For, although I hold that the Mathers are pre-eminently answerable for the witchcraft proceedings in their day, and may be said, justly, to have caused them, of course I did not mean that, by personal instigation on the spot, they started every occurrence that ultimately was made to assume such a character. The Reviewer, with the fact well known to him, that I had suppressed and discarded this clause, flings it against me, repeatedly. He further quotes a portion of the paragraph, in the *Lectures*, in which it occurs, omitting, *without indicating the omission*, certain clauses that would have explained my meaning, *taking care, however, to include the suppressed passage*; and finishes the misrepresentation, by the following declaration, referring to the paragraph in the *Lectures*: "The same statements, in almost the same words, he reproduces in his History." This he says, knowing that the particular statement to which he was then taking exception, was not reproduced in my History.

It may be as well here, at this point, as elsewhere, once for all, to dispose of a large portion of the matter contained in the long article in the *North American Review*, now under consideration. In preparing any work, particularly in the department of history, it is to be presumed that the explorations of the writer extend far beyond what he may conclude to put into his book. He will find much that is of no account whatever; that would load down his narrative, swell it to inadmissible dimensions, and shed no additional light. Collateral and incidental questions cannot be pursued in details. A new law, however, is now given out, that must be followed, hereafter, by all writers—that is, to give not a catalogue merely, but an account of the contents, of every book and tract they have read. It is thus announced by our Reviewer: "We assume "Mr. Upham has not seen this tract, as he neither mentioned it nor made use of its material."

The document here spoken of was designed to give Increase Mather's ideas on the subject of witchcraft trials, written near the close of those in Salem, in 1692. As I had no peculiar interest in determining what his views were—as a careful study of the tract, particularly taken in connec-

tion with its *Postscript*, fails to bring any reader to a clear conception of them; and as its whole matter was altogether immaterial to my subject—I did not think it worth while to encumber my pages with it. So in respect to many other points, in treating which extended discussions might be demanded. If I had been governed by such notions as the Reviewer seems to entertain, my book, which he complains of as too long, would have been lengthened to the dimensions of a cyclopædia of theology, biography, and philosophy. For keeping to my subject, and not diverting attention to writings of no inherent value, in any point of view, and which would contribute nothing to the elucidation of my topics, I am charged by this Reviewer, in the baldest terms, with ignorance, on almost every one of his sixty odd pages, and, often, several times on the same page.

All that I say of Cotton Mather, mostly drawn from his own words, does not cover a dozen pages. Exception is taken to some unfavorable judgments, cursorily expressed. This is fair and legitimate, and would justify my being called on to substantiate them. But to assume, and proclaim, that I had not read nor seen tracts or volumes that would come under consideration in such a discussion, is as rash as it is offensive; and, besides, constitutes a charge against which no person of any self respect or common sense can be expected to defend himself. I gave the opinion of Cotton Mather's agency in the Witchcraft of 1692, to which my judgment had been led—whether with sufficient grounds or not will be seen, as I proceed—but did not branch off from my proper subject, into a detail of the sources from which that opinion was derived. If I had done so, in connection with allusions to Mather, upon the same principle it would have been necessary to do it, whenever an opinion was expressed of others, such as Roger Williams, or Hugh Peters, or Richard Baxter. It would destroy the interest, and stretch interminably the dimensions, of any book, to break its narrative, abandon its proper subject, and stray aside into such endless collateral matter. But it must be done, if the article in the *North American Review*, is to be regarded as an authoritative announcement of a canon of criticism. Lecturers and public speakers, or writers of any kind, must be on their guard. If they should chance, for instance, to speak of Cotton Mather as a pedant, they will have the reviewers after them, belaboring them with the charge of "a great lack of "research," in not having "pored over" the "prodigious" manuscript of his unpublished work, in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the whole of his three hundred and eighty-two printed works, and the huge mass of *Mather Papers*, in the Library of the American



Antiquarian Society; and with never having "read" the *Memorable Providences*, or "seen" the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, or "heard" of the *Magnalia Christi Americana*.

### III.

COTTON MATHER AND THE GOODWIN CHILDREN.  
JOHN BAILY. JOHN HALE. GOODWIN'S CERTIFICATES. MATHER'S IDEA OF WITCHCRAFT AS A WAR WITH THE DEVIL. HIS USE OF PRAYER. CONNECTION BETWEEN THE CASE OF THE GOODWIN CHILDREN AND SALEM WITCHCRAFT.

The Reviewer complains of my manner of treating Cotton Mather's connection with the affair of the Goodwin children. The facts in the case are, that the family, to which they belonged, lived in the South part of Boston. The father, a mason by occupation, was, as Mather informs us, "a sober and pious man." As his church relations were with the congregation in Charlestown, of which Charles Morton was the Pastor, he probably had no particular acquaintance with the Boston Ministers. From a statement made by Mr. Goodwin, some years subsequently, it seems that after one of his children had, for "about a quarter of a year, been laboring under sad circumstances from the invisible world," he called upon "the four Ministers of Boston, together with his own Pastor, to keep a day of prayer at his house. If so deliverance might be obtained." He says that Cotton Mather, with whom he had no previous acquaintance, was the last of the Ministers that "he spoke to on that occasion." Mr. Mather did not attend the meeting, but visited the house in the morning of the day, before the other Ministers came; spent a half hour there; and prayed with the family. About three months after, the Ministers held another prayer-meeting there, Mr. Mather being present. He further stated that Mr. Mather never, in any way, suggested his prosecuting the old Irish woman for bewitching his children, nor gave him any advice in reference to the legal proceedings against her; but that "the motion of going to the authority was made to him by a Minister of a neighboring town, now departed."

The Reviewer, in a note to the last item, given above, of Goodwin's statement, says: "Probably Mr. John Baily." Unless he has some particular evidence, tending to fix this advice upon Baily, the conjecture is objectionable. The name of such a man as Baily appears to have been, ought not, unnecessarily, to be connected with the transaction. It is true that, after the family had become relieved of its "sad circumstances from the invisible world," Mr. Baily took one of the children to his house, in Watertown; but that is no indication of his having given such advice. The only facts known of him, in connection with

Witchcraft prosecutions, look in the opposite direction. When John Proctor, in his extremity of danger, sought for help, Mr. Baily was one of the Ministers from whom alone he had any ground to indulge a hope for sympathy; and his name is among the fourteen who signed the paper approving of Increase Mather's *Cases of Conscience*. The list comprises all the Ministers known as having shown any friendly feelings towards persons charged with Witchcraft or who had suffered from the prosecutions, such as Hubbard, Allen, Willard, Capen and Wise; but not one who had taken an active part in hurrying on the proceedings of 1692.

If any surmise is justifiable, or worth while, as to the author of the advice to Goodwin—and perhaps it is due to the memory of Baily, whose name has been thus introduced—I should be inclined to suggest that it was John Hale, of Beverly, who, like Baily, was deceased at the date of Goodwin's certificate. He was a Charlestown man, originally of the same religious Society with Goodwin, and had kept up acquaintance with his former townsmen. His course at Salem Village, a few years afterwards, shows that he would have been likely to give such advice; and we may impute it to him without any wrong to his character or reputation. His noble conduct in daring, in the very hour of the extremest fury of the storm, when, as just before the break of day, the darkness was deepest, to denounce the proceedings as wrong; and in doing all that he could to repair that wrong, by writing a book condemning the very things in which he had himself been a chief actor, gives to his name a glory that cannot be dimmed by supposing that, in the period of his former delusion, he was the unfortunate adviser of Goodwin.

When Calef's book reached this country, in 1700, a Committee of seven was raised, at a meeting of the members of the Parish of which the Mathers were Ministers, to protect them against its effects. John Goodwin was a member of it, and contributed the Certificate from which extracts have just been made. It was so worded as to give the impression that Cotton Mather did not take a leading part in the case of Goodwin's children, in 1688. It states, as has been seen, that he "was the last of the Ministers" asked to attend the prayer-meeting; but lets out the fact that he was the first to present himself, going to the house and praying with the family before the rest arrived. Goodwin further states, as follows: "The Ministers would, now and then, come to visit my distressed family, and pray with and for them, among which Mr. Cotton Mather would, now and then, come." The whole document is so framed as to present Mather as playing a secondary part.

In an account, however, of the affair, written by this same John Goodwin, and printed by Mather, in London, ten years before, in *The Memorable Providences relating to Witchcraft and Possessions*, a somewhat different position is assigned to Mather. After saying "the Ministers did often visit us," he mentions "Mr. Mather particularly." "He took much pains in this great service, to pull this child and her brother and sister, out of the hands of the Devil. Let us now admire and adore that fountain, the Lord Jesus Christ, from whence those streams come. The Lord himself will requite his labor of love." In 1690, Mather was willing to have Goodwin place him in the foreground of the picture, representing him as pulling the children out of the hand of the Devil. In 1700, it was expedient to withdraw him into the background: and Goodwin, accordingly, provided the Committee, of which he was a member, with a Certificate of a somewhat different color and tenor.

The execution of the woman, Glover, on the charge of having bewitched these Goodwin children, is one of the most atrocious passages of our history. Hutchinson\* says she was one of the "wild Irish," and "appeared to be disordered in her senses." She was a Roman Catholic, unable to speak the English language, and evidently knew not what to make of the proceedings against her. In her dying hour, she was understood by the interpreter to say, that taking away her life would not have any effect in diminishing the sufferings of the children. The remark, showing more sense than any of the rest of them had, was made to bear against the poor old creature, as a diabolical imprecation.

Between the time of her condemnation and that of her execution, Cotton Mather took the eldest Goodwin child into his family, and kept her there all winter. He has told the story of her extraordinary doings, in a style of blind and absurd credulity that cannot be surpassed. "Ere long," says he, "I thought it convenient for me to entertain my congregation with a Sermon on the memorable providence, wherein these children had been concerned, (afterwards published)."

In this connection, it may be remarked that had it not been for the interference of the Ministers, it is quite likely that "the sad circumstances from the invisible world," in the Goodwin family, would never have been heard of, beyond the immediate neighborhood. It is quite certain that similar "circumstances," in Mr. Parri's family, in 1692, owed their general publicity

and their awful consequences, to the meetings of Ministers called by him. If the girls, in either case, had been let alone, they would soon have been weary of what one of them called their "sport;" and the whole thing would have been swallowed, with countless stories of haunted houses and second sight, in deep oblivion.

In considering Cotton Mather's connection with the case of the Goodwin children, and that of the accusing girls, at Salem Village, justice to him requires that the statements, in my book, of the then prevalent notions, of the power and pending formidableness of the Kingdom of Darkness, should be borne in mind. It was believed by Divines generally, and by people at large, that here, in the American wilderness, a mighty onslaught upon the Christian settlements was soon to be made, by the Devil and his infernal hosts; and that, on this spot, the final battle between Satan and the Church, was shortly to come off. This belief had taken full possession of Mather's mind, and fired his imagination. In comparison with the approaching contest, all other wars, even that for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, paled their light. It was the great crusade, in which hostile powers, Moslem, Papal, and Pagan, of every kind, on earth and from Hell, were to go down; and he aspired to be its St. Bernard. It was because he entertained these ideas, that he was on the watch to hear, and prompt and glad to meet, the first advances of the diabolical legions. This explains his eagerness to take hold of every occurrence that indicated the coming of the Arch Enemy.

And it must further be borne in mind that, up to the time of the case of the Goodwin children, he had entertained the idea that the Devil was to be met and subdued by Prayer. That, and that only, was the weapon with which he girded himself; and with that he hoped and believed to conquer. For this reason, he did not advise Goodwin to go to the law. For this reason, he labored in the distressed household in exercises of prayer, and took the eldest child into his own family, so as to bring the battery of prayer, with a continuous bombardment, upon the Devil by whom she was possessed. For this reason, he persisted in praying in the cell of the old Irish woman, much against her will, for she was a stubborn Catholic. Of course, he could not pray *with* her, for he had no doubt she was a confederate of the Devil; and she had no disposition to join in prayer with one whom, as a heretic, she regarded in no better light; but still he would pray, for which he apologized, when referring to the matter, afterward.

Cotton Mather was always a man of prayer. For this, he deserves to be honored. Prayer, when offered in the spirit, and in accordance with the example, of the Saviour—"not my will but thine

\* When, in this article, I cite the name "Hutchinson," without any distinguishing prefix, I mean THOMAS HUTCHINSON, Chief-justice, Governor, and Historian of Massachusetts: so also when I cite the name "Mather," I mean CORNELL MATHER.



"be done," "Your Father knoweth what things ye have need of before ye ask him—" is the noblest exercise and attitude of the soul. It lifts it to the highest level to which our faculties can rise. It

"opens heaven; lets down a stream

"Of glory on the consecrated hour

"Of man, in audience with the Deity."

It was the misfortune of Cotton Mather, that an original infirmity of judgment, which all the influences of his life and peculiarities of his mental character and habits tended to exaggerate, led him to pervert the use and operation of prayer, until it became a mere implement, or device, to compass some personal end; to carry a point in which he was interested, whether relating to private and domestic affairs, or to movements in academical, political, or ecclesiastical spheres. While according to him entire sincerity in his devotional exercises, and, I trust, truly revering the character and nature of such expressions of devout sensibility and aspirations to divine communion, it is quite apparent that they were practiced by him, in modes and to an extent that cannot be commended, leading to much self-delusion and to extravagances near akin to distraction of judgment, and a disordered mental and moral frame. He would abstain from food—on one occasion, it is said, for three days together—and spend the time, as he expresses it "in knocking at the door of heaven." Leaving his bed at the dead hours of the night, and retiring to his study, he would cast himself on the floor, and "wrestle with the Lord." He kept, usually, one day of each week in such fasting, sometimes two. In his vigils, very protracted, he would, in this prostrate position, be bathed in tears. By such exhausting processes, continued through days and nights, without food or rest, his nature failed; he grew faint; physical weakness laid him open to delusions of the imagination; and his nervous system became deranged. Sometimes, heaven seemed to approach him, and he was hardly able to bear the ecstasies of divine love: at other times, his soul would be tossed in the opposite direction: and often, the two states would follow each other in the same exercise, as described by him in his Diary:—"Was ever man more tempted than the miserable Mather? Should I tell in how many forms the Devil has assaulted me, and with what subtlety and energy his assaults have been carried on, it would strike my friends with horror. Sometimes, temptations to vice, to blasphemy, and atheism, and the abandonment of all religion

"as a mere delusion, and sometimes to self-destruction itself. These, even these, do follow thee, O miserable Mather, with astonishing fury. But I fall down into the dust, on my study floor, with tears, before the Lord, and then they quickly vanish, and it is fair weather again. Lord what wilt thou do with me?"

His prayers and vigils, which often led to such high-wrought and intense experiences, were, not infrequently, brought down to the level of ordinary sublimary affairs. In his Diary, he says, on one occasion: "I set apart the day for fasting with prayer, and the special intention of the day was to obtain deliverance and protection from my enemies. I mentioned their names unto the Lord, who has promised to be my shield." The enemies, here referred to, were political opponents—Governor Dudley and the supporters of his administration.

At another time, he fixed his heart upon some books offered for sale. Not having the means to procure them in the ordinary way, he resorted to prayer: "I could not forbear mentioning my wishes in my prayers, before the Lord, that, in case it might be of service to his interests, he would enable me, in his good Providence, to purchase the treasure now before me. But I left the matter before him, with the profoundest resignation."

The following entry is of a similar character: "This evening, I met with an experience, which it may not be unprofitable for me to remember. I had been, for about a fortnight, vexed with an extraordinary heart-burn; and none of all the common medicines would remove it, though for the present some of them would a little relieve it. At last, it grew so much upon me, that I was ready to faint under it. But, under my fainting pain, this reflection came into my mind. There was *this* among the sufferings and complaints of my Lord Jesus Christ. My heart was like wax melted in the middle of my bowels. Hereupon, I begged of the Lord, that, for the sake of the heart-burn undergone by my Saviour, I might be delivered from the other and lesser heart-burn wherewith I was now incommoded. Immediately it was darted into my mind, that I had Sir Philip Paris's plaster in my house, which was good for inflammations; and laying the plaster on, I was cured of my malady."

These passages indicate a use of prayer, which, to the extent Mather carried it, would hardly be practised or approved by enlightened Christians of this or any age; although our Reviewer fully endorses it. In reference to Mather's belief in the power of prayer, he expresses himself with a bald simplicity, never equalled even by that Divine. After stating that the Almighty Sovereign was his Father, and had promised to hear and

\* The passages from Cotton Mather's Diary, used in this article, are mostly taken from the *Christian Examiner*, xi. 249; *Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society*, i. 299., and iv. 404; and *Life of Cotton Mather*, by William B. O. Peabody, in Sparks's *American Biography*, vi. 162.

answer his petitions, he goes on to say: "He had often tested this promise, and had found it faithful and sure." One would think, in hearing such a phraseology, he was listening to an agent, vending a patent medicine as an infallible cure, or trying to bring into use a labor-saving machine.

The Reviewer calls me to account for representing "the Goodwin affair" as having had "a very important relation to the Salem troubles," and attempts to controvert that position.

On this point, Francis Hutchinson, before referred to, gives his views, very decidedly, in the following passages: [*Pp. 95, 96, 101.*] "Mr. Cotton Mather, no longer since than 1690, published the case of one Goodwin's child. \* \* \* The book was sent hither to be printed amongst us, and Mr. Baxter recommended it to our people by a Preface, wherein he says: 'That man must be a very obdurate Sadducee that will not believe it.' The year after, Mr. Baxter, perhaps encouraged by Mr. Mather's book, published his own *Certainty of the World of Spirits*, with another testimony, 'That Mr. Mather's book would silence any incredulity that pretended to be rational.' And Mr. Mather dispersed Mr. Baxter's book in New England, with the character of it, as a book that was ungainsayable."

Speaking of Mather's book, Doctor Hutchinson proceeds: "The judgment I made of it was, that the poor old woman, being an Irish Papist, and not ready in the signification of English words, had entangled herself by a superstitious belief, and doubtful answers about Saints and Charms; and seeing what advantages Mr. Mather made of it, I was afraid I saw part of the reasons that carried the cause against her. And first it is manifest that Mr. Mather is magnified, as having great power over evil spirits. A young man in his family is represented so holy, that the place of his devotions was a certain cure of the young virgin's fits. Then his grand-father's and father's books have gained a testimony, that, upon occasion, may be improved one knows not how far. For amongst the many experiments that were made, Mr. Mather would bring to this young maid, the Bible, the *Assembly's Catechism*, his grand-father Cotton's *Milk for Babies*, his father's *Remarkable Providences*, and a book to prove that there were Witches; and when any of these were offered for her to read in, she would be struck dead, and fall into convulsions. 'These good books,' he says, 'were mortal to her'; and lest the world should be so dull as not to take him right, he adds, 'I hope I have not spoiled the credit of the books, by telling how much the Devil hated them.'"

This language, published by Doctor Hutchin-

son, in England, during the life-time of the Mathers, shows how strong was the opinion, at that time, that the writings of those two Divines were designed and used to promote the prevalence of the Witchcraft superstition, and especially that such was the effect, as well as the purpose, of Cotton Mather's publication of the case of the Goodwin children, put into such circulation, as it was, by him and Baxter, in both Old and New England. In the same connection, Francis Hutchinson says: "Observe the time of the publication of that book, and of Mr. Baxter's. Mr. Mather's came out in 1690, and Mr. Baxter's the year after; and Mr. Mather's father's *Remarkable Providences* had been out before that; and, in the year 1692, the frights and fits of the afflicted, and the imprisonment and execution of Witches in New England, made as sad a calamity as a plague or a war. I know that Mr. Mather, in his late Folio, imputes it to the Indian Pawaws sending their spirits amongst them; but I attribute it to Mr. Baxter's book, and his, and his father's, and the false principles, and frightful stories, that filled the people's minds with great fears and dangerous notions."

Our own Hutchinson, in his *History of Massachusetts*, [*II. 25-27.*] alludes to the excitement of the public mind, occasioned by the case of the Goodwin children. "I have often," he says, "heard persons who were of the neighborhood, speak of the great consternation it occasioned."

In citing this author, in the present discussion, certain facts are always to be borne in mind. One of his sisters was the wife of Cotton Mather's son, towards whom Hutchinson cherished sentiments appropriate to such a near connection, and of which Samuel Mather was, there is no reason to doubt, worthy. In the Preface to his first volume he speaks thus: "I am obliged to no other person more than to my friend and brother, the Reverend Mr. Mather, whose library has been open to me, as it had been before to the Reverend Mr. Prince, who has taken from thence the greatest and most valuable part of what he had collected."

Moreover, this very library was, it can hardly be questioned, that of Cotton Mather; of which, in his Diary, he speaks as "very great." In an interesting article, to which I may refer again, in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, [*IV. ii. 128*], we are told that, in the inventory of the estate of Cotton Mather, filed by his Administrator, "not a single book is mentioned among the assets of this eccentric scholar." He had, it is to be presumed, given them all, in his life-time, to his son, who succeeded to his ministry in the North Church, in 1732. It is much to be lamented that the Mather "Library," has not been preserved entire.



When the delicacy of his relation to the Mather family and the benefit he was deriving from that library are considered, the avoidance, by Hutchinson, of any unpleasant reference to Cotton Mather, by name, is honorable to his feelings. But he maintained, nevertheless, a faithful allegiance to the truth of history, as the following, as well as many other passages, in his invaluable work, strikingly show. They prove that he regarded Mather's "printed account" of the case of the Goodwin children, as having a very important relation to the immediately subsequent delusion in Salem. "The eldest was taken," he says, "into a Minister's family, where at first she behaved orderly, but after some time suddenly fell into her fits." "The account of her sufferings is in print; some things are mentioned as extraordinary, which tumblers are every day taught to perform; others seem more than natural; but it was a time of great credulity. \* \* \* The printed account was published with a Preface by Mr. Baxter. \* \* \* It obtained credit sufficient, together with other preparatives, to dispose the whole country to be easily imposed upon, by the more extensive and more tragical scene, which was presently after acted at Salem and other parts of the county of Essex." After mentioning several works published in England, containing "witch-stories," witch-trials, etc., he proceeds: "All these books were in New England, and the conformity between the behavior of Goodwin's children, and most of the supposed be-witched at Salem, and the behavior of those in England, is so exact, as to leave no room to doubt the stories had been read by the New England persons themselves, or had been told to them by others who had read them. Indeed this conformity, instead of giving suspicion, was urged in confirmation of the truth of both. The Old England demons and the New being so much alike."

It thus appears that the opinion was entertained, in England and this country, that the notoriety given to the case of the Goodwin children, especially by Mather's printed account of it, had an efficient influence in bringing on the "tragical scene," shortly afterwards exhibited at Salem. This opinion is shown to have been correct, by the extraordinary similarity between them—the one being patterned after the other. The Salem case, in 1692, was, in fact, a substantial repetition of the Boston case, in 1688. On this point, we have the evidence of Cotton Mather himself.

The Rev. John Hale of Beverly, who was as well qualified as any one to compare them, having lived in Charlestown, which place had been the residence of the Goodwin family, and been an active participator in the prosecutions at Sa-

lem, in his book, entitled, *A modest Enquiry into the nature of Witchcraft*, written in 1697, but not printed until 1702, after mentioning the fact that Cotton Mather had published an account of the conduct of the Goodwin children, and briefly describing the manifestations and actions of the Salem girls, says: [p. 24] "I will not enlarge in the description of their cruel sufferings, because they were, in all things, afflicted as bad as John Goodwin's children at Boston, in the year 1689, as he, that will read Mr. Mather's book on *Remarkable Providences*, p. 3. &c., may read part of what these children, and afterwards sundry grown persons, suffered by the hand of Satan, at Salem Village, and parts adjacent, Anno 1691-2, yet there was more in their sufferings than in those at Boston, by pins invisibly stuck into their flesh, pricking with irons (as, in part, published in a book printed 1693, viz: *The Wonders of the Invisible World*.)" This is proof of the highest authority, that, with the exceptions mentioned, there was a perfect similarity in the details of the two cases. Mr. Hale's book had not the benefit of his revision, as it did not pass through the press until two years after his death; and we thus account for the error as to the date of the Goodwin affair.

In making up his *Magnalia*, Mather had the use of Hale's manuscript and transferred from it nearly all that he says, in that work, about Salem Witchcraft. He copies the passage above quoted. The fact, therefore, is sufficiently attested by Mather as well as Hale, that, with the exceptions stated, there was, "in all things," an entire similarity between the cases of 1688 and 1692.

Nay, further, in this same way we have the evidence of Cotton Mather himself, that his "printed account," of the case of the Goodwin children, was actually used, as an authority, by the Court, in the trials at Salem—so that it is clear that the said "account," contributed not only, by its circulation among the people, to bring on the prosecutions of 1692, but to carry them through to their fatal results—Mr. Hale says: [p. 27.] "that the Justices, Judges and others concerned," consulted the precedents of former times, and precepts laid down by learned writers about Witchcraft. He goes on to enumerate them, mentioning Keeble, Sir Matthew Hale, Glanvil, Bernard, Baxter and Burton, concluding the list with "Cotton Mather's *Memorable Providences, relating to Witchcraft*, printed, anno 1689." Mather transcribes this also into the *Magnalia*. The *Memorable Providences* is referred to by Hale, in another place, as containing the case of the Goodwin children, consisting, in fact mainly of it. [p. 23.] Mather, having Hale's book before him, must, therefore be considered as endorsing the opinion for which the Reviewer calls me to

account, namely, that "the Goodwin affair had a very important relation to the Salem troubles." What is sustained, touching this point, by both the Hutchinsons, Hale, and Cotton Mather himself, cannot be disturbed in its position, as a truth of History.

The reader will, I trust, excuse me for going into such minute processes of investigation and reasoning, in such comparatively unimportant points. But, as the long-received opinions, in reference to this chapter of our history, have been brought into question in the columns of a journal, justly commanding the public confidence, it is necessary to re-examine the grounds on which they rest. This I propose to do, without regard to labor or space. I shall not rely upon general considerations, but endeavor, in the course of this discussion, to sift every topic on which the Reviewer has struck at the truth of history, fairly and thoroughly. On this particular point, of the relation of these two instances of alleged Witchcraft, in localities so near as Boston and Salem, and with so short an interval of time, general considerations would ordinarily be regarded as sufficient. From the nature of things, the former must have served to bring about the latter. The intercommunication between the places was, even then, so constant, that no important event could happen in one without being known in the other. By the thousand channels of conversation and rumor, and by Mather's printed account, endorsed by Baxter, and put into circulation throughout the country, the details of the alleged sufferings and extraordinary doings of the Goodwin children, must have become well known, in Salem Village. Such a conclusion would be formed, if no particular evidence in support of it could be adduced; but when corroborated by the two Hutchinsons, Mr. Hale, and, in effect, by Mather himself, it cannot be shaken.

As has been stated, Cotton Mather, previous to his experience with those "pests," as the Reviewer happily calls "the Goodwin children," probably believed in the efficacy of prayer, and in that alone, to combat and beat down evil spirits and their infernal Prince; and John Goodwin's declaration, that it was not by his advice that he went to the law, is, therefore, entirely credible in itself. The protracted trial, however, patiently persevered in for several long months, when he had every advantage, in his own house, to pray the devil out of the eldest of the children, resulting in her becoming more and more "saucy," insolent, and outrageous, may have undermined his faith to an extent of which he might not have been wholly conscious. He says, in concluding his story in the *Magnalia*, [*Book vi. p. 75.*] that, after all other methods had failed, "one particular Minister, taking particular compassion on the family, set himself to serve

"them in the methods prescribed by our Lord Jesus Christ. Accordingly, the Lord being besought thrice, in three days of prayer, with fasting on this occasion, the family then saw their deliverance perfected."

It is worthy of reflection, whether it was not the fasting, that seems to have been especially enforced "on this occasion," and for "three days," that cured the girl. A similar application had before operated as a temporary remedy. Mather tells us, in his *Memorable Providences*, [*p. 31.*] referring to a date previous to the "three days" fasting, "Mr. Morton, of Charlestown, and Mr. Allen, Mr. Moody, Mr. Willard, and myself, of Boston, with some devout neighbors, kept another day of prayer at John Goodwin's house; and we had all the children present with us there. The children were miserably tortured, while we labored in our prayers; but our good God was nigh unto us, in what we called upon him for. From this day, the power of the enemy was broken; and the children, though assaults after this were made upon them, yet were not so cruelly handled as before."

It must have been a hard day for all concerned. Five Ministers and any number of "good praying people," as Goodwin calls them, together with his whole family, could not but have crowded his small house. The children, on such occasions, often proved very troublesome, as stated above. Goodwin says, "the two biggest, lying on the bed, one of them would fain have kicked the good men, while they were wrestling with God for them, had I not held him with all my power and might." Fasting was added to the prayers, that were kept up during the whole time, the Ministers relieving each other. If the fasting had been continued three days, it is not unlikely that the cure of the children would, then, have proved effectual and lasting. The account given in the *Memorables* and the *Magnalia*, of the conduct of these children, under the treatment of Mather and the other Ministers, is, indeed, most ludicrous; and no one can be expected to look at it in any other light. He was forewarned that, in printing it, he would expose himself to ridicule. He tells us that the mischievous, but bright and wonderfully gifted, girl, the eldest of the children, getting, at one time, possession of his manuscript, pretended to be, for the moment, incapacitated, by the Devil, for reading it; and he further informs us, "She'd hector me at a strange rate for the work I was at, and threaten me with I know not what mischief for it." She got a History I was writing of this Witchcraft; and though she had, before this, read it over and over, yet now she could not read (I believe) one entire sentence of it; but she



"made of it the most ridiculous Travesty in the world, with such a patness and excess of fancy, to supply the sense that she put upon it, as I was amazed at. And she particularly told me, That I should quickly come to disgrace by that History."

It is noticeable that the Goodwin children, like their imitators at Salem Village, the "afflicted," as they were called, were careful, except in certain cases of emergence, not to have their night's sleep disturbed, and never lost an appetite for their regular meals. I cannot but think that if the Village girls had, once in a while, like the Goodwin children, been compelled to go for a day or two upon very short allowance, it would have soon brought their "sport" to an end.

Nothing is more true than that, in estimating the conduct and character of men, allowance must be made for the natural, and almost necessary, influence of the opinions and customs of their times. But this excuse will not wholly shelter the Mathers. They are answerable, as I have shown, more than almost any other men have been, for the opinions of their time. It was, indeed, a superstitious age; but made much more so by their operations, influence, and writings, beginning with Increase Mather's movement, at the assembly of the Ministers, in 1681, and ending with Cotton Mather's dealings with the Goodwin children, and the account thereof which he printed and circulated, far and wide. For this reason, then, in the first place, I hold those two men responsible for what is called "Salem Witchcraft."

I have admitted and shown that Cotton Mather originally relied only upon prayer in his combat with Satanic powers. But the time was at hand, when other weapons than the sword of the Spirit were to be drawn in that warfare.

#### IV.

THE RELATION OF THE MATHERS TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF MASSACHUSETTS, IN 1692. THE NEW CHARTER. THE GOVERNMENT UNDER IT ARRANGED BY THEM. ARRIVAL OF SIR WILLIAM PHIPPS.

No instance of the responsibility of particular persons for the acts of a Government, in the whole range of history, is more decisive or unquestionable, than that of the Mathers, father and son, for the trials and executions, for the alleged crime of Witchcraft, at Salem, in 1692.

Increase Mather had been in England, as one of the Agents of the Colony of Massachusetts, for several years, in the last part of the reign of James II. and the beginning of that of William and Mary, covering much of the period between the abrogation of the first Charter and

the establishment of the Province under the second Charter. Circumstances had conspired to give him great influence in organizing the Government provided for in the new Charter. His son describes him as "one that, besides a station in the Church of God, as considerable as any that his own country can afford, hath for divers years come off with honor, in his application to three crowned heads and the chiefest nobility of three kingdoms."

Being satisfied that a restoration of the old Charter could not be obtained, Increase Mather acquiesced in what he deemed a necessity, and bent his efforts to have as favorable terms as possible secured in the new. His colleagues in the agency, Elisha Cooke and Thomas Oaks, opposed his course—the former, with great determination, taking the ground of the "old Charter or none." This threw them out of all communication with the Home Government, on the subject, and gave to Mr. Mather controlling influence. He was requested by the Ministers of the Crown to name the officers of the new Government; and, in fact, had the free and sole selection of them all. Sir William Phips was appointed Governor, at his solicitation; and, in accordance with earnest recommendations, in a letter from Cotton Mather, William Stoughton was appointed Deputy-governor, thereby superseding Danforth, one of the ablest men in the Province. In fact, every member of the Council owed his seat to the Mathers, and, politically, was their creature. Great was the exultation of Cotton Mather, when the intelligence reached him, thus expressed in his Diary: "The time for favor is now come, yea, the set-time is come. I am now to receive the answers of 'so many prayers, as have been employed for my absent parent, and the deliverance and settlement of my poor country. We have not the former Charter, but we have a better in the room of it; one which much better suits our circumstances. And, instead of my being made a sacrifice to wicked rulers, all the Councillors of the Province are of my father's nomination; and my father-in-law, with several related to me, and several brethren of my own Church, are among them. The Governor of the Province is not my enemy, but one whom I baptized, namely, Sir William Phips, and one of my flock, and one of my dearest friends."

The whole number of Councillors was twenty-eight, three of them, at least, being of the Mather Church. John Phillips was Cotton Mather's father-in-law. Two years before, Sir William Phips had been baptized by Cotton Mather, in the presence of the congregation, and received into the Church.

The "set time," so long prayed for, was of brief

duration. The influence of the Mathers over the politics of the Province was limited to the first part of Phips's short administration. At the very next election, in May, 1693, ten of the Councillors were left out; and Elisha Cooke, their great opponent, was chosen to that body, although negatived by Phips, in the exercise of his prerogative, under the Charter.

Increase Mather came over in the same ship with the Governor, the *Nonsuch*, frigate. As Phips was his parishioner, owed to him his office, and was necessarily thrown into close intimacy, during the long voyage, he fell naturally under his influence, which, all things considered, could not have failed to be controlling. The Governor was an illiterate person, but of generous, confiding, and susceptible impulses; and the elder Mather was precisely fitted to acquire an ascendancy over such a character. He had been twice abroad, in his early manhood and in his later years, had knowledge of the world, been conversant with learned men in Colleges and among distinguished Divines and Statesmen, and seen much of Courts and the operations of Governments. With a more extended experience and observation than his son, his deportment was more dignified, and his judgment infinitely better; while his talents and acquirements were not far, if at all, inferior. When Phips landed in Boston, it could not, therefore, have been otherwise than that he should pass under the control of the Mathers, the one accompanying, the other meeting him on the shore. They were his religious teachers and guides; by their efficient patronage and exertions he had been placed in his high office. They, his Deputy, Stoughton, and the whole class of persons under their influence, at once gathered about him, gave him his first impressions, and directed his movements. By their talents and position, the Mathers controlled the people, and kept open a channel through which they could reach the ear of Royalty. The Government of the Province was nominally in Phips and his Council, but the Mathers were a power behind the throne greater than the throne itself. The following letter, never before published, for which I am indebted to Abner C. Goodell, Esq., Vice-president of the Essex Institute, shows how they bore themselves before the Legislature, and communicated with the Home Government.

"MY LORD:

"I have only to assure your Lordship, that the generality of their Majesties subjects (so far as I can understand) do, with all thankfulness, receive the favors, which, by the new Charter, are granted to them. The last week, the General Assembly (which, your Lordship knows, is our New England Parliament) con-

vened at Boston. I did then exhort them to make an Address of thanks to their Majesties; which, I am since informed, the Assembly have unanimously agreed to do, as in duty they are bound. I have also acquainted the whole Assembly, how much, not myself only, but they, and all this Province, are obliged to your Lordship in particular, which they have a grateful sense of, as by letters from themselves your Lordship will perceive. If I may, in any thing, serve their Majesties interest here, I shall, on that account, think myself happy, and shall always study to approve myself, My Lord,

"Your most humble, thankful

"BOSTON, N. E. and obedient Servant,

"June 23, 1692.

INCREASE MATHER.

"To the Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup> the EARL OF NOTTINGHAM

"his Maj<sup>ty</sup>'s Principal Secretary of State

"at Whitehall."

While they could thus address the General Assembly, and the Ministers of State, in London, the Government here was, as Hutchinson evidently regarded it, [*i. 365; ii. 69.*] "a MATHER ADMINISTRATION." It was "short, sharp, and decisive." It opened in great power; its course was marked with terror and havoc; it ended with mysterious suddenness; and its only monument is Salem Witchcraft—the "judicial murder," as the Reviewer calls it, of twenty men and women, as innocent in their lives as they were heroic in their deaths.

The *Nonsuch* arrived in Boston harbor, towards the evening of the fourteenth of May, 1692. Judge Sewall's Diary, now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, has this entry, at the above date: "Candles are lighted before he gets into Town House, 8 companies wait on him to his house, and then on Mr. Mather to his, made no volleys, because 'twas Saturday night."

The next day, the Governor attended, we may be sure, public worship with the congregation to which he belonged; and the occasion was undoubtedly duly noticed. After so long an absence, Increase Mather could not have failed to address his people, the son also taking part in the interesting service. The presence, in his pew, of the man who, a short time before, had been regenerated by their preaching, and now re-appeared among them with the title and commission of Governor of New England, added to the previous honors of Knighthood, at once suggested to all, and particularly impressed upon him, an appreciating conviction of the political triumph, as well as clerical achievement, of the associate Ministers of the North Boston Church. From what we know of the state of the public mind at that time, as em-



phatically described in a document I am presently to produce, there can be no question as to one class of topics and exhortations, where-withall his Excellency and the crowded congregation were, that day, entertained.

Monday, the sixteenth, was devoted to the ceremonies of the public induction of the new Government. There was a procession to the Town-house, where the Commissions of the Governor and Deputy-governor, with the Charter under which they were appointed, were severally read aloud to the people. A public dinner followed; and, at its close, Sir William was escorted to his residence. At the meeting of the Council, the next day, the seventeenth, the oaths of office having been administered, all round, it was voted "that there be a general meeting of the Council upon Tuesday next, the twenty-fourth of May current, in Boston, at two o'clock, post-meridian, to nominate and appoint Judges, Justices, and other officers of the Council and Courts of Justice within this their Majestie's Province belonging, and that notice thereof, or summons, be forthwith issued unto the members of the Council now absent."

The following letter from Sir William Phips, to the Government at home, recently procured from England by Mr. Goodell, was published in the last volume of the *Collections of the Essex Institute*—Volume IX., Part II. I print it, entire, and request the reader to examine it, carefully, and to refer to it as occasion arises in this discussion, as it is a key to the whole transaction of the Witchcraft trials. Its opening sentence demonstrates the impression made by those who first met and surrounded him, on his excitable nature:

"When I first arrived, I found this Province miserably harassed with a most horrible witchcraft or possession of devils, which had broke in upon several towns, some scores of poor people were taken with preternatural torments, some scalded with brimstone, some had pins stuck in their flesh, others hurried into the fire and water, and some dragged out of their houses and carried over the tops of trees and hills for many miles together; it hath been represented to me much like that of Sweden about thirty years ago; and there were many committed to prison upon suspicion of Witchcraft before my arrival. The loud cries and clamours of the friends of the afflicted people, with the advice of the Deputy-governor and many others, prevailed with me to give a Commission of Oyer and Terminer for discovering what Witchcraft might be at the bottom, or whether it were not a possession. The chief Judge in this Commission was the Deputy-governor, and the rest were

"persons of the best prudence and figure that could then be pitched upon. When the Court came to sit at Salem, in the County of Essex, they convicted more than twenty persons being guilty of witchcraft, some of the convicted confessed their guilt; the Court, as I understand, began their proceedings with the accusations of afflicted persons; and then went upon other humane evidences to strengthen that. I was, almost the whole time of the proceeding, abroad in the service of their Majesties, in the Eastern part of the country, and depended upon the judgment of the Court, as to a method of proceeding in cases of witchcraft; but when I came home I found many persons in a strange ferment of dissatisfaction, which was increased by some hot spirits that blew up the flame; but on inquiring into the matter I found that the Devil had taken upon him the name and shape of several persons who were doubtless innocent, and, to my certain knowledge, of good reputation; for which cause I have now forbidden the committing of any more that shall be accused, without unavoidable necessity, and those that have been committed I would shelter from any proceedings against them where-in there may be the least suspicion of any wrong to be done unto the innocent. I would also wait for any particular directions or commands, if their Majesties please to give me any, for the fuller ordering this perplexed affair.

"I have also put a stop to the printing of any discourses one way or other, that may increase the needless disputes of people upon this occasion, because I saw a likelihood of kindling an inextinguishable flame if I should admit any public and open contests; and I have grieved to see that some, who should have done their Majesties, and this Province, better service, have so far taken council of passion as to desire the precipitancy of these matters; these things have been improved by some to give me many interruptions in their Majesties service [which] has been hereby unhappily clogged, and the persons, who have made so ill improvement of these matters here, are seeking to turn it upon me, but I hereby declare, that as soon as I came from fighting against their Majesties enemies, and understood what danger some of their innocent subjects might be exposed to, if the evidence of the afflicted persons only did prevail, either to the committing, or trying any of them, I did, before any application was made unto me about it, put a stop to the proceedings of the Court and they are now stopped till their Majesties pleasure be known. Sir, I beg pardon for giving you all this trouble;

"the reason is because I know my enemies are seeking to turn it all upon me. Sir,

"I am

"Your most humble Serv<sup>t</sup>

"WILLIAM PHIPS.

"Dated at BOSTON IN NEW ENGLAND,  
"the 14th of Oct<sup>r</sup> 1692.

"MEM<sup>DM</sup>

"That my Lord President be pleased to acquaint his Majesty in Council with the account received from New England, from Sir W<sup>m</sup> Phips, the Governor there, touching proceedings against several persons for Witchcraft, as appears by the Governor's letter concerning those matters."

The foregoing document, I repeat, indicates the kind of talk with which Phips was accosted, when stepping ashore. Exaggerated representations of the astonishing occurrences at Salem Village burst upon him from all, whom he would have been likely to meet. The manner in which the Mathers, through him, had got exclusive possession of the Government of the Province, probably kept him from mingling freely among, or having much opportunity to meet, any leading men, outside of his Council and the party thus represented. Writing in the ensuing October, at the moment when he had made up his mind to break loose from those who had led him to the hasty appointment of the Special Court, there is significance in his language. "I have grieved to see that some, who should have done their Majesties, and the Province, better service, have so far taken counsel of passion, as to desire the precipitancy of these matters." This refers to, and amounts to a condemnation of, the advisers who had influenced him to the rash measures adopted on his arrival. How rash and precipitate those measures were I now proceed to show.

## V.

THE SPECIAL COURT OF OYER AND TERMINER.  
HOW IT WAS ESTABLISHED. WHO RESPONSIBLE FOR IT. THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE CONCENTRATED IN ITS CHIEF-JUSTICE.

So great was the pressure made upon Sir William Phips, by the wild panic to which the community had been wrought, that he ordered the persons who had been committed to prison by the Salem Magistrates, to be put in irons; but his natural kindness of heart and common sense led him to relax the unjustifiable severity. Professor Bowen, in his *Life of Phips*, embraced in Sparks's *American Biography*, [vii, 81.] says: "Sir William seems not to have been in earnest in the proceeding; for the officers were permitted to evade the order, by putting on the irons indeed, but taking them off again, immediately."

On Tuesday, the twenty-fourth of May, the Council met to consider the matter specially assigned to that day, namely, the nomination and appointment of Judicial officers.

The Governor gave notice that he had issued Writs for the election of Representatives to convene in a General Court, to be held on the eighth of June.

He also laid before the Council, the assigned business, which was "accordingly attended, and divers persons, in the respective Counties were named, and left for further consideration."

On the twenty-fifth of May, the Council being again in session, the record says: "a further discourse was had about persons, in the several Counties, for Justices and other officers, and it was judged advisable to defer the consideration of fit persons for Judges, until there be an establishment of Courts of Justice."

At the next meeting, on the twenty-seventh of May, it was ordered that the members of the Council, severally, and their Secretary, should be Justices of the Peace and Quorum, in the respective Counties where they reside: a long list, besides, was adopted, appointing the persons named in it Justices, as also Sheriffs and Coroners; and a SPECIAL COURT OF OYER AND TERMINER was established for the Counties of Suffolk, Essex, and Middlesex, consisting of William Stoughton, Chief-justice, John Richards, Nathaniel Saltonstall, Wait Winthrop, Bartholomew Gedney, Samuel Sewall, John Hathorne, Jonathan Corwin, and Peter Sargent, any five of them to be a quorum (Stoughton, Richards, or Gedney to be one of the five).

When we consider that the subject had been specially assigned on the seventeenth, and discussed for two days, on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, to the conclusion that the appointment of Judges ought to be deferred, "until there be an establishment of Courts of Justice,"—which, by the Charter, could only be done by the General Court which was to meet, as the Governor had notified them, in less than a fortnight—the establishment of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, on the twenty-seventh, must be regarded as very extraordinary. It was acknowledged to be an unauthorized proceeding; the deliberate judgment of the Council had been expressed against it; and there was no occasion for such hurry, as the Legislature was so soon to assemble. There must have been a strong outside pressure, from some quarter, to produce such a change of front. From Wednesday to Friday, some persons of great influence must have been hard at work. The reasons assigned, in the record, for this sudden reversal, by the Council, of its deliberate decision, are the great number of criminals waiting trial, the thronged condition of the jails, and "this hot season of the year," on the twenty-seventh of May!



It is further stated, "there being no judicatures "or Courts of Justice yet established," that, therefore, such an extraordinary step was necessary. It is, indeed, remarkable, that, in the face of their own recorded convictions of expediency and propriety, and in disregard of the provisions of the Charter which, a few days before, they had been sworn to obey, the Council could have been led to so far "take counsel of passion," as to rush over every barrier to this precipitate measure.

No specific reference is anywhere made, in the Journals, to Witchcraft; but the Court was to act upon all cases of felony and other crimes. The "Council Records" were not obtained from England, until 1846. Writers have generally spoken of the Court as consisting of seven Judges. Salt-onstall's resignation does not appear to have led to a new appointment; and, perhaps, Hathorne, who generally acted as an Examining Magistrate, and signed most of the Commitments of the prisoners, did not often, if ever, sit as a Judge. In this way, the Court may have been reduced to seven. Stephen Sewall was appointed Clerk, and George Corwin, High Sheriff.

Thus established and organized, on the twenty-seventh of May, the Court sat, on the second of June, for the trial of Bridget Bishop. Her Death-warrant was signed, on the eighth of June, the very day the Legislature convened; and she was executed on the tenth. This was, indeed, "precipitancy." Before the General Court had time, possibly, to make "an establishment of "Courts of Justice" in the exercise of the powers bestowed upon it by the Charter, this Special Court—suddenly sprung upon the country, against the deliberate first judgment of the Council itself, and not called for by any emergency of the moment which the General Court, just coming on the stage, could not legally, constitutionally, and adequately, have met—dipped its hands in blood; and an infatuated and appalled people and their representatives allowed the wheels of the Jugernaut to roll on.

The question, who are responsible for the creation, in such hot haste, of this Court, and for its instant entrance upon its ruthless work, may not be fully and specifically answered, with absolute demonstration, but we may approach a satisfactory solution of it. We know that a word from either of the Mathers would have stopped it. Their relations to the Government were, then, controlling. Further, if, at that time, either of the other leading Ministers—Willard or Allen—had demanded delay, it would have been necessary to pause; but none appear to have made open opposition; and all must share in the responsibility for subsequent events.

Phips says that the affair at Salem Village was represented to him as "much like that of Sweden,

"about thirty years ago." This Swedish case was Cotton Mather's special topic. In his *Wonders of the Invisible World*, he says that "other "good people have in this way been harassed, "but none in circumstances more like to ours, "than the people of God in Sweedland." He introduces, into the *Wonders*, a separate account of it; and reproduces it in his *Life of Phips*, incorporated subsequently into the *Magnalia*. The first point he makes, in presenting this case, is as follows: "The inhabitants had earnestly sought "God in prayer, and yet their affliction continued. Whereupon Judges had a Special "Commission to find, and root out the hellish "crew; and the rather, because another County "in the Kingdom, which had been so molested, "was delivered upon the execution of the Witch-"es."—*The Wonders of the Invisible World*. Edit. London, 1693, p. 48.

The importance attached by Cotton Mather to the affair in Sweden, especially viewed in connection with the foregoing extract, indicates that the change, I have conjectured, had come over him, as to the way to deal with Witches; and that he had reached the conclusion that prayer would not, and nothing but the gallows could, answer the emergency. In the Swedish case, was found the precedent for a "Special Commission "of Oyer and Terminer."

Well might the Governor have felt the importance of relieving himself, as far as possible, from the responsibility of having organized such a Court, and of throwing it upon his advisers. The tribunal consisted of the Deputy-governor, as Chief-justice, and eight other persons, all members of the Council, and each, as has been shown, owing his seat, at that Board, to the Mathers.

The recent publication of this letter of Governor Phips enables us now to explain certain circumstances, before hardly intelligible, and to appreciate the extent of the outrages committed by those who controlled the administration of the Province, during the Witchcraft trials.

In 1767, Andrew Oliver, then Secretary of the Province, was directed to search the Records of the Government to ascertain precedents, touching a point of much interest at that time. From his Report, part of which is given in Drake's invaluable *History of Boston*, [p. 728.] it appears that the Deputy-governor, Stoughton, by the appointment of the Governor, attended by the Secretary, administered the oaths to the members of the House of Representatives, convened on the eighth of June, 1692; that, as Deputy-governor, he sat in Council, generally, during that year, and was, besides, annually elected to the Council, until his death, in 1701. All that time, he was sitting, in the double capacity of an *ex-officio* and an elected member; and for much the greater part of it, in the absence of Phips, as acting Governor. The

Records show that he sat in Council when Sir William Phips was present, and presided over it, when he was not present, and ever after Phips's decease, until a new Governor came over in 1699. His annual election, by the House of Representatives, as one of the twenty-eight Councillors, while, as Deputy or acting Governor, he was entitled to a seat, is quite remarkable. It gave him a distinct legislative character, and a right, as an elected member of the body, to vote and act, directly, in all cases, without restraint or embarrassment, in debate and on Committees, in the making, as well as administering, the law.

In the letter now under consideration, Governor Phips says: "I was almost the whole time 'of the proceeding abroad, in the Service of 'their Majesties in the Eastern part of the coun-try."

The whole tenor of the letter leaves an impression that, being so much away from the scene, in frequent and long absences, he was not cognizant of what was going on. He depended "upon 'the judgment of the Court," as to its methods of proceeding; and was surprised when those methods were brought to his attention. Feeling his own incapacity to handle such a business, he was willing to leave it to those who ought to have been more competent. Indeed, he passed the whole matter over to the Deputy-governor. In a letter, for which I am indebted to Mr. Goodell, dated the twentieth of February, 1693, to the Earl of Nottingham, transmitting copies of laws passed by the General Court, Governor Phips says: "Not being versed in law, I have depended upon 'on the Lieu' Gov', who is appointed Judge of 'the Courts, to see that they be exactly agreeable to the laws of England, and not repugnant 'in any part. If there be any error, I know 'it will not escape your observation, and de-sire a check may be given for what may be 'amiss."

The closing sentence looks somewhat like a want of confidence in the legal capacity and judgment of Stoughton, owing, perhaps, to the bad work he had made at the Salem trials, the Summer before; but the whole passage shows that Phips, conscious of his own ignorance of such things, left them wholly to the Chief-justice.

The Records show that he sat in Council to the close of the Legislature, on the second of July. But the main business was, evidently, under the management of Stoughton, who was Chairman of a large Joint Committee, charged with adjusting the whole body of the laws to the transition of the Colony, from an independent Government, under the first Charter, to the condition of a subject Province.

One person had been tried and executed; and the Court was holding its second Session when the

Legislature adjourned. Phips went to the eastward, immediately after the eighth of July. Again, on the first of August, he embarked from Boston with a force of four hundred and fifty men, for the mouth of the Kennebec. In the Archives of Massachusetts, Secretary's office, State House. Vol. LI, p. 9, is the original document, signed by Phips, dated on the first of August, 1692, turning over the Government to Stoughton, during his absence. It appears by Church's *Eastern Expeditions*, Part II. p. 82, edited by H. M. Dexter, and published by Wiggin & Lunt, Boston, 1867, that, during a considerable part of the month of August, the Governor must have been absent, engaged in important operations on the coast of Maine. About the middle of September, he went again to the Kennebec, not returning until a short time before the twelfth of October. In the course of the year, he also was absent for a while in Rhode Island. Although an energetic and active man, he had as much on his hands, arising out of questions as to the extent of his authority over Connecticut and Rhode Island and the management of affairs at the eastward, as he could well attend to. His Instructions, too, from the Crown, made it his chief duty to protect the eastern portions of his Government. The state of things there, in connection with Indian assaults and outrages upon the outskirt settlements, under French instigation, was represented as urgently demanding his attention. Besides all this, his utmost exertions were needed to protect the sea-coast against buccaneers. In addition to the public necessities, thus calling him to the eastward, it was, undoubtedly, more agreeable to his feelings, to revisit his native region and the home of his early years, where, starting from the humblest spheres of mechanical labor and maritime adventure, as a ship carpenter and sailor, he had acquired the manly energy and enterprise that had conducted him to fortune, knightly honor, and the Commission of Governor of New England. All the reminiscences and best affections of his nature made him prompt to defend the region thus endeared to him. It was much more congenial to his feelings than to remain under the ceremonial and puritanic restraints of the seat of Government, and involved in perplexities with which he had no ability, and probably no taste, to grapple. He was glad to take himself out of the way; and as his impetuous and impulsive nature rendered those under him liable to find him troublesome, they were not sorry to have him called elsewhere.

I have mentioned these things as justifying the impression, conveyed by his letter, that he knew but little of what was going on until his return in the earlier half of October. Actual absence at a distance, the larger part of the time, and engrossing cares in getting up expeditions and sup-



plies for them while he was at home—particularly as, from the beginning, he had passed over the business of the Court entirely to his Deputy, Stoughton—it is not difficult to suppose, had prevented his mind being much, if at all, turned towards it. We may, therefore, consider that the witchcraft prosecutions were wholly under the control of Stoughton and those who, having given him power, would naturally have influence over his exercise of it.

Calling in question the legality of the Court, Hutchinson expresses a deep sense of the irregularity of its proceedings; although, as he says, "the most important Court to the life of the subject which ever was held in the Province," it meets his unqualified censure, in many points. In reference to the instance of the Jury's bringing in a verdict of "Not guilty," in the case of Rebecca Nurse, and being induced, by the dissatisfaction of the Court, to go out again, and bring her in "Guilty," he condemns the procedure. Speaking of a wife or husband being allowed to accuse one the other, he breaks out: "I shudder while I am relating it;" and giving the results at the last trial, he says: "This Court of Oyer and Terminer, happy for the country, sat no more." Its proceedings were arbitrary, harsh, and rash. The ordinary forms of caution and fairness were disregarded. The Judges made no concealment of a foregone conclusion against the Prisoners at the Bar. No Counsel was allowed them. The proceedings were summary; and execution followed close upon conviction. While it was destroying the lives of men and women, of respectable position in the community, of unblemished and eminent Christian standing, heads of families, aged men and venerable matrons, all the ordinary securities of society, outside of the tribunal, were swept away. In the absence of Sir William Phips, the Chief-justice absolutely absorbed into his own person the whole Government. His rulings swayed the Court, in which he acted the part of prosecutor of the Prisoners, and overbore the Jury. He sat in judgment upon the sentences of his own Court; and heard and refused, applications and supplications for pardon or reprieve. The three grand divisions of all constitutional or well-ordered Governments were, for the time, obliterated in Massachusetts. In the absence of Phips, the Executive functions were exercised by Stoughton. While presiding over the Council, he also held a seat as an elected ordinary member, thus participating in, as well as directing, its proceedings, sharing, as a leader, in legislation, acting on Committees, and framing laws. As Chief-justice, he was the head of the Judicial department. He was Commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces and forts within the Province proper. All administrative, legislative, judicial, and

military powers were concentrated in his person and wielded by his hand. No more shameful tyranny or shocking despotism was ever endured in America, than, in "the dark and awful day," as it was called, while the Special Commission of Oyer and Terminer was scattering destruction, ruin, terror, misery and death, over the country. It is a disgrace to that generation, that it was so long suffered; and, instead of trying to invent excuses, it becomes all subsequent generations to feel—as was deeply felt by enlightened and candid men, as soon as the storm had blown over and a prostrate people again stood erect, in possession of their senses—that all ought, by humble and heart-felt prayer, to implore the divine forgiveness, as one of the Judges, fully as misguided at the time as the rest, did, to the end of his days.

As all the official dignities of the Province were combined in Stoughton, he seems hardly to have known in what capacity he was acting, as different occasions arose. He signed the Death-warrant of Bridget Bishop, without giving himself any distinctive title, with his bare name and his private seal. It is easy to imagine how this lodging of the whole power of the State in one man, destroyed all safeguards and closed every door of refuge. When the express messenger of the poor young wife of John Willard, or the heroic daughter of Elizabeth How, or the agents of the people of the village, of all classes, combined in supplication in behalf of Rebecca Nurse, rushing to Boston to lay petitions for pardon before the Governor, upon being admitted to his presence, found themselves confronted by the stern countenance of the same person, who, as Chief-justice, had closed his ears to mercy and frowned the Jury into Conviction; their hearts sunk within them, and all realized that even hope had taken flight from the land.

Such was the political and public administration of the Province of Massachusetts, during the Summer of 1692, under which the Witchcraft prosecutions were carried on. It was conducted by men whom the Mathers had brought into office, and who were wholly in their counsels. If there is, I repeat, an instance in history where particular persons are responsible for the doings of a Government, this is one. I conclude these general views of the influence of Increase and Cotton Mather upon the ideas of the people and the operations of the Government, eventuating in the Witchcraft tragedy, by restating a proposition, which, under all the circumstances, cannot, I think, be disputed, that, if they had been really and earnestly opposed to the proceedings, at any stage, they could and would have stopped them.

I now turn to a more specific consideration of the subject of Cotton Mather's connection with the Witchcraft delusion of 1692.

## VI.

COTTON MATHER'S CONNECTION WITH THE COURT.  
SPECTRAL EVIDENCE. LETTER TO JOHN RICHARDS.  
ADVICE OF THE MINISTERS.

I am charged with having misrepresented the Court Cotton Mather, in particular, bore in this passage of our history. As nearly the whole community had been deluded at the time, and there was a general concurrence in aiding oblivion to cover it, it is difficult to bring it back, in its parts, within the realm of absolute knowledge. Records—municipal, ecclesiastical, judicial, and provincial—were willingly suffered to perish; and silence, by general consent, pervaded correspondence and conversation. Notices of it are brief, even in the most private Diaries. It could have been well, perhaps, if the memory of that day could have been utterly extinguished; but it has not. On the contrary, as, in all manner of false and incorrect representations, it has gone into the literature of the country and the world and become mixed with the permanent mass of mankind, it is right and necessary to present the whole transaction, so far as possible, in the light of truth. Every right-minded man must rejoice to have wrong, done to the reputation of the dead or living, repaired; and I can only say that no one would rejoice more than I should, if the view presented of Cotton Mather, in the *North American Review*, of April, 1869, could be shown to be correct. In this spirit, I proceed to present the evidence that belongs to the question.

The belief of the existence of a personal Devil was then all but universally entertained. So was the belief of ghosts, apparitions, and spectres. There was no more reluctance to think or speak of them than of what we call natural objects and phenomena. Great power was ascribed to the Devil over terrestrial affairs; but it had been the prevalent opinion, that he could not operate upon human beings in any other way than through the instrumentality of other human beings, in voluntary confederacy with him; and that, by means of their spectres, he could work any amount of mischief. While this opinion prevailed, the testimony of a witness, that he had seen the spectre of a particular person afflicting himself or any one else, was regarded as proof positive that the person, thus spectrally represented, was in league with the Devil, or, in other words, a Witch. This idea had been abandoned by some writers, who held that the Devil could make use of the spectre of an innocent person, to do mischief; and that, therefore, it was not positive or conclusive proof that any one was a Witch because his spectre had been seen tormenting others. The logical conclusion, from the views of these later writers, was that spectral

evidence, as it was called, bearing against an accused party, was wholly unreliable and must be thrown out, entirely, in all cases.

The Reviewer says the "Clergy of New England" adopted the views of the writers just alluded to, and held that spectral evidence was unreliable and unsafe, and ought to be utterly rejected; and particularly maintains that such was the opinion of Cotton Mather. It is true that they professed to have great regard for those writers; but it is also true, that neither Mather nor the other Ministers in 1692, adopted the conclusion which the Reviewer allows to be inevitably demanded by sound reason and common sense, namely, that "no spectral evidence must be admitted." On the contrary, they did authorize the "admission" of spectral evidence. This I propose to prove; and if I succeed in doing it, the whole fabric of the article in the *North American Review* falls to the ground.

It is necessary, at this point, to say a word as to the *Mather Papers*. They were published by a Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1868. My work was published in 1867. The Reviewer, and certain journals that have committed themselves to his support, charge me with great negligence in not having consulted those papers, *not then in print*. Upon inquiry, while making my researches, I was informed, by those having them in hand preparatory to their going to press, that they contained nothing at all essential to my work; and the information was correct. Upon examining the printed volume, I cannot find a single item that would require an alteration, addition, or omission to be made in my work. But they are quite serviceable in the discussion to which the article in the *North American Review* compels me.

To return to the issue framed by the Reviewer. He makes a certain absolute assertion, repeats it in various forms, and confidently assumes it, all the way through, as in these passages: "Stoughton admitted spectral evidence; Mather, in his writings on the subject, denounced it, as illegal, uncharitable, and cruel." "He ever testified against it, both publicly and privately; and, particularly in his Letter to the Judges, he besought them that they would by no means admit it; and when a considerable assembly of Ministers gave in their *Advice* about the matter, he not only concurred with the advice, but he drew it up." "The *Advice* was very specific in excluding spectral testimony."

He relies, in the first place, and I may say chiefly, in maintaining this position—namely, that Mather denounced the *admission* of spectral testimony and demanded its *exclusion*—upon a sentence in a letter from Cotton Mather to John Richards, called by the Reviewer "his Letter to the Judges," among the *Mather Papers*, p. 391.



Hutchinson informs us that Richards came into the country in low circumstances, but became an opulent merchant, in Boston. He was a member of Mather's Church, and one of the Special Court to try the witches. Its Session was to commence in the first week, probably on Thursday, the second day of June. The letter, dated on Tuesday, the thirty-first of May, is addressed to John Richards alone; and commences with a strong expression of regret that quite a severe indisposition will prevent his accompanying him to the trials. "Excuse me," he says, "from waiting upon you, with the utmost of my little skill and care, to assist the noble service, whereto you are called of God this week, the service of encountering the wicked spirits in the high places of our air, and of detecting and confounding of their confederates." He hopes, before the Court gets far into the mysterious affair, to be able to "attend the desires" of Richards, which, to him, "always are commands." He writes the letter, "for the strengthening of your honorable hands in that work of God whereto, (I thank him) he hath so well fitted you." After some other complimentary language, and assurances that God's "people have been fasting and praying before him for your direction," he proceeds to urge upon him his favorite Swedish case, wherein the "endeavours of the Judges to discover and extirpate the authors of that execrable witchcraft," were "immediately followed with a remarkable smile of God." Then comes the paragraph, which the Reviewer defiantly cites, to prove that Cotton Mather agreed with him, in the opinion that spectre evidence ought not to be "admitted."

Before quoting the paragraph, I desire the reader to note the manner in which the affair in Sweden is brought to the attention of Richards, in the clauses just cited, in connection with what I have said in this article, page 144. Cotton Mather was in possession of a book on this subject: "It comes to speak English," he says, "by the acute pen of the excellent and renowned Dr. Horneck." Who so likely as Mather to have brought the case to the notice of Phips, pp 142. It was urged upon Richards at about the same time that it was upon Phips; and as an argument in favor of "*extirpating*" witches, by the *action of a Court of Oyer and Terminer*.

The paragraph is as follows: "And yet I must most humbly beg you that in the management of the affair in your most worthy hands, you do not lay more stress upon pure Spectre testimony than it will bear. When you are satisfied, and have good plain legal evidence, that the Demons which molest our poor neighbors do indeed represent such and such people to the sufferers, though this be a presumption, yet I suppose you will not reckon it a conviction

"that the people so represented are witches to be immediately exterminated. It is very certain that the Devils have sometimes represented the Shapes of persons not only innocent, but also very virtuous. Though I believe that the just God then ordinarily provides a way for the speedy vindication of the persons thus abused. Moreover, I do suspect that persons, who have too much indulged themselves in malignant, envious, malicious ebullitions of their souls, may unhappily expose themselves to the judgment of being represented by Devils, of whom they never had any vision, and with whom they have, much less, written any covenant. I would say this; if upon the bare supposal of a poor creature being represented by a spectre, too great a progress be made by the authority in ruining a poor neighbor so represented, it may be that a door may be thereby opened for the Devils to obtain from the Court in the invisible world a license to proceed unto most hideous desolations upon the reputations of such as have yet been kept from the great transgression. If mankind have thus far once consented unto the credit of diabolical representations, the door is opened! Perhaps there are wise and good men, that may be ready to style him that shall advance this caution, Witch-advocate. but in the winding up, this caution will certainly be wished for."

This passage, strikingly illustrative, as it is, of Mather's characteristic style of appearing, to a cursory, careless reader, to say one thing, while he is really aiming to enforce another, while he has deceived the Reviewer, and led him to his quixotic attempt to revolutionize history, cannot be so misunderstood by a critical interpreter.

In its general drift, it appears, at first sight, to disparage spectral evidence. The question is Does it forbid, denounce, or dissuade, its introduction? By no means. It supposes and allows its introduction, but says, *lay not more stress upon it than it will bear*. Further, it affirms that it may afford "presumption" of guilt, though not sufficient for conviction, and removes objection to its introduction, by holding out the idea that, if admitted by the Court and it bears against innocent persons, "the just God, then ordinarily provides a way for their speedy vindication." It is plain that the paragraph refers, not to the admission of "diabolical representations," but to the manner in which they are to be received, in the "management" of the trials, as will more fully appear, as we proceed.

The suggestion, to reconcile Richards to the use of spectral evidence, that something would "ordinarily" providentially turn up to rescue innocent persons, against whom it was borne, was altogether delusive. It was an opinion of the day, that one of the most signal marks of the

evil's descent with power, would be the seduction, to his service, of persons of the most eminent character, even, if possible, of the very elect; and, hence, no amount of virtue or holiness of life or conversation, could be urged in defence of any one. The records of the world present no more conspicuous instances of Christian and saintlike excellence than were exhibited by Rebecca Nurse and Elizabeth How; but spectral testimony was allowed to destroy them. Indeed, it was impossible for a Court to put any restrictions on this kind of evidence, if once received. If the accusing girls exclaimed—all of them concurring, at the moment, in the declaration and in its details—that they saw, at that very instant, in the Court-room, before Judges and Jury, the spectre of the Prisoner assailing one of their number, and that one showing signs of suffering, what could be done to rebut their testimony? The character of the accused was of no avail. An *alibi* could not touch the case. The distance from the Prisoner to the party professing to be tormented, was of no account. The whole proceeding was on the assumption that, however remote the body of the Prisoner, his or her spectre was committing the assault. No limitation of space or time could be imposed on the spectral presence. "Good, plain, legal evidence" was out of the question, where the Judges assumed, as Mather did, that "the molestations" then suffered by the people of the neighborhood, were the work of Demons, and fully believed that the tortures and convulsions of the accusers, before their eyes, were, as alleged, caused by the spectres of the accused.

To cut the matter short. The considerations Mather presents of the "inconvenience," as he calls it, of the spectral testimony, it might be supposed, would have led him to counsel—not as he did, against making "too great a progress" in its use—but its abandonment altogether. Why did he not, as the Reviewer says ought always have been done, protest utterly against its admission at all? The truth is, that neither in this letter, nor in any way, at any time, did he ever recommend caution *against* its use, but *in* its use.

It may be asked, what did he mean by "not laying more stress upon spectre testimony than 'it will bear,' and the general strain of the paragraph? A solution of this last question may be reached as we continue the scrutiny of his language and actions.

In this same letter, Mather says: "I look upon 'wounds that have been given unto spectres, and received by witches, as intimations, broad enough, in concurrence with other things, to bring out the guilty. Though I am not fond of assaying to give such wounds, yet, the proof [of] such, when given, carries with it what is 'very palpable.'"

This alludes to a particular form of spectral evidence. One of the "afflicted children" would testify that she saw and felt the spectre of the accused, tormenting her, and struck at it. A corresponding wound or bruise was found on the body, or a rent in the garments, of the accused. Mather commended this species of evidence, writing to one of the Judges, on the eve of the trials. He not only commends, but urges it as conclusive of guilt. Referring to what constituted the bulk of the evidence of the accusing girls, and which was wholly spectral in its nature—namely, that they were "hurt" by an "unseen hand"—he charges Richards, if he finds such "hurt" to be inflicted by the persons accused, "Hold them, for 'you have caught a witch.'" He recommends putting the Prisoners upon repeating the "Lord's prayer" or certain "other Systems of Christianity." He endorses the evidence derived from "poppits," "witch-marks," and even the "water ordeal." He advised a Judge, just proceeding to sit in cases of life and death, to make use of "cross and swift questions," as the means of bringing the accused "into confusion, likely to lead them into confession."

Whoever examines, carefully, this letter to Richards, cannot, I think, but conclude that, instead of exonerating Mather, it fixes upon him the responsibility for the worst features of the Witchcraft Trials.

The next document on which the Reviewer relies is the *Return of the Ministers consulted by his Excellency and the honorable Council, upon the present Witchcraft in Salem Village*. It is necessary to give it entire, as follows:

"I. The afflicted state of our poor neighbours, that are now suffering by molestations from the invisible world, we apprehend so deplorable, that we think their condition calls for the utmost help of all persons in their several capacities.

"II. We cannot but, with all thankfulness, acknowledge the success which the merciful God has given to the sedulous and assiduous endeavours of our honorable rulers, to defeat the abominable witchcrafts which have been committed in the country, humbly praying, that the discovery of those mysterious and mischievous wickednesses may be perfected.]

"III. We judge that, in the prosecution of these and all such witchcrafts, there is need of a very critical and exquisite caution, lest by too much credulity for things received only upon the Devil's authority, there be a door opened for a long train of miserable consequences, and Satan get an advantage over us; for we should not be ignorant of his devices.

"IV. As in complaints upon witchcrafts there may be matters of enquiry which do not amount unto matters of presumption, and there



"may be matters of presumption which yet may not be reckoned matters of conviction, so it is necessary, that all proceedings thereabout be managed with an exceeding tenderness towards those that may be complained of, especially if they have been persons formerly of an unblemished reputation.

"V. When the first inquiry is made into the circumstances of such as may lie under any just suspicion of witchcrafts, we could wish that there may be admitted as little as possible of such noise, company, and openness, as may too hastily expose them that are examined; and that there may nothing be used as a test for the trial of the suspected, the lawfulness whereof may be doubted among the people of God; but that the directions given by such judicious writers as Perkins and Bernard may be consulted in such a case.

"VI. Presumptions whereupon persons may be committed, and, much more, convictions whereupon persons may be condemned as guilty of witchcrafts, ought certainly to be more considerable than barely the accused persons being represented by a spectre unto the afflicted; [inasmuch as it is an undoubted and a notorious thing, that a Demon may, by God's permission, appear, even to ill purposes, in the shape of an innocent, yea, and a virtuous man.] Nor can we esteem alterations made in the sufferers, by a look or touch of the accused, to be an infallible evidence of guilt, but frequently liable to be abused by the Devil's legerdemain.

"VII. We know not whether some remarkable affront, given the Devil, by our disbelieving of those testimonies, whose whole force and strength is from him alone, may not put a period unto the progress of the dreadful calamity begun upon us, in the accusation of so many persons, whereof some, we hope, are yet clear from the great transgression laid to their charge.

["VIII. Nevertheless, we cannot but humbly recommend unto the Government, the speedy and vigorous prosecutions of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious, according to the directions given in the laws of God, and the whole some Statutes of the English nation, for the detection of Witchcrafts."]

I have enclosed the *first*, *second* and *eighth* Sections, and a part of the *Sixth*, in brackets, for purposes that will appear, in a subsequent part of this discussion. The *Advice of the Ministers* was written by Cotton Mather. As in his letter to Richards, he does not caution *against* the use, but *in* the use, of spectral evidence. Not a word is said denouncing its introduction or advising its entire rejection. We look in vain for a line or a syllable disapproving the trial and execution just had, resting as they did, entirely upon spectral

evidence; on the contrary, the *second* Section applauds what had been done; and prays that the work entered upon may be perfected. The first clauses in the *fourth* Section sanction its admission, as affording ground of "presumption," although "it may not be matter of conviction." The *sixth* Section, while it appears to convey the idea that spectral evidence alone ought not to be regarded as sufficient, contains, at the same time, a form of expression, that not only requires its reception, but places its claims on the highest possible grounds. "*A Demon may, by God's PERMISSION, appear, even to ill purposes, in the shape of an innocent, yea, and a virtuous man.*" It is sufficiently shocking to think that anything, *to ill purposes*, can be done by Divine permission: but horrible, indeed, to intimate that the Devil can have that permission to malign and murder an innocent person. If the spectre appears by God's permission, the effect produced has his sanction. The blasphemous supposition that God permits the Devil thus to bear false witness, to the destruction of the righteous, overturns all the sentiments and instincts of our moral and religious nature. In using this language, the Ministers did not have a rational apprehension of what they were saying, which is the only apology for much of the theological phraseology of that day. This phrase, "God's permission," had quite a currency, at the time; and if it did not reconcile the mind, subdued it to wondering and reverent silence. It will be seen that Mather, on other occasions, repeated this idea, in various and sometimes stronger terms. The *third*, *fifth*, *seventh*, and last clauses of the *fourth* Sections, contain phrases which will become intelligible, as we advance in the examination of Mather's writings, relating to the subject of witchcraft.

Here it may, again, be safely said, that if Increase and Cotton Mather had really, as the Reviewer affirms, been opposed to the *admission* of spectral testimony, this was the time for them to have said so. If, at this crisis, they had "denounced it, as illegal, uncharitable and cruel," no more blood would have been shed. If the *Advice* had even recommended, in the most moderate terms, its absolute exclusion from every stage of the proceedings, they would have come to an end. But it assumes its introduction, and only suggests "disbelief" of it, in avoiding to act upon it, in "some" instances.

Hutchinson states the conclusion of the matter, after quoting the whole document. "The Judges seem to have paid more regard to the last article of this *Return*, than to several which precede it; for the prosecutions were carried on with all possible vigor, and without that exquisite caution which is proposed."—*History*, ii, 54,

The *Advice* was skilfully—it is not unchar-

itable to say—artfully drawn up. It has deceived the Reviewer into his statement that it was “very specific in excluding spectral testimony.” A careless reader, or one whose eyes are blinded by a partisan purpose, may not see its real import. The paper is so worded as to mislead persons not conversant with the ideas and phraseology of that period. But it was considered by all the Judges, and the people in general, fully to endorse the proceedings in the trial of Bridget Bishop, and to advise their speedy and vigorous continuance. It was spectral testimony that overwhelmed her. It was the fatal element that wrought the conviction of every person put on trial, from first to last; as was fully proved, five months afterwards, when Sir William Phips, under circumstances I shall describe, bravely and peremptorily forbid, as the Ministers failed to do, the “trying,” or even “committing,” of any one, on the evidence of “the afflicted persons,” which was wholly spectral. When thus, by his orders, it was utterly thrown out, the life of the prosecutions became, at once, extinct; and, as Mather says, the accused were cleared as fast as they were tried.—*Magnalia*, Book II, page 64.

The suggestion that caution was to be used in handling this species of evidence, and that it was to be received as affording grounds of “presumption,” to be corroborated or re-inforced by other evidence, practically was of no avail. If received, at all, in any stage, or under any name, it necessarily controlled every case. No amount of evidence, of other kinds, could counterbalance or stand against it: nothing was needed to give it full and fatal effect. It struck Court, Jury, and people, nay, even the Prisoners themselves, in many instances, with awe. It dispensed, as has been mentioned, with the presence of the accused, on the spot, where and when the crime was alleged to have been committed, or within miles or hundreds of miles of it. No reputation for virtue or piety could be pleaded against it. The doctrine which Cotton Mather proclaimed, on another occasion, that the Devil might appear as an Angel of Light, completed the demolition of the securities of innocence. There was no difficulty in getting “other testimony” to give it effect. In the then state of the public mind, indiscriminately crediting every tale of slander and credulity, looking at every thing through the refracting and magnifying atmosphere of the blindest and wildest passions, it was easy to collect materials to add to the spectral evidence, thereby, according to the doctrine of the Ministers, to raise the “presumption,” to the “conviction” of guilt. Even our Reviewer finds evidence to “substantiate” that, given against George Burroughs, resting on spectres, in his feats of strength, in some malignant neigh-

borhood scandals, and in exaggerated forms of parish or personal animosities.

## VII.

ADVICE OF THE MINISTERS, FURTHER CONSIDERED.  
COTTON MATHER'S PLAN FOR DEALING WITH  
SPECTRAL TESTIMONY.

The *Advice of the Ministers* is a document that holds a prominent place in our public history; and its relation to events needs to be elucidated.

In his *Life of Sir William Phips*, Cotton Mather has this paragraph: “And Sir William Phips ‘arriving to his Government, after this ensnaring ‘horrible storm was begun, did consult the ‘neighboring Ministers of the Province, who ‘made unto his Excellency and the Council, a ‘Return (drawn up, at their desire, by Mr. Mather, the younger, as I have been informed) where- ‘in they declared.’”—*Magnalia*, Book II, page 63.

He then gives, without intimating that any essential or substantial part of the *declaration*, or *Advice*, was withheld, the Sections not included in brackets.—*Vide*, pages 149, 150, *ante*.

It is to be observed that Phips is represented as having asked the Ministers for their advice, and their answer as having been made to his “Excellency and the Council.” There is no mention of this transaction in the Records of the Council. Phips makes no reference to it in his letter of the fourteenth of October, which is remarkable, as it would have been to his purpose, in explaining the grounds of his procedure, in organizing, and putting into operation, the judicial tribunal at Salem. It may be concluded, from all that I shall present,—Sir William, having given over the whole business to his Deputy and Chief-justice, with an understanding that he was authorized to manage it, in all particulars,—that this transaction with the Ministers may never have been brought to the notice of the Governor at all: his official character and title were, perhaps, referred to, as a matter of form. The Council, as such, had nothing to do with it; but the Deputy-governor and certain individual members of the Council, that is, those who, with him, as Chief-justice, constituted the Special Court, asked and received the *Advice*.

Again: the paragraph, as constructed by Mather, just quoted, certainly leaves the impression on a reader, that Phips applied for the *Advice of the Ministers*, at or soon after his arrival. The evidence, I think, is conclusive, that the *Advice* was not asked, until after the first Session of the Court had been held. This is inferrible from the answer of the Ministers, which is dated thirteen days after the first trial, and five days after the execution of a sentence then passed. It alludes



to the success which had been given to the prosecutions. If the Government had asked counsel of the Ministers before the trials commenced, it is inexplicable and incredible, besides being inexcusable, that the Ministers should have delayed their reply until after the first act of the awful tragedy had passed, and blood begun to be shed. Hutchinson expressly says: "The further trials were put off to the adjournment, the thirtieth of June. The Governor and Council thought proper, *in the mean time*, to take the opinion of several of the principal Ministers, upon the state of things, as they then stood. This was an old Charter practice."—*History*, ii, 52.

It has been regarded as a singular circumstance, that after such pains had been taken, and so great a stretch of power practised, to put a Court so suddenly in operation to try persons accused of witchcraft, on the pretence, too, recorded in the Journal of the Council, of the "thronged" condition of the jails, at that "hot season," and after trying one person only, it should have adjourned for four weeks. Perhaps, by a collation of passages and dates, we may reach a probable explanation. In his letter to "the Ministers in and near Boston," written in January, 1696, after considering briefly, and in forcible language, the fearful errors from which the Delusion of 1692 had risen, and solemnly reminding them of what they ought to have done to lead their people out of such errors, Calef brings their failure to do it home to them, in these pungent words: "If, instead of this, you have, some by word and writing propagated, and others recommended, such doctrines, and abetted the false notions which are so prevalent in this apostate age, it is high time to consider it. If, when authority found themselves almost nonplust in such prosecutions, and sent to you for your advice what they ought to do, and you have then thanked them for what they had already done (and thereby encouraged them to proceed in those very by-paths already fallen into) it so much the more nearly concerns you. *Ezek. xxxiii, 2 to 8.*"—*Calef*, 92.

Looking at this passage, in connection with that quoted just before from Hutchinson, we gather that something had occurred that "nonplust" the Court—some serious embarrassment, that led to its sudden adjournment—after the condemnation of Bridget Bishop, while many other cases had been fully prepared for trial by the then Attorney-general, Newton, and the parties to be tried had, the day before, been brought to Salem from the jail in Boston, and were ready to be put to the Bar. What was the difficulty? The following may be the solution.

Brattle informs us, and he was able to speak with confidence, that "Major N. Saltonstall,

"Esq., who was one of the Judges, has left the Court, and is very much dissatisfied with the proceedings of it."—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, I, v., 75.

The questions arise; When and why did he leave the Court? The Records of the Council show that he was constant in his attendance at that Board, his name always appearing at the head of the roll of those present, until the sixteenth of June, from which date it does not appear again until the middle of February, 1693. The Legislature, in the exercise of its powers, under the Charter, had, near the close of 1692, established a regular Superior Court, consisting of Stoughton, Danforth—who had disapproved of the proceedings of the Special Court—Richards, Wait Winthrop, and Sewall. It continued, in January, 1693, witchcraft trials; but spectral evidence being wholly rejected, the prosecutions all broke down; and Stoughton, in consequence, left the Court in disgust. After all had been abandoned, and his own course, thereby, vindicated, Major Saltonstall re-appeared at the Council Board; and was re-elected by the next House of Representatives. His conduct, therefore, was very marked and significant. In the only way in which he, a country member, could express his convictions, as there were no such facilities, in the press or otherwise, for public discussions, as we now have, he made them emphatically known; and is worthy of the credit of being the only public man of his day who had the sense or courage to condemn the proceedings, at the start. He was a person of amiable and genial deportment; and, from the County Court files, in which his action, as a Magistrate, is exhibited in several cases, it is evident that he was methodical and careful in official business, but susceptible of strong impressions and convictions, and had, on a previous occasion, manifested an utter want of confidence in certain parties, who, it became apparent at the first Session of the Court, were to figure largely in bearing spectral testimony, in most of the cases. He had no faith in those persons, and was thus, we may suppose, led to discredit, wholly, that species of testimony.

From his attendance at the Council Board, up to the sixteenth of June, the day when the *Advice of the Ministers* was probably received, it may be assumed that he attended also, to that time, the sittings of the Court; and that when he withdrew from the former, he did also from the latter. The date indicates that his action, in withdrawing, was determined by the import of the *Advice*.

If a gentleman of his position and family, a grandson of an original Patentee, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and sitting as a Judge at the first trial, had the independence and manly spirit to

express, without reserve, his disapprobation of the proceedings, the expression of Calef is explained; and the Court felt the obstacle that was in their way. Hence the immediate adjournment, and the resort to some extraordinary expedient, to remove it.

This may account for the appeal to the Ministers. Great interest must have been felt in their reply, by all cognizant of the unexpected difficulty that had occurred. The document was admirably adapted to throw dust into the eyes of those who had expressed doubts and misgivings; but it did not deceive Saltonstall. He saw that it would be regarded by the other Judges, and the public in general, as an encouragement to continue the trials; and that, under the phraseology of what had the aspect of caution, justification would be found for the introduction, to an extent that would control the trials, of spectral evidence. The day after its date, he left his seat at the Council Board, withdrew from the Court, and washed his hands of the whole matter.

The course of events demonstrates that the *Advice* was interpreted, by all concerned, as applauding what had been done at the first trial, and earnestly urging that the work, thus begun, should be speedily and vigorously prosecuted. Upon the Ministers, therefore, rests the stigma for all that followed.

There may have been, at that time, as there was not long afterward, some difference of opinion among the Ministers; and the paper may have had the character of a compromise—always dangerous and vicious, bringing some or all parties into a false position. Samuel Willard may have held, then, the opinion expressed in a pamphlet ascribed to him, published, probably, towards the close of the trials, that spectral evidence ought only to be allowed where it bore upon persons of bad reputation. The *fourth* Section conciliated his assent to the document. This might have been the view of Increase Mather, who, after the trials by the Special Court were over, indicated an opinion, that time for further diligent "search" ought to have been allowed, before proceeding to "the execution of the most capital offenders;" and declared the very excellent sentiment, that "it becomes those of his profession to be very tender in the shedding of blood." The expressions, "exceeding tenderness," in the *fourth* Section, and "the first inquiry," in the *fifth*—the latter conveying the idea of repeated investigations with intervals of time—were well adapted to gain his support of the whole instrument. If they were led to concur in the *Advice*, by such inducements, they were soon undeceived.

Unblemished reputation" was no protection;

and the proceedings at the trials were swift, summary, and conclusive.

It may be proper, at this point, to inquire what was meant by the peculiar phraseology of the *third*, *fifth*, *seventh*, and latter part of the *fourth*, Sections. It is difficult, writing as Cotton Mather often did, and had great skill in doing, in what Calef calls "the ambidexter" style, to ascertain his ideas. After the reaction had taken effect in the public mind, and he was put upon the defensive, he had much to say about some difference between him and the Judges. It clearly had nothing to do with the "admission" of spectral evidence; for that was the point on which the opinion of the Ministers was asked, and on which he voluntarily proffered remarks in his letter to one of the Judges, Richards. If he had been opposed to its "admission," nothing would have been easier, safer, or more demanded by the truth and his own honor, than for him to have said so. Indeed, his writings everywhere show that he was almost a *one idea* man, on the subject of spectres; and, in some way or form, deemed their evidence indispensable and reliable. He, evidently, had some favorite plan or scheme, as to the method in which that kind of evidence was to be handled; and it was because he could not get it carried into effect, and for this reason alone, so far as we can discover, that he disapproved of the methods actually pursued by the Court. He never disclosed his plan, but shrunk from explaining it at length, "as too Icarian and presumptuous" a task for him to undertake. Let us see if we can glean his ideas from his writings.

I call attention, in the first place, to the following clause, in his letter to Richards: "If, upon 'the bare supposal of a poor creature's being 'represented by a spectre, too great a progress 'be made by the authority, in ruining a poor 'neighbor so represented, it may be that a 'door may be thereby opened for the Devils 'to obtain from the Courts, in the invisible 'world, a license to proceed unto most hideous 'desolations upon the repute and repose of such 'as have been kept from the great transgression.'"

"Too great a progress" conveys the suggestion that, upon the introduction of spectral evidence, there should be a delay in the proceedings of the Court, for some intermediate steps to be taken, before going on with the trial.

We gather other intimations, to this effect, from other passages, as follows: "Now, in my 'visiting of the miserable, I was always of this 'opinion, that we were ignorant of what power 'the Devils might have, to do their mischiefs in 'the shapes of some that had never been explicitly engaged in diabolical confederacies,



"and that therefore, though many witchcrafts had been fairly detected on enquiries provoked and begun by spectral exhibitions, yet we could not easily be too jealous of the snares laid for us in the devices of Satan. The world knows how many pages I have composed and published, and particular gentlemen in the Government know how many letters I have written, to prevent the excessive credit of spectral accusations; wherefore I have still charged the afflicted that they should cry out of nobody for afflicting them; but that, if this might be any advantage, they might privately tell their minds to some one person of discretion enough to make no ill use of their communications; accordingly there has been this effect of it, that the name of no one good person in the world ever came under any blemish by means of an afflicted person that fell under my particular cognizance; yea, no one man, woman, or child ever came into any trouble, for the sake of any that were afflicted, after I had once begun to look after them. How often have I had this thrown into my dish, 'that many years ago I had an opportunity to have brought forth such people as have, in the late storm of witchcraft, been complained of, but that I smothered it all'; and after that storm was raised at Salem, I did myself offer to provide meat, drink, and lodging for no less than six of the afflicted, that so an experiment might be made, whether prayer, with fasting, upon the removal of the distressed, might not put a period to the trouble then rising, without giving the civil authority the trouble of prosecuting those things, which nothing but a conscientious regard unto the cries of miserable families could have overcome the reluctancies of the honorable Judges to meddle with. In short, I do humbly but freely affirm it, there is not a man living in this world who has been more desirous, than the poor man I, to shelter my neighbors from the inconveniences of spectral outcries; yea, I am very jealous I have done so much that way, as to sin in what I have done; such have been the cowardice and fearfulness where unto my regard to the dissatisfaction of other people has precipitated me. I know a man in the world, who has thought he has been able to convict some such witches as ought to die; but his respect unto the public peace has caused him rather to try whether he could not renew them by repentance."—*Calef*, 11.

The careful reader will notice that "six of the afflicted," at Salem Village, would have included nearly the whole circle of the accusing girls there. If he had been allowed to take them into his exclusive keeping, he would have had the whole thing in his own hands.

In his account of "the afflictions of Margaret

"Rule," printed by Calef, in his book, and from which the foregoing extracts have been made speaking of the "eight cursed spectres" with which she was assaulted, in the fall of 1693, Mather says: "She was very careful of my reiterated charges, to forbear blazing their names, lest any good person should come to suffer any blast of reputation, through the cunning malice of the great accuser; nevertheless, having since privately named them to myself, I will venture to say this of them, that they are a sort of wretches who, for these many years, have gone under as violent presumptions of witchcraft as, perhaps, any creatures yet living upon earth; although I am far from thinking that the visions of this young woman were evidence enough to prove them so."—*Calef*, 4.

The following is from his *Wonders of the Invisible World*, 12: "If once a witch do ingeniously confess among us, no more spectres do, in their shapes, after this, trouble the vicinage; if any guilty creatures will accordingly, to so good purpose, confess their crime to any Minister of God, and get out of the snare of the Devil, as no Minister will discover such a conscientious confession, so, I believe, none in the authority will press him to discover it, but rejoice in a soul saved from death."

In his *Life of Phips*, he says: "In fine, the country was in a dreadful ferment, and wise men foresaw a long train of dismal and bloody consequences. Hereupon they first advised, that the afflicted might be kept asunder, in the closest privacy; and one particular person (whom I have cause to know), in pursuance of this advice, offered himself singly to provide accommodations for any six of them, that so the success of more than ordinary prayer, with fasting, might, with patience, be experienced, before any other courses were taken."—*Magnalia*. Book II. p. 62.

Hutchinson gives an extract from a letter, written by John Allyn, Secretary of Connecticut, dated, "HARTFORD, March 18, 1693," to Increase Mather, as follows: "As to what you mention, concerning that poor creature in your town that is afflicted, and mentioned my name to yourself and son, I return you hearty thanks for your intimation about it, and for your charity therein mentioned; and I have great cause to bless God, who, of his mercy hitherto, hath not left me to fall into such an horrid evil."—*History*, ii. 61, note.

Further, it was on account of some particular plan, in reference to the management of this description of evidence, I am inclined to think, that he felt the importance of being present at the trials. For this reason, he laments the illness that prevented his accompanying Richards to the Court, at its opening, on the second of June, to

"assist the noble service," as he says, "with the utmost of my little skill and care."

This language shows conclusively, by the way, the great influence he had, at that time, in directing the Government, particularly the Court. He would not have addressed one of the Judges, in such terms, had he not felt that his "skill and care" would be recognized and permitted to take effect. We may well lament, with him, that he could not have been present at the first trial. It would not, then, have been left to conjecture and scrutiny, to determine what his plan was; and an open attempt, to bring the Court to adopt it, might have given another turn to affairs.

In his Diary, on the twenty-ninth of April, is the following: "This day I obtained help of God, that he would make use of me, as of a John, to be a herald of the Lord's Kingdom, now ap-proaching." "My prayers did especially, in-sist upon the horrible enchantments and pos-sessions, broke forth in Salem Village, things of a most prodigious aspect, a good issue to those things, and my own direction and protection thereabouts, I did especially petition for."

The date of this entry is important. On the eleventh, nineteenth, and twenty-second of April, impressive scenes had been exhibited at Salem Village. Some of the most conspicuous cases of the preliminary examinations of persons arrested, had occurred. The necessary steps were then being taken to follow up those examinations with a pro-cedure that would excite the country to the highest pitch. The arrangements, kept concealed at Sa-lem, and unsuspected by the public at large, were made and perfected in Boston. On the day after the date of the foregoing memorandum, a Magistrate in that place issued the proper order for the arrest of the Rev. George Burroughs; and officers were started express to Maine for that purpose. This was "the most prodigious aspect of affairs" at the time. All the circumstances must have been known by Mather. Hence his earnest solicitude that proceedings should be con-ducted under his own "direction and protection." The use of these terms, looks as if Mather con-templated the preliminary examinations as to take place under his direction and management, and will be borne in mind, when we come to con-sider the question of his having been, more or less, present at them.

Disposed to take the most favorable and char-itable view of such passages as have now been presented, I would gather from them that his mind may have recurred to his original and fa-vorite idea, that prayer and fasting were the proper weapons to wield against witchcraft; but if they failed, then recourse was to be had to the terrors of the law. He desired to have the af-flicted and the accused placed under the treat-

ment of some one person, of discretion enough to make no ill use of their communications, to whom "they might privately tell their minds," and who, without "noise, company and openness," could keep, under his own control, the dread se-crets of the former and exorcise the latter. He was willing, and desirous, of occupying this po-sition himself, and of taking its responsibility. To signify this, he offered to provide "meat, "drink and lodging" for six of the afflicted children; to keep them "asunder, in the closest "privacy;" to be the recipient of their visions; and then to look after the accused, for the pur-pose of inducing them to confess and break loose from their league with Satan; to be ex-empt, except when he thought proper to do it, from giving testimony in Court, against parties accused; and to communicate with persons, thus secretly complained of, as he and his father afterwards did with the Secretary of Connecticut, and taking, as in that case, if he saw fit, a bare denial as sufficient, for "sheltering" them, alto-gether, by keeping the accusation a profound se-cret in his own breast, as he acknowledges he had done to a considerable extent—at once claim-ing and confessing that he had "done so much "that way, as to sin in what he had done."

In language that indicates a correspondence and familiarity of intercourse with persons, act-ing on the spot, at Salem Village, such as author-ized him to speak for them, he gives us to under-stand that they concurred with him in his pro-posed method of treating the cases: "There are "very worthy men, who, having been called by "God, when and where this witchcraft first ap-peared upon the stage, to encounter it, are ear-nestly desirous to have it sifted unto the bot-tom of it." "Persons, thus disposed, have "been men eminent for wisdom and virtue." "They would gladly contrive and receive an ex-pedient, how the shedding of blood might be "spared, by the recovery of witches not beyond "the reach of pardon. And, after all, they in-vite all good men, in terms to this purpose." "Being amazed at the number and quality of "those accused, of late, we do not know but Sa-tan by his wiles may have enwrap some inno-cent persons; and therefore should earnestly "and humbly desire the most critical inquiry, "upon the place, to find out the fallacy."—*Won-ders*, 11.

Indeed, Parris and his coadjutors, at Salem Village, to whom these passages refer, had, with-out authority, been, all along, exercising the functions Mather desired to have bestowed upon him, by authority. They had kept a controlling communication with the "afflicted children;" de-termined who were to be cried out publicly against, and when; rebuked and repressed the calling out, by name, of the Rev. Samuel Willard.



and many other persons, of both sexes, of "quality," in Boston; and arranged and managed matters, generally.

The conjecture I have ventured to make, as to Mather's plan of procedure, explains, as the reader will perceive, by turning back to the Minister's *Advice*, [Pages 149, 150, *ante*] much of the phraseology of that curious document. "Very critical and exquisite caution," in the *third* Section; "that all proceedings thereabout be managed with an exceeding tenderness towards those that may be complained of," in the *fourth*; "we could wish that there may be admitted as little as possible of such noise, company and openness, as may too hastily expose them that are examined," in the *fifth*; and the entire *seventh* Section, expressly authorize the suppression, disregard, and *disbelief*, of some of the Devil's accusations, on the grounds of expediency and public policy.

Mather's necessary absence from the Court, at its first Session, prevented his "skill and care" being availed of, or any attempt being made to bring forward his plan. The proceedings, having thus commenced in an ordinary way, were continued at the several adjournments of the Court; and his experiment was never made.

The fallacy of his ideas and the impracticability of his scheme must, indeed, have become evident, at the first moment it was brought under consideration. Inexperienced and blinded, as they were, by the delusions of the time and the excitements of the scene, and disposed, as they must have been, by all considerations, to comply with his wishes, the Judges had sense enough left to see that it would never do to take the course he desired. The trials could not, in that event, have gone on at all. The very first step would have been to abrogate their own functions as a Court; pass the accusers and accused over to his hands; and adjourn to wait his call. If the spectre evidence had been excluded from the "noise, confusion and openness" of the public Court-room, there would have been nothing left to go upon. If it had been admitted, under any conditions or limitations, merely to disclose matter of "presumption," a fatal difficulty would meet the first step of the enquiry. To the question, "Who hurts you?" no answer could be allowed to be given; and the "*Minister*," to whom the witness had confidentially given the names of persons whose spectres had tormented her, sitting, perhaps, in the Court-room at the time, would have to countenance the suppression of the evidence, and not be liable to be called to the stand to divulge his knowledge.

The attempt to leave the accusers and the accused to be treated by the Minister selected for the purpose, in secure privacy, would have dissolved the Court before it had begun; and if this

was what Mather meant when, afterwards, at any time, he endeavored to throw off the responsibility of the proceedings, by intimating that his proffered suggestions and services were disregarded, his complaint was most unreasonable. The truth is, the proposal was wholly inadmissible, and could not have been carried into effect.

Besides, it would have overthrown the whole system of organized society, and given to whosoever the management of the cases had thus, for the time, been relinquished, a power too fearful to be thought of, as lodged in one man, or in any private person. If he, or any other person, had been allowed by the Court to assume such an office, and had been known to hold, in secret custody, the accusing parties, receiving their confidential communications, to act upon them as he saw fit—sheltering some from prosecution and returning others to be proceeded against by the Court, which would be equivalent to a conviction and execution—it would have inaugurated a reign of terror, such as had not even then been approached, and which no community could bear. Every man and woman would have felt in the extremest peril, hanging upon the will of an irresponsible arbiter of life and death.

Parris and his associates, acting without authority and in a limited sphere, had tried this experiment; had spread abroad, terror, havoc, and ruin; and incensed the surrounding region with a madness it took generations to allay.

To have thought, for a moment, that it was desirable to be invested with such a power, "by the authority," shows how ignorant Cotton Mather was of human nature. However innocent, upright, or benevolent might be its exercise, he would have been assailed by animosities of the deepest, and approaches of the basest, kind. A hatred and a sycophancy, such as no Priest, Pope, or despot before, had encountered, would have been brought against him. He would have been assailed by the temptation, and aspersed by the imputation, of "Hush money," from all quarters; and, ultimately, the whole country would have risen against what would have been regarded as a universal levy of "Black Mail." Whoever, at any time, in any country, should undertake such an office as this, would be, in the end, the victim of the outraged sensibilities and passions of humanity. How long could it be endured, any where, if all men were liable to receive, from one authorized and enabled to determine their fate, such a missive as the Mathers addressed to the Secretary of Connecticut, and, at the best, to be beholden, as he felt himself to be, to the "charity" that might prevent their being exposed and prosecuted to the ruin of their reputation, if not to an ignominious death?

Calef, alluding to Mather's pretensions to having been actuated by "exceeding tenderness to-

"wards persons complained of," expresses the sentiments all would feel, in such a condition of dependence upon the "charity" of one, armed with such fatal power over them: "These are some of the destructive notions of this age; and however the asserters of them seem sometimes to value themselves much upon sheltering their neighbors from spectral accusations, they may deserve as much thanks as that Tyrant, that having industriously obtained an intelligible charge against his subjects, in matters wherein it was impossible they should be guilty, having thereby their lives in his power, yet suffers them of his mere grace to live, and will be called gracious Lord!"—*Preface*.

The mere suspicion that some persons were behind the scene, exercising this power of pointing out some for prosecution and sheltering some from trial or arrest, produced, as Phips says, "a strange ferment of dissatisfaction," threatening to kindle "an inextinguishable flame." Brattle complained of it bitterly: "This occasions much discourse and many hot words, and is a very great scandal and stumbling block to many good people; certainly distributive justice should have its course, without respect to persons; and, although the said Mrs. Thatcher be mother-in-law to Mr. Curwin, who is one of the Justices and Judges, yet, if justice and conscience do oblige them to apprehend others on account of the afflicted their complaints, I cannot see how, without injustice and violence to conscience, Mrs. Thatcher can escape, when it is well known how much she is, and has been, complained of."—Letter dated October 8th, 1692, in the *Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, I., v., 69.

Hezekiah Usher, an eminent citizen of Boston, was arrested by Joseph Lynde, one of the Council, but suffered to remain, "for above a fortnight," in a private house, and afterwards to leave the Province. Brattle "cannot but admire" at this, and says: "Methinks that same justice, that actually imprisoned others, and refused bail for them, on any terms, should not be satisfied without actually imprisoning Mr. U., and refusing bail for him, when his case is known to be the very same with the case of those others."

Brattle was a friend of Usher, and believed him innocent, yet was indignant that such barefaced partiality should be shown in judicial proceedings. The establishment of a regular systematized plan, committed to any individual, for sheltering some, while others would be handed back for punishment, would have been unendurable.

As it was, Mather exposed himself to much odium, because it was understood that he was practising, on his own responsibility and pri-

vately, upon the plan he wished the Judges to adopt, as a principle and method of procedure, in all the trials. He says: "It may be, no man living ever had more people, under preternatural and astonishing circumstances, cast by the providence of God into his more particular care than I have had."

Of course, those persons would be most obnoxious to ill-feeling in the community, who were known, as he says of himself, in the foregoing sentence, to have most intimacy with, and influence over, the accusers. For this reason, Cotton Mather was the special object of resentment. No wonder that he sometimes bewails, and sometimes berates, the storm of angry passions raging around. A very bitter feeling pervaded the country, grounded on the conviction that there was "a respect to persons," and a connivance, in behalf of some, by those managing the affair. The public was shocked by having such persons as the Rev. Samuel Willard, Mrs. Hale of Beverly, and the Lady of the Governor, cried out upon by the "afflicted children;" and the commotion was heightened by a cross-current of indignant enquiries: "Why, as these persons are accused, are they not arrested and imprisoned?"

Mather alludes, in frequent passages, to this angry state of feeling, as the following: "It is by our quarrels that we spoil our prayers; and if our humble, zealous, and united prayers are once hindered! Alas, the Philistines of Hell have cut our locks for us; they will then blind us, mock us, ruin us. In truth, I cannot altogether blame it, if people are a little transported, when they conceive all the secular interests of themselves and their families at stake, and yet, at the sight of these heart-burnings, I cannot forbear the exclamation of the sweet-spirited Austin, in his pacificatory epistle to Jerom, on the contest with Ruffin, '*O misera et miseranda conditio!*'"—*Wonders*, 11.

There was another evil to which he exposed himself by seeking to have such frequent, private, and confidential intercourse with the afflicted accusers and confessing witches, who professed to have so often seen, associated with, and suffered from, spectral images of the Devil's confederates; which spectral shapes, as was believed, were, after all, the Devil himself. He came under the imputation of what, in Scripture, is pronounced one of the darkest of crimes. The same charge was made to tell against Mr. Parris, helping effectually to remove him from the ministry at Salem Village. *Leviticus* xx., 6. "And the soul that turneth after such as have familiar spirits, and after wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will set my face against that soul, and will cut him off from among his people." *I Chronicles*, x, 13. "So Saul died for his transgression, which he committed against the



"Lord, even against the word of the Lord, which he kept not; and also, for asking counsel of one that had a familiar spirit, to inquire of it, and inquired not of the Lord, therefore he slew him."

For having so much to do with persons professing to suffer from, and from others confessing to have committed, the sin of witchcraft, Mather became the object of a scathing rebuke in the letter of Brattle, in a passage I shall quote, in another connection.

Such, then, so far as I can gather, was Cotton Mather's plan for the management of witchcraft investigations; such its impracticability; and such the dangerous and injurious consequences to himself, of attempting to put it into practice. He never fully divulged it; but, in the *Advice* of the Ministers and various other writings, endeavored to pave the way for it. All the expressions, in that document and elsewhere, which have deceived the Reviewer and others into the notion that he was opposed to the admission of spectre evidence, at the trials, were used as arguments to persuade "authority" not to receive that species of evidence, in open Court, but to refer it to him, in the first instance, to be managed by him with exquisite caution and discretion, and, thereby avoid inconveniences and promote good results; and when he could not subdue the difficulties of the case, to deliver back the obdurate and unrepentant, to the Court, to be proceeded against in the ordinary course of law. With this view, he has much to say that indicates a tender regard to the prisoners. It is true that the scheme, if adopted, would have given him absolute power over the community, and, for this reason, may have had attraction. But, I doubt not, that he cherished it from benevolent feelings also. He thought that he might, in that way, do great good. But it could not be carried into effect. It was seen, at once, by all men, who had any sense left, to be utterly impracticable, and had to be abandoned. That being settled and disposed of, he went into the prosecutions without misgivings, earnestly and vehemently sustaining the Court, in all things, spectre evidence included, as remains to be shown.

### VIII.

#### COTTON MATHER AND SPECTRAL EVIDENCE.

I shall continue to draw, at some length, upon Mather's writings, to which I ask the careful attention of the reader. The subject to which they mostly relate, is of much interest, presenting views of a class of topics, holding, for a long period, a mighty sway over the human mind.

In his *Life of Phips*, written in 1697, and constituting the concluding part of the Second Book of the *Magnalia*, he gives a general account of what had transpired, in the preliminary ex-

aminations at Salem, before the arrival of Sir William, at Boston. In it, he spreads out, with considerable fullness, what had been brought before the Magistrates, consisting mainly of spectral testimony; and narrates the appearances and doings of spectres assailing the "afflicted children," not as mere matters alleged, but as facts. It is true that he appears as a narrator; yet, in the manner and tenor of his statement, he cannot but be considered as endorsing the spectral evidence. Speaking of the examining Magistrates, and saying that it is "now," that is, in 1697, "generally thought they went out of the way," he expresses himself as follows: "The afflicted people vehemently accused several persons, in several places, that the spectres which afflicted them, did exactly resemble them; until the importunity of the accusations did provoke the Magistrates to examine them. When many of the accused came upon their examination, it was found, that the demons, then a thousand ways abusing of the poor afflicted people, had with a marvellous exactness represented them; yea, it was found that many of the accused, but casting their eye upon the afflicted, the afflicted, though their faces were never so much another way, would fall down and lie in a sort of a swoon, wherein they would continue, whatever hands were laid upon them, until the hands of the accused came to touch them, and then they would revive immediately: and it was found, that various kinds of natural actions, done by many of the accused in or to their own bodies, as leaning, bending, turning awry, or squeezing their hands, or the like, were presently attended with the like things preternaturally done upon the bodies of the afflicted, though they were so far asunder, that the afflicted could not at all observe the accused."—*Magnalia*, Book II., p. 61.

Indeed, throughout his account of the appearances and occurrences, at the examinations before the committing Magistrates, it must be allowed that he exposed a decided bias, in his own mind, to the belief and reception of the spectral evidence. He commences that account in these words: "Some scores of people, first about Salem, the centre and first-born of all the towns in the Colony, and afterwards in several other places, were arrested with many preternatural vexations upon their bodies, and a variety of cruel torments, which were evidently inflicted from the demons of the invisible world. The people that were infected and infested with such Demons, in a few days time, arrived at such a refining alteration upon their eyes, that they could see their tormentors; they saw a Devil of a little stature and of a tawny color, attended still with spectres that appeared in

more human circumstances."—Page 60.

And he concludes it as follows: "Flashy people may burlesque these things, but when hundreds of the most sober people in a country, where they have as much mother-wit certainly as the rest of mankind, know them to be true, nothing but the absurd and froward spirit of Sadduceeism can question them. I have not yet mentioned so much as one thing, that will not be justified, if it be required, by the oaths of more considerate persons, than any that can ridicule these odd phenomena."—Page 61.

When he comes to the conclusion of the affair, and mentions the general pardon of the convicted and accused, he says: "there fell out several strange things that caused the spirit of the country to run as vehemently upon the acquitting of all the accused, as it had, by mistake, ran at first upon the condemning of them." In fine, the last Courts that sate upon this thorny business, finding that it was impossible to penetrate into the whole meaning of the things that had happened, and that so many unsearchable cheats were interwoven into the conclusion of a mysterious business, which perhaps had not crept thereinto at the beginning of it, they cleared the accused as fast as they tried them." But, even then, Mather could not wholly disengage his mind from the mistake." "More than twice twenty," he says, "in connection with the fact that the confessions had been receded from, "had made such voluntary, and harmonious, and uncontrollable confessions, that if they were all sham, there was therein the greatest violation, made by the efficacy of the invisible world, upon the rules of understanding human affairs, that was ever seen since God made man upon the earth."

In this same work he presents, in condensed shape, the views of the advocates and of the opponents of spectral testimony, without striking a balance between them or avowedly taking sides with either, although it may fairly be observed that the weight he puts into the scale of the former is quite preponderating. From incidental expressions, too, it might be inferred that he was to be classed with the former, as he attributes to them some "philosophical schemes," explanation of the phenomena of witchcraft, at least like his notion of the "Plastic spirit of the world." Another incidental remark seems to point to Increase Mather, as to be classed with the latter, as follows: "Though against some of them that were tried, there came in so much other evidence of their diabolical compacts, that some of the most judicious, and yet vehement, opposers of the notions then in vogue, publicly declared, *Had they themselves been on the Bench, they could not have acquitted them;* nevertheless, divers were condemned, against

"whom the chief evidence was founded in the "spectral exhibitions."

Increase Mather, in the Postscript to his *Cases of Conscience*, says: "I am glad that there is "published to the World (by my Son) a *Breviate of the Tryals* of some who were lately executed, "whereby I hope the thinking part of Mankind "will be satisfied, that there was more than that "which is called *Spectre Evidence* for the Conviction of the Persons condemned. I was not "my self present at any of the Tryals, excepting "one, viz. that of *George Burroughs*; had I "been one of his Judges, I could not have acquitted him: For several Persons did upon Oath "testify, that they saw him do such things as no "Man that has not a Devil to be his Familiar "could perform."

It is observable that Increase Mather does not express or intimate, in this passage, any objection to the introduction of spectre evidence. When we come to consider Cotton Mather's *Breviate* of the trial of George Burroughs, we shall see how slight and inadequate was what Increase Mather could have heard, *at the Trial*, to prove that Burroughs had exhibited strength which the Devil only could have supplied. The most trivial and impertinent matter was all that was needed, to be added to spectral testimony, to give it fatal effect. The value, by the way, of Increase Mather's averment, that "more than that which is "called Spectre Evidence" was adduced against the persons convicted, is somewhat impaired by the admission of Cotton Mather, just before quoted, that "divers were condemned," against whom it was the "chief evidence."

In stating the objection, by some, to the admission of spectral evidence, on the ground that the Devil might assume the shape of an innocent person, and if that person was held answerable for the actions of that spectral appearance, it would be in the power of the Devil to convict and destroy any number of innocent and righteous people, and thereby "subvert Government and disband and ruin human society," Cotton Mather gets over the difficulty thus: "And yet God may "sometimes suffer such things to event, that we "may know, thereby, how much we are beholden "to him, for that restraint which he lays upon "the infernal spirits, who would else reduce a "world into a chaos."

This is a striking instance of the way in which words may be made, not only to cover, but to transform, ideas. A reverent form of language conceals an irreverent conception. The thought is too shocking for plain utterance; but, dressed in the garb of ingenious phraseology, it assumes an aspect that enables it to pass as a devout acknowledgment of a divine mystery. The real meaning, absurd as it is dreadful, to state or think, is that the Heavenly Father sometimes



may, not merely permit, but will, the lies of the Devil to mislead tribunals of justice to the shedding of the blood of the righteous, that he may, thereby show how we are beholden to Him, that a like outrage and destruction does not happen to us all. He allows the Devil, by false testimony, to bring about the perpetration of the most horrible wrong. It is a part of the "Rectoral 'Righteousness of God,'" that it should be so. What if the Courts do admit the testimony of the Devil in the appearance of a spectre, and, on its strength, consign to death the innocent? It is the will of God, that it should be so. Let that will be done.

But however the sentiment deserves to be characterised, it removes the only ground upon which, in that day, spectral evidence was objected to—namely, that it might endanger the innocent. If such was the will of God, the objectors were silenced.

In concluding the examination of the question whether Cotton Mather denounced, or countenanced, the admission of spectral testimony—for that is the issue before us—I feel confident that it has been made apparent, that it was not in reference to the *admission* of such testimony, that he objected to the "principles that some of the 'Judges had espoused,'" but to the method in which it should be *handled and managed*. I deny, utterly, that it can be shown that he opposed its *admission*. In none of his public writings did he ever pretend to this. The utmost upon which he ventured, driven to the defensive on this very point, as he was during all the rest of his days, was to say that he was opposed to its "excessive use." Once, indeed, in his private Diary, under that self-delusion which often led him to be blind to the import of his language, contradicting, in one part, what he had said in another part of the same sentence, evidently, as I believe, without any conscious and intentional violation of truth, he makes this statement: "For 'my own part, I was always afraid of proceeding to convict and condemn any person, as a 'confederate with afflicting Demons, upon so 'feeble an evidence as a spectral representation. 'Accordingly, I ever protested against it, both 'publicly and privately; and, in my letter to 'the Judges, I particularly besought them that 'they would, by no means, admit it; and 'when a considerable assembly of Ministers 'gave in their advice about that matter, I not 'only concurred with them, but it was I who 'drew it up.'"

This shows how he indulged himself in forms of expression that misled him. His letter to "the Judges" means, I suppose, that written to Richards; and he had so accustomed his mind to the attempt to make the *Advice* of the Ministers bear this construction, as to deceive him-

self. That document does not say a word, much less, protest, against the "admission" of that evidence: it was not designed, and was not understood by any, at the time, to have that bearing, but only to urge suggestions of caution, in its use and management. Charity to him requires us to receive his declaration in the Diary as subject to the modifications he himself connects with it, and to mean no more than we find expressed in the letter to Richards and in the *Advice*. But, if he really had deluded himself into the idea that he had protested against the *admission* of spectral evidence, he has not succeeded, probably, in deluding any other persons than his son Samuel, who repeated the language of the Diary, and our Reviewer.

The question, I finally repeat, is as to the admission of that species of evidence, *at all*, in any stage, in any form, to any extent. Cotton Mather never, in any public writing, "denounced the 'admission'" of it, never advised its absolute exclusion; but, on the contrary recognised it as a ground of "presumption." Increase Mather stated that the "Devil's accusations," which he considered spectral evidence really to be, "may be so far regarded as to cause an enquiry 'into the truth of things.'" These are the facts of history, and not to be moved from their foundation in the public record of that day. There is no reason to doubt that all the Ministers, in the early stages of the delusion, concurred in these views. All partook of the "awe," mentioned by Mather, which filled the minds of Juries, Judges, and the people, whenever this kind of testimony was introduced. No matter how nor when, whether as "presumption" to build other evidence upon or as a cause for further "enquiry," nothing could stand against it. Character, reason, common sense, were swept away. So long as it was suffered to come in any how, or to be credited at all, the horrid fanaticism and its horrible consequences continued. When it was wholly excluded, the reign of terror and of death ceased.

## IX.

### COTTON MATHER AND THE PRELIMINARY EXAMINATIONS. JOHN PROCTOR. GEORGE BURROUGHS.

The spectral evidence was admitted; and the examinations and trials went on. The question now arises, what was Cotton Mather's attitude towards them? The scrutiny as to the meaning of his words is exhausted; and now we are to interpret his actions. They speak louder and clearer than words. Let us, in the first place, make the proper distinction between the Examination on the arrest of the prisoners and leading to their commitment, and the Trials. The first Warrants were issued on the twenty-ninth

February, 1692; and the parties arrested were brought before the Magistrates the next day. Arrests and Examinations occurred, at short intervals, during three months, when the first trial was had; and they were continued, from time to time, long after, while the Special Court was in operation. They were, in some respects, more important than the Trials. Almost all the evidence, finally adduced before the Jury, was taken by the examining Magistrates; and being mostly in the form of carefully-written depositions, it was simply reproduced, and sworn to, before the Court. Further, as no Counsel was allowed the Prisoners, the Trials were quite summary affairs. Hutchinson says, no difficulty was experienced; and the results were quickly reached, in every case but that of Rebecca Nurse.

These two stages in the proceedings became confounded in the public apprehension, and have been borne down by tradition, indiscriminately, under the name of Trials. It was the succession, at brief intervals, through a long period, of these Examinations, that wrought the great excitement through the country; which met Phips on his arrival; and which is so graphically described by Cotton Mather, as a "dreadful ferment." He says he was not present at any of the Trials. Was he present at any of the Examinations? The considerations that belong to the solution of this question are the following:

When the special interest he must have taken in them is brought to mind, from the turn of his prevalent thoughts and speculations, exhibited in all his writings, and from the propensity he ever manifested to put himself in a position to observe and study such things, it may be supposed he would not have foregone opportunities like those presented in the scenes before the Magistrates. While all other people, Ministers especially, were locking to them, it is difficult to conclude that he held back. That he attended some of them, perhaps, to be inferred from the distinctive character of his language that he never attended a *Trial*. The description given, in his *Life of Phips*, of what was exhibited and declared by the "afflicted children," at the Examinations, exhibits a minuteness and vividness, seeming to have come from an eye-witness; but there is not a particular word or syllable, I think, in the account, from which an inference, either way, can be drawn whether, or not, he was present at them, personally. This is observable, I repeat, inasmuch as he was careful to say that he was not present at the *Trials*.

The Examinations, being of a character to arrest universal attention, and from the extraordinary nature of their incidents, as viewed by that generation, having attractions, all but irresistible, it is not surprising that, as incidentally appears, Magistrates and Ministers came to them, from all

quarters. No local occurrences, in the history of this country, ever awakened such a deep, awe-inspiring, and amazed interest. It can hardly be doubted that he was attracted to them. Can any other inference be drawn from the passage already quoted, from his Diary, that he felt called, "as a herald of the Lord's Kingdom, now ap-  
"proaching," to give personal attendance, in "the horrible enchantments and possessions broke  
"forth at Salem Village?" There was a large concourse of Magistrates and Ministers, particularly, on the twenty-fourth of March, when Deodat Lawson preached his famous Sermon, after the Examination of Rebecca Nurse; on the eleventh of April, when the Governor and Council themselves conducted the Examination of John Proctor and others; and, on the ninth of May, when Stoughton, from Dorchester, and Sewall, from Boston, sat with the local Magistrates, and the Rev. George Burroughs was brought before them. It is strange, indeed, if Mather was not present, especially on the last occasion; and it may appear, as we advance, that it is almost due to his reputation to suppose that he was there, and thus became qualified and authorized to pass the judgment he afterwards did.

Local tradition, of less value, in some respects, for reasons given in my book, in reference to this affair than most others, but still of much weight, has identified Cotton Mather with these scenes. The family, of which John Proctor was the head, has continued to this day in the occupancy of his lands. Always respectable in their social position, they have perpetuated his marked traits of intellect and character. They have been strong men, as the phrase is, in their day, of each generation; and have constantly cherished in honor the memory of their noble progenitor, who bravely breasted, in defence of his wife, the fierce fanaticism of his age, and fell a victim to its fury and his own manly fidelity and integrity. They have preserved, as much as any family, a knowledge of the great tragedy; and it has been a tradition among them that Cotton Mather took an active part in the prosecution of Proctor. The representative of the family, in our day, a man of vigorous faculties, of liberal education, academical and legal, and much interested in antiquarian and genealogical enquiries, John W. Proctor, presided at the Centennial Celebration, in Danvers, on the fifteenth of June, 1852; and in his Address, expressed, no doubt, a transmitted sentiment—although, as has generally been done, confounding the Examinations with the Trials—in stating that Cotton Mather rendered himself conspicuous in the proceedings against his ancestor.

Cotton Mather was the leading champion of the Judges. In his Diary, he says: "I saw, in  
"most of the Judges, a most charming instance of  
"prudence and patience; and I know the exem-



"plary prayer and anguish of soul, wherewith they had sought the direction of heaven, above most other people; whom I generally saw enchanted into a raging, railing, scandalous and unreasonable disposition, as the distress increased upon us. For this cause, *though I could not allow the principles that some of the Judges had espoused*, yet I could not but speak honorably of their persons, on all occasions; and my compassion upon the sight of their difficulties, raised by *my journeys to Salem*, the chief seat of those diabolical vexations, caused me yet more to do so."

How, as he had not been present at any of the Trials, could he have given this commendation of the bearing of the Judges, based, as he says, upon what he had witnessed in visits to Salem? I can think of but one way in which his statements can be reconciled. Five of the eight Judges (Saltonstall's seat being vacant) Stoughton, Sewall, Gedney, Corwin and Hathorne, severally, at different times, sat as Magistrates, at the Examinations, which occasions were accompanied with vexations and perplexities, calling for prudence and patience, much more than the Trials. It is due, therefore, to Mather to suppose that he had frequented the Examinations, and, thus acquired a right to speak of the deportment of the Judges, "upon the sight of their difficulties."

Much of the evidence given by the "afflicted children," at the Examinations, can hardly be accounted for except as drawn from ideas suggested by Mather, on the spot, so as to reach their ears. In the testimony of Susannah Sheldon, against John Willard, on the ninth of May, is the following singular statement: "There appeared to me a Shining White man." She represents it as a good and friendly angel, or spirit, accompanied by another "angel from Heaven," protecting her against the spectre of John Willard.

Prefixed to the London Edition of the *Cases of Conscience*, printed in 1862, is a narrative, by Deodat Lawson, of some remarkable things he saw and heard, connected with the witchcraft transactions at Salem Village. In it, is the following statement: "The first of April, Mercy Lewis saw in her fit, a white man, and was with him in a glorious place, which had no candles nor sun, yet was full of light and brightness; where was a great multitude in white glittering robes; and they sung the Song in *Revelation*, v. 9, and the one hundred and tenth Psalm, and the one hundred and forty-ninth Psalm; and said with herself, 'How long shall I stay here?' 'Let me be along with you!' She was loth to leave the place; and grieved that she could tarry no longer. This White man hath appeared several times to some of them, and given them notice how long it should be

"before they had another fit, which was, some times, a day, or day and half, or more or less. It hath fallen out accordingly."

In the case of Margaret Rule, in Boston, the year after the Salem Delusion, of which it is not to be questioned that Mather had the management, this same "White" Spirit is made to figure; and also, in another instance. Mather alludes to the "glorious and signal deliverance of that poor damsel," Mercy Short, six months before. In deed," says he, "Margaret's case was, in several points, less remarkable than Mercy's; and in some other things the entertainment did a little vary." Margaret, Mercy, and the "afflicted children" at Salem Village, all had their "White angel," as thus stated by Mather: "Not only in the Swedish, but also in the Salem Witchcraft, the enchanted people have talked much of a White Spirit, from whence they received marvellous assistances in their miseries. What lately befell Mercy Short, from the communications of such a Spirit, hath been the just wonder of us all; but by such a Spirit was Margaret Rule now also visited. She says that she could never see his face; but that she had a frequent view of his bright, shining and glorious garments; he stood by her bed-side, continually, heartening and comforting her, and counselling her to maintain her faith and hope in God, and never comply with the temptations of her adversaries."—*Calef*, 3, 8.

This appearance of the "White and Shining," Spirit, or "White Angel," exercising a good and friendly influence, was entirely out of the line of ordinary spectral manifestations; constituted a speciality in the cases mentioned; and seems to have originated in the same source. Let it, then, be considered that Cotton Mather's favorite precedent, which was urged upon Sir William Phips, and which Mather brought to the notice of Richards, and was so fond of citing in his writings, had a "White Angel." In his account of the "most horrid outrage, committed in Sweedland by Devils, by the help of witches," we find the following: "Some of the children talked much of a White Angel, which did use to forbid them, what the Devil had bid them to do, and assure, them that these things would not last long; but that what had been done was permitted for the wickedness of the people. This White Angel would sometimes rescue the children, from going in with the witches."—*Wonders*, 50.

Mr. Hale also notices this feature of the Salem Trials—that the witnesses swore to "representations of heavenly beauty, white men." Mather brought the story of this witchcraft "in Sweedland," before the public, in America; he had the book that contained it; and was active

in giving it circulation. There can be little doubt that he was the channel through which it found its way to the girls in the hamlet of Salem Village. He was, it is evident, intimate with Parris. How far the latter received his ideas from him, is, *as yet*, unknown. That they were involved in the same responsibility is clear from the fact that Parris fell back upon him for protection, and relied upon him, as his champion, throughout his controversy with his people, occasioned by the witchcraft transactions.

When these considerations are duly weighed, in connection with his language in the passage of his Diary, just quoted—"I saw a most charming instance of prudence and patience" in the Judges: "My compassion upon the sight of 'their difficulties,' " "raised by my journeys to Salem, the chief seat of those diabolical vexations"—it seems necessary to infer, that his opportunities of *seeing* all this, on the occasions of his "journeys to Salem," must have been afforded by attending the Examinations, held by the Magistrates who were also Judges; as it is established, by his own averment, that he never saw them on the Bench of the Court, at the Jury-trials. It is, therefore, rendered certain, by his own language and by all the facts belonging to the subject, that the purpose of his "journeys to Salem" was to attend the Examinations. We are, indeed, shut up to this conclusion.

The Examinations were going on from the first of March, far into the Summer of 1692. There is no intimation that either of the Mathers uttered a syllable against the course pursued in them, before or after the middle of May, when the Government passed into their almost exclusive possession. All the way through, spectral evidence was admitted, without restraint or a symptom of misgiving, on their part; and, whether present or absent, they could not but have known all that was going on.

Cotton Mather's "*journeys to Salem*," must have been frequent. If only made two or three times, he would have said so, as he speaks of them in an apologetic passage and when trying to represent his agency to have been as little as the truth would allow.

The Reviewer states that the journeys were made for another purpose. He states it positively and absolutely. "He made visits to Salem, as we shall presently see, for quite another purpose than that which has been alleged." This language surprised me, as it had wholly escaped my researches; and the surprise was accompanied with pleasure, for I supposed there must be some foundation for the declaration. I looked eagerly for the disclosure about to be made, in some document, now, for the first time, to be brought to light, from "original sources,"

such as he, in a subsequent passage, informs us, Mr. Longfellow has had access to. Great was my disappointment, to find that the Reviewer, notwithstanding his promise to let us know the "other purpose" of Mather's visits to Salem, has not given us a single syllable of *information* to that effect, but has endeavored to palm off, upon the readers of the *North American Review*, a pure fiction of his own brain, a mere conjecture, as baseless as it is absurd. He says that Mather made his visits to Salem, as the "spiritual comforter" of John Proctor and John Willard!

He further says, in support of this statement, "that Proctor and Willard had been confined 'several months in the Boston Jail, and there, 'doubtless, made Mr. Mather's acquaintance, as 'he was an habitual visitor of the prison.'" This hardly accounts for "journeys to Salem," during *those* months. Salem was not exactly in Mr. Mather's way from his house in Boston to the Jail in Boston.

As only a few days over four months elapsed between Proctor's being put into the Boston Jail and his execution, deducting the "several months" he spent there, but little time remained, after his transfer to the Salem Jail, for Mather's "journeys to Salem," for the purpose of administering spiritual consolation to him. So far as making his "acquaintance," while in Boston Jail is regarded, upon the same ground it might be affirmed that he was the spiritual adviser of the Prisoners generally; for most of those, who suffered, were in Boston Jail as long as Proctor; and he visited them all alike,

The Reviewer adduces not a particle of evidence to prove his absolute statement, nor even to countenance the idea; but, as is his custom, he transforms a conjecture into an established fact. On a bare surmise, he builds an argument, and treats the whole, basis and superstructure, as History. To show, more particularly, how he thus *makes History*, I must follow this matter up a little further. Brattle, in his *Account of the Witchcraft in the County of Essex, 1692*, has this paragraph, after stating that the persons executed "went out of the world, not only "with as great protestations, but also with "as great shows, of innocence, as men could "do." "They protested their innocence as in "the presence of the great God, whom forth- "with they were to appear before: they wish- "ed, and declared their wish, that their blood "might be the last innocent blood shed "upon that account. With great affection, "they entreated Mr. C. M. to pray with "them: they prayed that God would dis- "cover what witchcrafts were among us; they "forgave their accusers: they spake without "reflection on Jury and Judges, for bringing



"them in guilty and condemning them: [they "prayed earnestly for pardon for all *other* sins, "and for an interest in the precious blood of "our dear Redeemer:] and seemed to be very "sincere, upright, and sensible of their circumstances on all accounts; especially Proctor "and Willard, whose whole management of "themselves, from the Jail to the Gallows, [and "whilst at the Gallows,] was very affecting "and melting to the hearts of some considerable spectators, whom I could mention to you: "[but they are executed and so I leave "them.]"—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, I. v. 68.

The Reviewer cites this paragraph, omitting the clauses I have placed within brackets, *without any indication of the omissions*. The first of the omitted clauses is a dying declaration of the innocence of the sufferers, as to the crime alleged. The second proves that they "man-aged themselves" after, as well as before, reaching the Gallows, and to their dying moment—seeming to preclude the idea that their exercises of prayer and preparation were directed or guided by any spiritual adviser. The last is an emphatic and natural expression of Brattle's feelings and judgment on the occasion.

The Reviewer follows his citation, thus: "Mr. Brattle mentions no other person than Mr. "C. M. as the comforter and friend of the sufferers, especially Proctor and Willard." "In "the above statement we trace the character of "their spiritual counsellor." "We now see the "object of Mr. Mather's visits to Salem." "Would these persons have asked Mr. Mather "to be be their spiritual comforter, if he had "been the agent, as has been alleged, of bringing them into their sad condition?"

In other forms of language and other connections, he speaks of Mr. Mather's presence, at these executions, as "the performance of a "sad duty to Proctor and Willard," and represents Brattle as calling him "the spiritual "adviser of the persons condemned." All this he asserts as proved and admitted fact; and the whole rests upon the foregoing mutilated paragraph of Brattle.

Let the reader thoroughly examine and consider that paragraph, and then judge of this Reviewer's claim to establish History. The word "affection," was used much at that time to signify *earnest desire*. "They"—that is, the persons then about to die, namely, the Rev. George Burroughs, an humble, laborious, devoted Minister of the Gospel; John Proctor, the owner of valuable farms and head of a large family; John Willard, a young married man of most respectable connections; George Jacobs, an early settler, land-holder, and a grandfather, of great age, with flowing white locks, sus-

tained, as he walked, by two staffs or crutches; and Martha Carrier, the wife of a farmer in Andover, with a family of children, some of them quite young—"entreated Mr. C. M. to pray with "them." Why did they have to "entreat" him, if he had come all the way from Boston for that purpose? They all had Ministers near at hand—Carrier had two Ministers, either or both of whom would have been prompt to come, if persons suffering for the imputed crime of witchcraft had been allowed to have the attendance of "spiritual comforters," at their executions. If Mather had prayed with them, Brattle would have said so. His language is equivalent to a statement, that "Mr. C. M." was reluctant, if he did not absolutely refuse to do it; and the only legitimate inferences from the whole passage are, that the sufferers did their own praying,—from Brattle's account of their dying prayers, they did it well—and that without "spiritual comforter," "adviser," or "friend," in the last dread hour, they were left to the "management of themselves."

When the paragraph is taken in connection with the relations of Brattle to Mather, not approving of his course in public affairs, but, at the same time, delicately situated, being associated with him in important public interests and leading circles, the conclusion seems probable that he meant, in an indirect mode of expression, to notice the fact that Mather refused to pray with the sufferers on the occasion. In fact, we know that Nicholas Noyes, who was Proctor's Minister, refused to pray with him, unless he would confess. Mather and Noyes were intimately united by personal and professional ties of friendship and communion, and probably would not run counter to each other, at such a time, and in the presence of such a multitude of Ministers and people.

It is to be regarded exclusively as illustrating the shocking character of the whole procedure of the witchcraft prosecutions, and not as a personally harsh or cruel thing, that Noyes or Mather was unwilling to pray with persons, at their public executions, who stood convicted of being confederates of the Devil, and who, refusing to confess, retained that character to the last. Ministers, like them, believing that the convicts were malefactors of a far different and deeper dye than ordinary human crime could impart, rebels against God, apostates from Christ, sons of Belial, recruits of the Devil's army, sworn in allegiance to his Kingdom, baptized into his church, beyond the reach of hope and prayer, could hardly be expected to pray with them. To *join* them in prayer was impossible. To go through the forms of united prayer would have been incongruous with the occasion, and not more inconsistent with the convictions

of the Ministers, than repugnant to the conscious innocence and natural sensibilities of the sufferers. Condemned, unconfessing, unrepentant witches might be prayed *for*, or *at*, but not *with*.

The superior greatness of mind of Burroughs and his fellow sufferers, the true spirit of Christian forgiveness elevating them above a sense of the errors and wrongs of which they were the victims, are beautifully and gloriously shown in their earnestly wishing and entreating Noyes and Mather to pray with them. They pitied their delusion, and were desirous, in that last hour, to regard them and all others as their brethren, and bow with them before the Father of all. The request they made of Christian Ministers, who, at the moment, regarded them as in league with the Devil, might not be exactly logical; a failure to comply with it is not a just matter of reproach; but the fact that it was repeated with earnestness, "entreated with affection," shows that the last pulsations of their hearts were quickened by a holy and heavenly Love.

The Reviewer asks: "Were those five persons executed that day without any spiritual adviser?" There is no evidence, I think, to show that a Minister ever accompanied, in that character, persons convicted of witchcraft, at the place of execution. All that can be gathered from Brattle's account is, that, on the occasion to which he is referring, the sufferers *themselves* offered public prayers. We know that Martha Corey, at a subsequent execution, pronounced a prayer that made a deep impression on the assembled multitude. Mr. Burroughs's prayer is particularly spoken of. So, also, in England, when the Reverend Mr. Lewis, an Episcopal clergyman, eighty years of age, and who, for fifty years, had been Vicar of Brandeston, in the County of Suffolk, was executed for alleged witchcraft, the venerable man read his own funeral service, according to the forms of his Church, "committing his own body to the ground, in sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life."

This whole story of the spiritual relation between Mather and Proctor is a bare fiction, entirely in conflict with all tradition and all probability, without a shadow of support in any document adduced by the Reviewer; and yet he would have it received as an established fact, and incorporated, as such, in history. Liberties, like this, cannot be allowed.

Sewall's Diary, at the date of the nineteenth of August, 1692, has this entry: "This day George Burrough, John Willard, John Proctor, Marther Carrier, and George Jacobs were executed at Salem, a very great number of spectators being present. Mr. Cotton Mather

"was there, Mr. Sims, Hale, Noyes, Cheever, etc. All of them said they were innocent, Carrier and all. Mr. Mather says they all died by a righteous sentence. Mr. Burrough, by his Speech, Prayer, protestation of his innocence, did much move unthinking persons, which occasioned the speaking hardly concerning his being executed."

It is quite remarkable that Cotton Mather should have gone directly home to Boston, after the execution, and made himself noticeable by proclaiming such a harsh sentiment against *all* the sufferers, if he had just been performing friendly offices to them, as "spiritual adviser, counsellor, and comforter." Clergymen, called to such melancholy and affecting functions, do not usually emerge from them in the frame of mind exhibited in the language ascribed to Mather, by Sewall. It shows, at any rate, that Mather felt sure that Proctor went out of the world, an unrepenting, unconfessing wizard, and, therefore, not a fit subject for a Christian Minister to unite with in prayer.

One other remark, by the way. The account Sewall gives of the impression made by Burroughs, on the spectators, now first brought to light, in print, is singularly confirmatory of what Calef says on the subject.

My chief purpose, however, in citing this passage from Sewall's Diary, is this. Mather was not present at the Trial of Burroughs. If he was not present at his Examination before the Magistrates, how could he have spoken, as he did, of the righteousness of his sentence? There had been no Report or publication, in any way, of the evidence; and he could only have received a competent knowledge of it from personal presence, on one or the other of those occasions. He could not have been justified in so confident and absolute a judgment, by mere hearsay. If that had been the source of his information, he would have modified his language accordingly.

There is one other item to be considered, in treating the question of Mather's connection with the Examinations of the Prisoners, before the Magistrates.

When Proctor was awaiting his trial, during the short period, previous to that event, that he was in the Salem Jail, he had addressed a letter to "Mr. Mather, Mr. Allen, Mr. Moody, Mr. Willard and Mr. Baily," all Ministers, begging them to intercede, in behalf of himself and fellow-prisoners, to secure to them better treatment, especially a fairer trial than they could have in Salem, where such a violent excitement had been wrought up against them. From the character of the letter, it is evident that it was addressed to them in the hope and belief that they were accessible to such an appeal. But one of the Mathers is named. They were asso-



ciate Ministers of the same Church. Although the father was President of the College at Cambridge, he resided in Boston, and was in the active exercise of his ministry there. The question is, Which of them is meant? In my book, I expressed the opinion that it was Increase, the father. The Reviewer says it was Cotton, the son. It is a fair question; and every person can form a judgment upon it. The other persons named, comprising the rest of the Ministers then connected with the Boston Churches, are severally, more or less, indicated by what has come to us, as not having gone to extremes, in support of the witchcraft prosecutions.

Increase Mather was commonly regarded, upon whatever grounds, as not going so far as his son, in that direction. The name, "Mr. Mather," heads the list. From his standing, as presiding over the College and the Clergy, it was proper to give him this position. His age and seniority of settlement, also entitled him to it. Usage, and all general considerations of propriety, require us to assume that by "Mr. Mather," the *elder* is meant. Cotton Mather, being the youngest of the Boston Ministers, would not be likely to be the first named, in such a list. Besides, he was considered, as he himself complains, as the "doer of all the hard things," "that were done, in the prosecution of the "witchcraft." Whoever concludes that Increase Mather was the person, in Proctor's mind, will appreciate the fact that Cotton Mather is omitted in the list. It proves that Proctor considered him beyond the reach of all appeals, in behalf of accused persons; and tends to confirm the tradition, in the family, that his course towards Proctor, when under examination, either before the Magistrates or in Court, had indicated a fixed and absolute prejudice or conviction against him. This Letter of Proctor's, printed in my book, [ii. 310.] utterly disperses the visionary fabric of the Reviewer's fancy, that Cotton Mather was his "spiritual adviser," counselling him in frequent visits to the Salem Jail. It denounces, in unreserved language, "the "Magistrates, Ministers, Juries," as under the "delusion of the Devil, which we can term no "other, by reason we know, in our own consciences, we are all innocent persons;" and is couched in a bold, outspoken and trenchant style, that would have shocked and incensed Cotton Mather to the highest possible degree. It is absolutely certain, that if Cotton Mather had been Proctor's "friend and counsellor," a more prudent and cautious tone and style would have been given to the whole document.

In concluding the considerations that render it probable that Cotton Mather had much to do with the Examinations, it may be said, in general, that he vindicates the course taken at

them, in language that seems to identify himself with them, and to prove that he could not have been opposed to the methods used in them.

## X.

## COTTON MATHER AND THE WITCHCRAFT TRIALS. THE EXECUTIONS.

I now proceed to examine Cotton Mather's connection with the Trials at Salem. It is fully admitted that he did not personally attend any of them. His averment to this effect does not allow the supposition that he could have deceived himself, on such a point. In his letter to Richards, as has been seen, he expressed his great disappointment in not being well enough to accompany him to the first Session of the Special Court; and the tenor of the passage proves that he had fully expected and designed to be present, at the trials, generally. Whether the same bodily indisposition continued to forbid his attendance at its successive adjournments, we cannot obtain information.

The first point of connection I can find between him and the trials, is brought to view in a meeting of certain Ministers, after executions had taken place, and while trials were pending.

Increase Mather, in his *Cases of Conscience*, has the following: "As for the judgment of the "Elders in New England, so far as I can learn, "they do generally concur with Mr. Perkins and "Mr. Bernard. This I know, that, at a meeting of Ministers at Cambridge, August 1, "1692, where were present seven Elders, besides "the President of the College, the question "then discoursed on, was, whether the Devil "may not sometimes have a permission to represent an innocent person, as tormenting such "as are under diabolical molestations? The answer, which they all concurred in, was in "these words, viz. "That the Devil may sometimes have a permission to represent an innocent person as tormenting such as are under "diabolical molestations; but that such things "are rare and extraordinary, especially when "such matters come before civil judicatures"; "and that some of the most eminent Ministers of "the land, who were not at that meeting, are of "the same judgment, I am assured. And I am "also sure that, in cases of this nature, the Priest's "lips should keep knowledge, and they should "seek the law at his mouth. *Mal. 2. 7.*"

What was meant by the quotation from Malachi is left to conjecture. It looks like the notion I have supposed Cotton Mather to have, more or less, cherished, at different times—to have such cases committed to the confidential custody and management of one or more Ministers. Whether Cotton Mather, as well as his father, was at this meeting, is not stated. The

expressions "rare and extraordinary" and "sometimes have a permission," and the general style of the language, are like his. At any rate, in referring to the meeting, in his *Wonders of the Invisible World*, he speaks of the Ministers present "as very pious and learned;" says that they uttered the prevailing sense of others "eminently cautious and judicious;" and declares that they "have both argument and history to countenance them in it."

It is to be noticed, that this opinion of the Ministers, given on the first of August, if it did not authorize the admission, without reserve or limitation, of spectral evidence, in judicial proceedings, reduces the objection to it to an almost inappreciable point.

Observe the date. Already six women, heads of families, many of them of respectable positions in society, all in advanced life, one or two quite aged, and two, at least, of the most eminent Christian character, had suffered death, wholly from spectral evidence, that is, no other testimony was brought against them, as all admit, that could, even then, have convicted them. Twelve days had elapsed since five of them had been executed; in four more days, six others were to be brought to trial, among them the Rev. George Burroughs; and the Ministers pass a vote, under the lead of Increase Mather, and with the express approval of Cotton Mather, that there is very little danger of innocent people suffering, in judicial proceedings, from spectral evidence.

Let us hear no more that the Clergy of New England accepted the doctrines of those writers who had "declared against the admission of "spectral testimony;" that "the Magistrates rejected those doctrines;" that "all the evils "at Salem, grew out of the position taken by "the Magistrates;" and that "it had been well "with the twenty victims at Salem, if the Ministers of the Colony, instead of the Lawyers, "had determined their fate."

The Clergy of New England did, indeed, entertain great regard for the authority of certain writers, who were considered as, more or less, discrediting spectral evidence. The Mathers professed to concur with them in that judgment; but the ground taken at the meeting on the first of August, as above stated, was, it must be allowed, inconsistent with it. The passages I have given, and shall give, from the writings of Cotton Mather, will illustrate the elaborate ingenuity he displayed in trying to reconcile a respect for the said writers with the admission of that species of evidence, to an extent they were considered as disallowing.

I am indebted to George H. Moore, LL.D., of New York city, for the following important document. John Foster was, at its date, a member

of the Council. Hutchinson, who was his grandson, speaks of him [*History*, ii. 21] as a "merchant "of Boston of the first rank," "who had a great "share in the management of affairs from 1689 "to 1692." In the latter year, he was raised to the Council Board, being named as such in the new Charter; and held his seat, by annual elections, to the close of his life, in 1710. He seems to have belonged to the Church of the Mathers, as the father and son each preached and printed a Sermon on the occasion of his death.

*Autograph Letter of COTTON MATHER, on Witchcraft, presented to the Literary and Historical Society, by the Honorable Chief-justice SEWELL.\**

"17<sup>th</sup> 6<sup>m</sup>, 1692.

"S<sup>r</sup> :

"You would know whether I still retain my "opinion about y<sup>e</sup> horrible Witchcrafts among "us, and I acknowledge that I do.

"I do still Think That when there is no further Evidence against a person but only This, "That a Spectre in their shape does afflict a "neighbour, that Evidence is not enough to convict y<sup>e</sup> \* \* of Witchcraft.

"That the Divels have a natural power w<sup>ch</sup> "makes them capable of exhibiting what shape "they please I suppose nobody doubts, and I "have no absolute promise of God that they shall "not exhibit mine.

"It is the opinion generally of all protestant "writers that y<sup>e</sup> Diavel may thus abuse y<sup>e</sup> innocent, "yea, tis y<sup>e</sup> confession of some popish ones. "And o<sup>r</sup> Honorable Judges are so eminent for "their Justice, Wisdom, & Goodness that what- "ever their own particular sense may bee, yett "they will not proceed capitally against any, "upon a principle contested with great odds on "y<sup>e</sup> other side in y<sup>e</sup> Learned and Godly world.

"Nevertheless, a very great use is to bee made "of y<sup>e</sup> Spectral impressions upon y<sup>e</sup> sufferers. "They Justly Introduce, and Determine, an En- "quiry into y<sup>e</sup> circumstances of y<sup>e</sup> person ac- "cused; and they strengthen other presumptions.

"When so much use is made of those Things, "I believe y<sup>e</sup> use for w<sup>ch</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Great God intends "y<sup>m</sup> is made. And accordingly you see that y<sup>e</sup> "Excellent Judges have had such an Encourag- "ing presence of God with them, as that scarce "any, if at all any, have been Tried before them, "against whom God has not strangely sent in "other, & more Humane & most convincing Tes- "timonies.

"If any persons have been condemned, about "whom any of y<sup>e</sup> Judges, are not easy in their "minds, that y<sup>e</sup> Evidence against them, has been "satisfactory, it would certainly bee for y<sup>e</sup> glory

\* *Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec*—Octavo, Quebec, 1831—ii, 313-316.



"of the whole Transaction to give that person a Reprieve.

"It would make all matters easier if at least Bail were taken for people Accused only by y<sup>e</sup> invisible tormentors of y<sup>e</sup> poor sufferers and not Blemished by any further Grounds of suspicion against them.

"The odd Effects produced upon the sufferers by y<sup>e</sup> look or touch of the accused are things wherein y<sup>e</sup> Divels may as much Impose upon some Harmless people as by the Representacôn of their shapes.

"My notion of these matters is this. A Suspected and unlawful com'union with a Familiar Spirit, is the Thing enquired after. The communion on the *Divel's* part may be proved, while, for ought I can say, The *man* may be Innocent; the Divel may impudently Impose his com'union upon some that care not for his company. But if the com'union on y<sup>e</sup> man's part be proved, then the Business is done.

"I am suspicious Lest y<sup>e</sup> Divel may at some time or other, serve us a trick by his constancy for a long while in one way of Dealing. Wee may find the Divel using one constant course in Nineteen several Actions, and yett hee bee too hard for us at last, if wee thence make a Rule to form an Infallible Judgement of a Twentieth. It is o' singular Happiness That wee are blessed with Judges who are Aware of this Danger.

"For my own part if the Holy God should permit such a Terrible calamity to befall myself as that a Spectre in my Shape should so molest my neighbourhood, as that they can have no quiet, altho' there should be no other Evidence against me, I should very patiently submit unto a Judgement of *Transportation*, and all reasonable men would count o' Judges to Act, as they are like y<sup>e</sup> Fathers of y<sup>e</sup> public, in such a Judgment. What if such a Thing should be ordered for those whose Guilt is more Dubious, and uncertain, whose presence y<sup>e</sup> perpetuates y<sup>e</sup> miseries of o' sufferers? They would cleanse y<sup>e</sup> Land of Witchcrafts, and yett also prevent y<sup>e</sup> shedding of Innocent Blood, whereof some are so apprehensive of Hazard. If o' Judges want any Good Bottom, to act thus upon, You know, that besides y<sup>e</sup> usual power of Govern<sup>r</sup>, to Relax many Judgements of Death, o' General Court can soon provide a law.

"S,

"You see y<sup>e</sup> Incoherency of my Thoughts but I hope, you will also some Reasonableness in those Thoughts.

"In the year 1645, a Vast Number of persons in y<sup>e</sup> county of *Suffolk* were apprehended, as Guilty of Witchcraft; whereof, some confessed. The parliament granted a special commission of *Oyer & Terminer* for y<sup>e</sup> Trial of those

"Witches; in w<sup>ch</sup> com'ission, there were a famous Divine or two, Mr *Pariclough* particularly inserted. That Excellent man did preach two sermons to y<sup>e</sup> Court, before his first sitting on y<sup>e</sup> Bench: Wherein having first proved the Existence of Witches, hee afterwards showed y<sup>e</sup> Evil of Endeavouring y<sup>e</sup> Conviction of any upon Defective Evidence. The Sermon had the Effect that none were Condemned, who could bee saved w<sup>thout</sup> an Express Breach of y<sup>e</sup> Law; & then tho' 'twas possible some Guilty did Escape, yett the troubles of those places, were, I think Extinguished.

"O' case is Extraordinary. And so, you and others will pardon y<sup>e</sup> Extraordinary Liberty I take to address You on this occasion. But after all, I Entreat you, that whatever you do, you Strengthen y<sup>e</sup> Hands of o' Honourable Judges in y<sup>e</sup> Great work before y<sup>m</sup>. They are persons, for whom no man living has a greater veneration, than

"S,

"Your Servant

"C. MATHER.

"For the Honourable JOHN FOSTER, Esq."

This letter must be considered, I think, as settling the question. It was written two days before the execution of Burroughs, Proctor, and others. It entirely disposes of the assertions of the Reviewer, that Mather "denounced" the "admission" of spectral testimony, and demonstrates the truth of the positions, taken in this article; that he authorized fully its admission, as affording occasion of enquiry and matter of presumption, sufficient, if reinforced by other evidence, to justify conviction. The sentences I have italicised leave no further room for discussion. The language in which the Judges and their conduct of the Trials are spoken of, could not have been stronger. The reference to the course taken in England, in 1645, sheds light upon the suggestions I have made, as to Mather's notion, that one or more Ministers—"a famous Divine or two,"—ought to have been connected, "by authority," with the Court of Oyer and Terminer, in the management of the cases. The idea thrown out, as to Transportation, could hardly, it would seem, but have been apparent to a reflecting person, as utterly impracticable. No convicts or parties under indictment or arrest for the crime of witchcraft, could have been shipped off to any other part of the British dominions. A vessel, with persons on board, with such a stamp upon them, would have been everywhere repelled with as much vehemence and panic, as if freighted with the yellow fever, small-pox, or plague. If the unhappy creatures she bore beneath her hatches, should have been landed in any other part of the then called Christian or civilized world, stigmatized with the charge of

witchcraft, they would have met with the halter or the fagot; and scarcely have fared better, if cast upon any savage shore.

We have seen how our Reviewer *makes*, let us now see how he *unmakes*, history.

Robert Calef, in his book (intituled *More Wonders of the Invisible World*, Part V., under the head of "An impartial account of the most memorable matters of fact, touching the supposed Witchcraft in New England," [p. 103,] says: "Mr. Burroughs was carried in a cart, 'with the others, through the streets of Salem to execution. When he was upon the ladder, 'he made a speech for the clearing of his innocence, with such solemn and serious expressions, as were to the admiration of all present; 'his prayer (which he concluded by repeating 'the Lord's prayer) was so well worded, and 'uttered with such composedness, and such (at 'least seeming) fervency of spirit, as was very 'affecting, and drew tears from many, so that 'it seemed to some that the spectators would 'hinder the execution. The accusers said the 'black man stood and dictated to him. As 'soon as he was turned off, Mr. Cotton Mather, 'being mounted upon a horse, addressed himself 'to the people, partly to declare that he (Burroughs) was not ordained Minister, and partly 'to possess the people of his guilt, saying that 'the Devil has often been transformed into an 'Angel of Light; and this somewhat appeased 'the people; and the executions went on. 'When he was cut down, he was dragged by 'the halter to a hole, or grave, between the 'rocks, about two feet deep, 'his shirt and 'breeches being pulled off, and an old pair of 'trowsers of one executed, put on his lower 'parts; he was so put in, together with Will-'ard and Carrier, that one of his hands and his 'chin, and a foot of one of them, were left un-'covered."

The Reviewer undertakes to set aside this statement; to erase it altogether from the record; and to throw it from the belief and memory of mankind. But this cannot be done, but by an arbitrary process, that would wipe out all the facts of all history, and leave the whole Past an utter blank. If any record has passed the final ordeal, this has. It is beyond the reach of denial; and no power on earth can start the solid foundation on which it stands. It consists of distinct, plainly stated, averments, which, as a whole, or severally, if not true, and known to be true, might have been denied, or questioned, at the time. Not disputed, nor controverted, then, it never can be. If not true to the letter, so far as Cotton Mather is concerned, hundreds, nay thousands, were at hand, who would have contradicted it. Certificates without number, like that of John Goodwin, would have been pro-

cured to invalidate it. Consisting of specifications, in detail, if there had been in it the minutest item that could have admitted contradiction, it would have been seized upon, and used with the utmost eagerness to break the force of the statement. It was printed at London, in 1700, in a volume accredited there, and immediately put into circulation here, twenty-eight years before the death of Mather. He had a copy of it, now in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and wrote on the inside of the front cover, "My desire is, that 'mine adversary had written a book," etc. His father, the President of Harvard University, had a copy; for the book was burned in the College-square. Everything contributed to call universal attention to it. Its author was known, avowed, and his name printed on the title-page; he lived in the same town with Mather; and was in all respects a responsible man.

No attempt was made, at the time, nor at any time, until now, to overthrow the statement or disprove any of its specifications.

Let us see how the Reviewer undertakes to controvert it. As to Mather's being on horseback, the argument seems to be, that it was customary, then, for people to travel in that way!

The harangue to the people to prevail upon them to pay no heed to the composed, devout, and forgiving deportment of the sufferers, because the Devil often appeared as an Angel of Light, sounded strangely from one who had attended the prisoners as their "spiritual comforter and friend." It was a queer conclusion of his services of consolation and pastoral offices, to proclaim to the crowd, that the truly Christian expressions of the persons in his charge were all a diabolical sham. One would have thought, if he accompanied them in the capacity alleged, he would have dismounted before ascending the hill, and tenderly waited upon them, side by side, holding them by the hand and sustaining them by his arm, as they approached the fatal ladder; and that his last benedictions, upon their departing souls, would have been in somewhat different language. That language was entirely natural, however, believing, as he did, that they were all guilty of the unpardonable sin, in its blackest dye; that, obstinately refusing to confess, they were reprobates, sunk far below the ordinary level of human crime, beyond the pale of sympathy or prayer, enemies of God, in covenant with the Devil, and firebrands of Hell. All this he believed. Of course, he could not pray *with*, and could hardly be expected to pray *for*, them. The language ascribed to him by Calef, expressed his honest convictions; bears the stamp of credibility; was not denied or disavowed, then; and cannot be discredited, now.



If those sufferers, wearing the resplendent aspect of faith, forgiveness, and piety, in their dying hour, were, in reality, "the Devil appearing as the Angel of Light," nobody but the Reviewer is to blame for charging Mather with being his "spiritual adviser and counsellor."

The Reviewer says that the horse Mather rode on that occasion, "has been tramping through history, for nearly two centuries. It is time that he be reined up." Not having been reined up by Mather, it is in vain for the Reviewer to attempt it. Mazeppa, on his wild steed, was not more powerless. The "man on horse-back," described by Calef, will go tramping on through all the centuries to come, as through the "nearly two centuries" that have passed.

To discredit another part of the statement of Calef, the Reviewer cites the *Description and History of Salem*, by the Rev. William Bentley, in the Sixth Volume of the First Series of the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, printed in 1800, quoting the following passage: "It was said that the bodies were not properly buried; but, upon an examination of the ground, the graves were found of the usual depth, and remains of the bodies, and of the wood in which they were interred."

At the time when this was written, there was a tradition to that effect. But it is understood that, early in this century, an examination was made of the spot, pointed out by the tradition upon which Bentley had relied, and nothing was found to sustain it. It is apparent that this tradition was, to some extent, incorrect, because it is quite certain that three, and probably most, of the bodies were recovered by their friends, at the time; but chiefly because it is believed, on sufficient grounds, that the locality, indicated in the tradition that had reached Doctor Bentley, was, in 1692, covered by the original forest. Of course, a passage through woods, to a spot, even now, after the trees have been wholly removed from the hill and all its sides, so very difficult of access, would not have been encountered; neither can it be supposed that an open area would have been elaborately prepared for the place of execution, in the midst of a forest, entirely shut in from observation, by surrounding trees, with their thick foliage, in that season of the year. If seclusion had been the object, a wooded spot might have been found, near at hand, on level areas, anywhere in the neighborhood of the town. But it was not a secluded, but a conspicuous, place that was sought; not only an elevated, but an open, theatre for the awe-inspiring spectacle, displaying to the whole people and world—to use the language employed by Mather, in the *Advice of the Ministers* and in one of his letters to Richards—the "Success" of the Court, in "extinguishing that horrible witchcraft."

Another tradition, brought down through a family, ever since residing on the same spot, in the neighborhood, and from the longevity of its successive heads, passing through but few memories, and for that reason highly deserving of credit, is, that its representative, at that time, lent his aid in the removal of the bodies of the victims, in the night, and secretly, across the river, in a boat. The recollections of the transaction are preserved in considerable detail. From the locality, it is quite certain that the bodies were brought to it from the southern end of Witch-hill. From a recently-discovered letter of Dr. Holyoke, mentioned in my book [ii, 377], it appears that the executions must have taken place there. The earth is so thin, scattered between projecting ledges of rock, which, indeed, cover much of the surface, that few trees probably ever grew there; and a bare, elevated platform afforded a conspicuous site, and room for the purpose. These conclusions, to which recent discoveries and explorations have led, remarkably confirm Calef's statements. From Sheriff Corwin's *Return*, we know that the first victim was buried "in the place" where she was executed; and it may be supposed all the rest were. The soil is shallow, near the brow of the precipice and between the clefts of the rock.

The Reviewer desires to know my authority for saying that the ground, where Burroughs was buried, "was trampled down by the mob." I presume that when, less than five weeks afterwards, eight more persons were hanged there, belonging to respectable families in what are now Peabody, Marblehead, Topsfield, Rowley and Andover, as well as Salem, and a spectacle again presented to which crowds flocked from all quarters, and to which many particularly interested must have been drawn, besides those from the populous neighborhood, especially if men "on horseback" mingled in the throng, the ground must have been considerably trampled upon. Poor Burroughs had been suddenly torn from his family and home, more than a hundred miles away; there were no immediate connections, here, who would have been likely to recover his remains; and, it is therefore probable, they had been left where they were thrown, near the foot of the gallows.

There is one point upon which the Reviewer is certain he has "demolished" Calef. The latter speaks of the victims, as having been hanged, one after another. The Reviewer says, the mode of execution was to have them "swung off at once;" and further uses this argument: "Calef himself furnishes us with evidence that such was the practice in Salem, where eight persons were hanged thirty-six days later. He says, 'After the execution, Mr. Noyes, turning him to the bodies, said—What a sad thing it is to

"see eight firebrands of Hell hanging there." <sup>23</sup>  
The argument is, eight were hanging there together, after the execution; therefore, they must have been swung off at the same moment!

This is a kind of reasoning with which—to adopt Mather's expression in describing diabolical horrors, capital trials, and condemnations to death—we are "entertained" throughout by the Reviewer. The truth is, we have no particular knowledge of the machinery, or its operations, at these executions. A "halter," a "ladder," a "gallows," a "hangman," are spoken of. The expression used for the final act is, "turned off." There is no shadow of evidence to contradict Calef. The probabilities seem to be against the supposition of a structure, on a scale so large, as to allow room for eight persons to be turned off at once. The outstretching branches from large trees, on the borders of the clearing, would have served the purpose, and a ladder, connected with a simple frame, might have been passed from tree to tree.

The Regicides, thirty years before, had been executed in England, in the method Calef understood to have been used here. Hugh Peters was carried to execution with Judge Cook. The latter suffered first; and when Peters ascended the ladder, turning to the officer of the law, he uttered these memorable words, exhibiting a state of the faculties, a grandeur of bearing, and a force and felicity of language and illustration, all the circumstances considered, not surpassed in the records of Christian heroism or true eloquence: "Sir, you have slain one of the servants of God, before mine eyes, and have made me 'to behold it, on purpose to terrify and discourage me; but God hath made it an ordinance unto me, for my strengthening and encouragement.'"

While the trials were going on, Mather made use of his pulpit to influence the public mind, already wrought up to frenzy, to greater heights of fanaticism, by portraying, in his own peculiar style, the out-breaking battle between the Church and the Devil. On the day before Burroughs, who was regarded as the head of the Church, and General of the forces, of Satan, was brought to the Bar, Mather preached a Sermon from the text, *Rev. vii., 12.* "Wo to the inhabitants of the earth, and of the Sea! for the Devil is come down unto you, having great wrath, because he knoweth he hath but a short time." It is thickly interspersed with such passages as these: "Now, at last, the Devils are, (if I may so speak), in Person come down upon us, with such a wrath, as is most justly much, and will quickly be more, the astonishment of the world." "There is little room for hope, that the great wrath of the Devil will not prove the ruin of our poor New England, in particular. I be-

lieve there never was a poor plantation more pursued by the wrath of the Devil than our poor New England." "We may truly say, *Tis the hour and power of darkness.* But, though the wrath be so great, the time is but short: when we are perplexed with the wrath of the Devil, the word of our God, at the same time, unto us, is that in *Rom. xvi. 20.* '*The God of Peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly.*' Shortly, didst thou say, dearest Lord? O gladsome word! Amen, even so, come Lord! Lord Jesus, come quickly! We shall never be rid of this troublesome Devil, till thou do come to chain him up."—*Wonders, etc.*

There is much in the Sermon that relates to the sins of the people, generally, and some allusions to the difficulties that encompass the subject of diabolical appearances; but the witchcraft in Salem is portrayed in colors, which none but a thorough believer in all that was there brought forward, could apply; the whole train of ideas and exhortations is calculated to inflame the imaginations and passions of the people; and it is closed by "An hortatory and necessary Address to a country now extraordinarily alarm'd by the 'Wrath of the Devil.'" In this Address, he goes, at length, into the horrible witchcraft at Salem Village. "Such," says he, "is the descent of the Devil, at this day, upon ourselves, that I may truly tell you, the walls of the whole world are broken down. He enumerates, as undoubtedly true, in detail, all that was said by the "afflicted children" and "confessing witches." He says of the reputed witches: "They each of them have their spectres or devils, commissioned by them, and representing of them, to be the engines of their malice." Such expressions as these are scattered over the pages, "wicked spectres," "diabolical spectres," "owners of spectres," "spectre's hands," "spectral book," etc.

And yet it is stated, by the Reviewer, that Mather was opposed to spectral evidence, and denounced it! He gave currency to it, in the popular faith, during the whole period, while the trials and executions were going on, more than any other man.

He preached another Sermon, of the same kind, entitled, *The Devil Discovered.*

After the trials by the Special Court were over, and that body had been forbidden to meet on the day to which it had adjourned, he addressed another letter to John Richards, one of its members, dated "Dec. 14th, 1692," to be found in the *Mather Papers, p. 397.* It is a characteristic document, and, in some points of view, commendable. Its purpose was to induce Richards to consent to a measure he was desirous of introducing into his pastoral administration, to which Richards and one other member of his Church had manifested repugnance. Cotton Mather was in



advance of his times, in liberality of views, relating to denominational matters. He desired to open the door to the Ordinances, particularly Baptism, wider than was the prevalent practice. He urges his sentiments upon Richards in earnest and fitting tones; but resorts, also, to flattering, and what may be called coaxing, tones. He calls him, "My ever-honored Richards," "Dearest Sir," "my dear Major," and reminds him of the public and constant support he had given to his official conduct: "I have signalized my perpetual respects before the whole world." In this letter, he refers to the Salem witchcraft prosecutions, and pronounces unqualified approval and high encomiums upon Richards's share in the proceedings, as one of the Judges. "God has made more than an ordinary use of your honorable hand," in "the extinguishing" of "that horrible witchcraft," into which "the Devils have been baptizing so many of our miserable neighbors." This language is hardly consistent with a serious, substantial, considerable, or indeed with any, disapprobation of the proceedings of the Court.

## XI.

LETTER TO STEPHEN SEWALL. "WONDERS OF THE  
"INVISIBLE WORLD." ITS ORIGIN AND DESIGN.  
COTTON MATHER'S ACCOUNT OF THE TRIALS.

I com now to the examination of matters of interest and importance, not only as illustrating the part acted by Mather in the witchcraft affair, but as bearing upon the public history of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, at that time.

The reader is requested carefully to examine the following letter, addressed by Cotton Mather to Stephen Sewall, Clerk of the Court at Salem.

"BOSTON, Sept. 20. 1692.

"MY DEAR AND MY VERY OBLIGING STEPHEN,

"It is my hap, to bee continually \* \* \* with all sorts of objections, and objectors against the \* \* work now doing at Salem, and it is my further good hap, to do some little Service for God and you, in my encounters.

"But, that I may be the more capable to assist, in lifting up a standard against the infernal enemy, I must renew my most IMPORTUNATE REQUEST, that would please quickly to perform, what you kindly promised, of giving me a narrative of the evidence given in at the trials of half a dozen, or if you please, a dozen, of the principal witches, that have been condemned. "I know 'twill cost you some time; but when you are sensible of the benefit that will follow, "I know you will not think much of that cost, and my own willingness to expose myself unto the utmost for the defence of my friends with you, makes me presume to plead something of merit, to be considered.

"I shall be content, if you draw up the desir-

ed narrative by way of letter to me, or at least, "let it not come without a letter, wherein you shall, if you can, intimate over again, what you have sometimes told me, of the awe, which is upon the hearts of your Juries, with \* \* \* unto the validity of the spectral evidences.

"Please also to \* \* \* some of your observations about the confessors, and the credibility of what they assert; or about things evidently preternatural in the witchcrafts, and whatever else you may account an entertainment, for an inquisitive person, that entirely loves you, and Salem. Nay, though I will never lay aside the character which I mentioned in my last words, yet, I am willing that, when you write, you should imagine me as obstinate a Sadducee and witch-advocate, as any among us: address me as one that believed nothing reasonable; and when you have so knocked me down, in a spectre so unlike me, you will enable me to box it about, among my neighbors, till it come, "I know not where at last.

"But assure yourself, as I shall not wittingly make what you write prejudicial to any worthy design, which those two excellent persons, Mr. Hale and Mr. Noyes, may have in hand, so you shall find that I shall be,

"Sir, your grateful friend,

C. MATHER."

"P. S. That which very much strengthens the charms of the request, which this letter makes you, is that his Excellency, the Governor, laid his positive commands upon me to desire this favor of you; and the truth is, there are some of his circumstances with reference to this affair, which I need not mention, that call for the expediting of your kindness, kindness, I say, for such it will be esteemed, as well by him, as by your servant, C. MATHER."

The point, on which the Reviewer raises an objection to the statement in my book, in reference to this letter, is, as to the antecedent of "it," in the expression, "box it about." The opinion I gave was that it referred to the document requested to be sent by Sewall. The Reviewer says it refers to "a Spectre," in the preceding line, or as he expresses it, "the fallen Spectre of Sadduceism." Every one can judge for himself on inspection of the passage. After all, it is a mere quibbling about words, for the meaning remains substantially the same. Indeed, that which he gives is more to my purpose. Let it go, that Mather desired the document, and intended to use it, to break down all objectors to the work then doing in Salem. Whoever disapproved of such proceedings, or intimated any doubt concerning the popular notions about witchcraft, were called "Sadducees and witch-advocates." These terms were used by Mather, on all occa-

sions, as marks of opprobrium, to stigmatize and make odious such persons. If they could once be silenced, witchcraft demonstrations and prosecutions might be continued, without impediment or restraint, until they should "come," no one could tell "where, at last." "The fallen Spectre of 'Sadduceeism' was to be the trophy of Mather's victory; and Sewall's letter was to be the weapon to lay it low.

Each of the paragraphs of this letter demonstrates the position Mather occupied, and the part he had taken, in the transactions at Salem. Mr. Hale had acted, up to this time, earnestly with Noyes and Parris; and the letter shows that Mather had the sympathies and the interests of a co-operator with them, and in their "designs." Every person of honorable feelings can judge for himself of the suggestion to Sewall, to be a partner in a false representation to the public, by addressing Mather "in a spectre so unlike" him—that is, in a character which he, Sewall, knew, as well as Mather, to be wholly contrary to the truth. Blinded, active, and vehement, as the Clerk of the Court had been, in carrying on the prosecutions, it is gratifying to find reason to conclude that he was not so utterly lost to self-respect as to comply with the jesuitical request, or lend himself to any such false connivance.

The letter was written at the height of the fury of the delusion, immediately upon a Session of the Court, at which all tried had been condemned, eight of whom suffered two days after its date. Any number of others were under sentence of death. The letter was a renewal of "a most 'importunate request.'"

I cite it, here, at this stage of the examination of the subject, particularly on account of the postscript. Every one has been led to suppose that "His Excellency, the Governor," who had laid such "positive commands" upon Mather to obtain the desired document from Sewall, was Sir William Phips. The avowed purpose of Mather, in seeking it, was to put it into circulation—to "box it 'about'"—thereby to produce an effect, to the putting down of Sadduceeism, or all further opposition to witchcraft prosecutions. He, undoubtedly, contemplated making it a part of his book, the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, printed, the next year, in London. The statement made by him always was, that he wrote that book in compliance with orders laid upon him to that effect by "His Excellency, the Governor." The imprimatur, in conspicuous type, in front of one of the editions of the book, is "Published by the 'special command of his Excellency, the Governor of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay 'in New England.'"

On the sixteenth of September, Sir William Phips had notified the Council of his going to the eastward; and that body was adjourned to the

fourteenth of October. From his habitual promptness, and the pressing exigency of affairs in the neighborhood of the Kennebec, it is to be presumed that he left immediately; and, as it was expected to be a longer absence than usual, it can hardly be doubted that, as on the first of August, he formally, by a written instrument, passed the Government over to Stoughton. At any rate, while he was away from his Province proper, the Deputy necessarily acceded to the Executive functions.

In the Sewall Diary we find the following: "SEPT. 21. A petition is sent to Town, in behalf 'of Dorcas Hoar, who now confesses. Accordingly, an order is sent to the Sheriff to forbear 'her execution, notwithstanding her being in the 'Warrant to die to-morrow. This is the first condemned person who has confessed.'"

The granting of this reprieve was an executive act, that would seem to have belonged to the functions of the person filling the office of Governor; and Phips being absent, it could only have been performed by Stoughton, and shows, therefore, that he, at that time, acted as Governor. As such, he was, by custom and etiquette, addressed—"His Excellency." The next day, eight were executed, four of them having been sentenced on the ninth of September, and four on the seventeenth, which was on Saturday. The whole eight were included, as is to be inferred from the foregoing entry, and is otherwise known, in the same Warrant, which could not, therefore, have been made out before the nineteenth. The next day, Mather wrote the letter to Sewall; and the language, in its Postscript, may have referred to Stoughton; particularly this clause: "There 'are some of his circumstances, with reference 'to this affair.' As Phips had, from the first, left all the proceedings with the Chief-justice, who had presided at all the trials, and was, by universal acknowledgment, especially responsible for all the proceedings and results, the words of Mather are much more applicable to Stoughton than to Phips.

Upon receiving these "importunate requests" from Mather, proposing such a form of reply, to be used in such a way, Sewall thought it best to adopt the course indicated in the following entry, in the Diary of his brother, the Judge: "THURSDAY, SEPT. 22, 1692. William Stoughton, Esq., 'John Hathorne, Esq., Mr. Cotton Mather, and 'Capt. John Higginson, with my brother St. 'were at our house, speaking about publishing 'some trials of the witches.'"

It appears that Stephen Sewall, instead of answering Mather's letter in writing, went directly to Boston, accompanied by Hathorne and Higginson, and met Mather and Stoughton at the house of the Judge. No other Minister was present; and Judge Sewall was not Mather's pa-



rishioner. The whole matter was there talked over. The project Mather had been contemplating was matured; and arrangements made with Stephen Sewall, who had them in his custody, to send to Mather the Records of the trials; and, thus provided, he proceeded, without further delay, in obedience to the commands laid upon him by "his Excellency," to prepare for the press, *The Wonders of the Invisible World*, which was designed to send to the shades, "Sad-uceism," to extirpate "witch-advocates," and to leave the course clear for the indefinite continuance of the prosecutions, until, as Stoughton expressed it, "the land was cleared" of all witches.

The presence of the Deputy-governor, at this private conference, shows the prominent part he bore in the movement, and corroborates, what is inferrible from the dates, that he was "His Excellency, the Governor," referred to in the documents connected with this transaction. It is observable, by the way, that the references are always to the official character and title, and not to the name of the person, whether Phips or Stoughton.

I now proceed to examine the book, written and brought forward, under these circumstances and for this purpose. It contains much of which I shall avail myself, to illustrate the position and the views of Mather, at the time. The length to which this article is extended, by the method I have adopted of quoting documents so fully, is regretted; but it seems necessary, in order to meet the interest that has been awakened in the subject, by the article in the *North American Review*, to make the enquiry as thorough as possible.

Only a part of the work is devoted to the main purpose for which it was ostensibly and avowedly designed. That I shall first notice. It is introduced as follows: "I shall no longer detain my reader from his expected entertainment, in a brief account of the Trials which have passed upon some of the Malefactors lately executed at Salem, for the witchcrafts whereof they stood convicted. For my own part, I was not present at any of them; nor ever had I any personal prejudice at the persons thus brought upon the Stage; much less, at the surviving relations of those persons, with and for whom I would be as hearty a mourner, as any man living in the world: *The Lord comfort them!* But having received a command so to do, I can do no other than shortly relate the chief *Matters of Fact*, which occurred in the trials of some that were executed; in an abridgement collected out of the *Court Papers*, on this occasion put into my hands. You are to take the *Truth*, just as it was."—*Wonders of the Invisible World*, p. 54.

He singles out five cases and declares: "I report matters, not as an *Advocate*, but as an *Historian*."

After further prefacing his account, by relating, *A modern instance of Witches, discovered and condemned, in a trial before that celebrated Judge, Sir Matthew Hale*, he comes to the trial of George Burroughs. He spreads out, without reserve, the spectral evidence, given in this as in all the cases, and without the least intimation of objection from himself, or any one else, to its being admitted, as, "with other things to render it "credible" enough for the purpose of conviction. Any one reading his account, and at the same time examining the documents on file, will be able to appreciate how far he was justified in saying, that he reported it in the spirit of an historian rather than an advocate.

Let, us, first, see what the "Court papers, put into his hands," amounted to; as we find them in the files.

"The Deposition of Simon Willard, aged about 42 years, saith: I being at Saco, in the year 1689, some in Capt. Ed. Sargent's garrison were speaking of Mr. George Burroughs his great strength, saying he could take a barrel of molasses out of a canoe or boat, alone; and that he could take it in his hands, or arms, out of the canoe or boat, and carry it, and set it on the shore; and Mr. Burroughs being there, said that he had carried one barrel of molasses or cider out of a canoe, that had like to have done him a displeasure; said Mr. Burroughs intimated, as if he did not want strength to do it, but the disadvantage of the shore was such, that, his foot slipping in the sand, he had liked to have strained his leg."

Willard was uncertain whether Burroughs had stated it to be molasses or cider. John Brown testified about a "barrel of cider." Burroughs denied the statement, as to the molasses, thereby impliedly admitting that he had so carried a barrel of cider.

Samuel Webber testified that, seven or eight years before, Burroughs told him that, by putting his fingers into the bung of a barrel of molasses, he had lifted it up, and "carried it round him, and set it down again."

Parris, in his notes of this trial, not in the files, says that "Capt. Wormwood testified about the gun and the molasses." But the papers on file give the name as "Capt. Wm Wormall," and represents that he, referring to the gun, "swore" that he, "saw George Burroughs raise it from the ground." His testimony, with this exception, was merely confirmatory, in general terms, of another deposition of Simon Willard, to the effect, that Burroughs, in explanation of one of the stories about his great strength, showed him how he held a gun of "about seven foot barrel," by taking it "in his hand behind the lock," and holding it out; Willard further stating that he did not see him "hold it out then," and that

he, Willard, so taking the gun with both hands, could not hold it out long enough to take sight. The testimony, throughout, was thus loose and conflicting, almost wholly mere hearsay, of no value, logically or legally. All that was really proved being what Burroughs admitted, that is, as to the cider.

But, in the statement made by him to Willard, at Saco, as deposed by the latter, he mentioned a circumstance, namely, the straining of his leg, which, if not true, could easily have been disproved, that demonstrated the effort to have been made, and the feat accomplished, by the natural exercise of muscular power. If preternatural force had aided him, it would have been supplied in sufficient quantity to have prevented such a mishap. To convey the impression that the exhibitions of strength ascribed to Burroughs were proofs of diabolical assistance, and demonstrations that he was guilty of the crime of witchcraft, Mather says "he was a very puny man, yet he had often done things beyond the strength of a giant." There is nothing to justify the application of the word "puny" to him, except that he was of small stature. Such persons are often very strong. Burroughs had, from his college days, been noted for gymnastic exercises. There is nothing, I repeat, to justify the use of the word, by Mather, in the sense he designed to convey, of bodily weakness.

The truth is, that his extraordinary muscular power, as exhibited in such feats as lifting the barrel of cider, was the topic of neighborhood talk; and there was much variation, as is usual in such cases, some having it a barrel of cider, and some, of molasses. There is, among the Court papers, a *Memorandum, in Mr. George Burroughs trial, besides the written evidences*. One item is the testimony of Thomas Evans, "that he carried out barrels of molasses, meat, &c., out of a canoe, whilst his mate went to the fort for hands to help out with." Here we see another variation of the story. The amount of it is, that, while the mate thought assistance needed, and went to get it, Burroughs concluded to do the work himself. If the Prisoner had been allowed Counsel; or any discernment been left in the Judges, the whole of this evidence would have been thrown out of account, as without foundation and frivolous in its character; yet Increase Mather, who was present, was entirely carried away with it, and declared that, upon it alone, if on the Bench or in the jury-box, he would have convicted the Prisoner.

It is quite doubtful, however, whether the above testimony of Evans was given in, at the trial; for the next clause, in the same paragraph, is Sarah Wilson's confession, that: "The night before Mr. Burroughs was executed, there was

"a great meeting of the witches, nigh Sargeant Chanders, that Mr. Burroughs was there, and they had the sacrament, and after they had done, he took leave, and bid them stand to their faith, and not own any thing. Martha Tyler saith the same with Sarah Wilson, and several others."

The testimony of these two confessing witches, "and several others," relating, as it did, to what was alleged to have happened "the night before Mr. Burroughs was executed," could not have been given at his trial, nor until after his death. Yet, as but three other confessing witches are mentioned in the files of this case, Mather must have relied upon this Memorandum to make up the "eight" said, by him, to have testified, "in the prosecution of the charge" against Burroughs. Hale, misled, perhaps, by the Memorandum, uses the indefinite expression "seven or eight." We know that one of the confessing witches, who had given evidence against Burroughs, retracted it before the Court, previous to his execution; but Mather makes no mention of that fact.

To go back to the barrel Mr. Burroughs lifted. I have stated the substance of the whole testimony relating to the point. Mather characterizes it, thus, in his report of the trial: "There was evidence likewise brought in, that he made nothing of taking up whole barrels, filled with molasses or cider, in very disadvantageous positions, and carrying them off, through the most difficult places, out of a canoe to the shore."

He made up this statement, as its substance and phraseology show, from Willard's deposition, then lying before him. In his use of that part of the evidence, in particular, as of the whole evidence, generally, the reader can judge whether he exhibited the spirit of an historian or of an advocate; and whether there was any thing to justify his expression, "made nothing of."

Any one scrutinizing the evidence, which, strange to say, was allowed to come in on a trial for witchcraft, relating to alleged misunderstandings between Burroughs and his two wives, involved in an alienation between him and some of the relations of the last, will see that it amounts to nothing more than the scandals incident to embittered parish quarrels, and inevitably engendered in such a state of credulity and malevolence, as the witchcraft prosecutions produced. Yet our "historian," in his report of the case, says: "Now G. B. had been infamous, for the barbarous usage of his two successive wives, all the country over."

In my book, in connection with another piece of evidence in the papers, given, like that of the confessing witches just referred to, long after Burroughs's execution, I expressed surprise that the irregularity of putting such testimony among



the documents belonging to the trial, escaped the notice of Hutchinson, eminent jurist as he was, and also of Calef. The Reviewer represents this remark as one of my "very grave and unsupported" charges against the honesty of Cotton Mather." I said nothing about Mather in connection with that point, but expressed strong disapprobation of the conduct of the official persons who procured the deposition to be made, and of those having the custody of the papers. The Reviewer, imagining that my censure was levelled at Mather, and resolved to defend him, through thick and thin, denies that the document in question was "surreptitiously foisted in." But there it was, when Mather had the papers, and there it now is,—its date a month after Burroughs was in his rocky grave. The Reviewer says that if I had looked to the end of Mather's notice of the document, or observed the brackets in which it was enclosed, I would have seen that Mather says that the paper was not used at the trial. I stated the fact, expressly, and gave Mather's explanation "that the man was overpersuaded by others to be 'out of the way upon George Burroughs's trial' " [ii. 300, 303.] I found no fault with Mather, in connection with the paper; and am not answerable, at all, for the snarl in which the Reviewer's mind has become entangled, in his eagerness to assail my book.

I ask a little further attention to this matter, because it affords an illustration of Mather's singular but characteristic method of putting things, often deceiving others, and sometimes, perhaps, himself. I quote the paragraph from his report of the trial of Burroughs, in the *Wonders of the Invisible World*. p. 64: "There 'were two testimonies, that G. B. with only 'putting the fore-finger of his right hand into 'the muzzle of an heavy gun, a fowling-piece of 'about six or seven foot barrel, did lift up the 'gun, and hold it out at arms end; a gun which 'the deponents, though strong men, could not, 'with both hands, lift up, and hold out, at the 'butt end, as is usual. Indeed, one of these witnesses was overpersuaded by some persons to 'be out of the way, upon G. B.'s trial; but he 'came afterwards, with sorrow for his withdraw; 'and gave in his testimony; nor were either of 'these witnesses made use of as evidences in the 'trial.'"

The Reviewer says that Mather included the above paragraph in "brackets," to apprise the reader that the evidence, to which it relates, was not given at the trial. It is true that the brackets are found in the Boston edition; but they are omitted, in the London edition, of the same year, 1693. If it was thought expedient to prevent misunderstanding, or preserve the appearance of fairness, *here*, the precaution was not provided for the English reader. He was left to re-

ceive the impression from the opening words, "there were two testimonies," that they were given at the trial, and to run the luck of having it removed by the latter part of the paragraph. The whole thing is so stated as to mystify and obscure. There were "two" testimonies; "one" is said not to have been presented; and then, that neither was presented. The reader, not knowing what to make of it, is liable to carry off nothing distinctly, except that, somehow, "there were testimonies" brought to bear against Burroughs; whereas not a syllable of it came before the Court.

Never going out of my way to criticise Cotton Mather, nor breaking the thread of my story for that purpose, I did not, in my book, call attention to this paragraph, as to its bearing upon him, but the strange use the Reviewer has made of it against me, compels its examination, in detail.

What right had Mather to insert this paragraph, at all, in his report of the trial of George Burroughs? It refers to extra-judicial and gratuitous statements that had nothing to do with the trial, made a month after Burroughs had passed out of Court and out of the world, beyond the reach of all tribunals and all Magistrates. It was not true that "there were two testimonies" to the facts alleged, *at the trial*, which, and which alone, Mather was professing to report. It is not a sufficient justification, that he contradicted, in the last clause, what he said in the first. This was one of Mather's artifices, as a writer, protecting himself from responsibility, while leaving an impression.

Mather says there were "two" witnesses of the facts alleged in the paragraph. Upon a careful re-examination of the papers on file, there appears to have been only *one*, in support of it. It stands solely on the single deposition of Thomas Greenslitt, of the fifteenth of September, 1692. The deponent mentions two other persons, by name, "and some others that are dead," who witnessed the exploit. But no evidence was given by them; and the muzzle story, according to the papers on file, stands upon the deposition of Greenslitt alone. The paragraph gives the idea that Greenslitt put himself out of the way, at the time of the trial of Burroughs; but there is reason to believe that he lived far down in the eastern country, and subsequently came voluntarily to Salem, from his distant home, to be present at the trial of his mother. The deposition was obtained from him in the period between her condemnation and execution. The motives that may have led the prosecutors to think it important to procure, and the probable inducement that led him to give, the deposition are explained in my book [ii. 298]. Greenslitt states that "the gun was of 'six-foot barrel or thereabouts." Mather reports him as saying "about six or seven foot barrel." The account of the trial of Burroughs, through-

ut, is charged with extreme prejudice against the Prisoner; and the character of the evidence is exaggerated.

One of the witnesses, in the trial of Bridget Bishop, related a variety of mishaps, such as the tumbling of the off-wheel of his cart, the breaking of the gears, and a general coming to pieces of the harness and vehicle, on one occasion; and is not being able, on another, to lift a bag of corn as easily as usual; and he ascribed it all to the witchery of the Prisoner. Mather gives his statement, concluding thus: "Many other pranks of this Bishop this deponent was ready to testify." He endorses every thing, however absurd, specially if resting on spectral evidence, as absolute, unquestionable, and demonstrated facts.

Nothing was proved against the moral character of Susannah Martin; and nothing was brought to bear upon her, but the most ridiculous and shameful tales of blind superstition and malignant credulity. The extraordinary acumen and force of mind, however, exhibited in her defence, to the discomfiture of the examining Magistrates and Judges, excited their wrath and that of all concerned in the prosecution. Mather finishes the account of her trial in these words: "NOTE. This woman was one of the most impudent, scurrilous, wicked creatures in the world; and she did now, throughout her whole trial, discover herself to be such an one. Yet when she was asked what she had to say for herself, her chief plea was, 'that she had led a most virtuous and holy life.'"—*Wonders, etc.* 126.

Well might he, and all who acted in bringing this remarkable woman to her death, have been exasperated against her. She will be remembered, in perpetual history, as having risen superior to them all, in intellectual capacity, and as having utterly refuted the whole system of spectral doctrine, upon which her life and the lives of all the others were sacrificed. Looking towards "the afflicted children," who had sworn that her spectre tortured them, the Magistrate asked, "How comes your appearance to hurt these?" Her answer was, "How do I know? He that appeared in the shape of Samuel, a glorified Saint, may appear in any one's shape."

It is truly astonishing that Mather should have selected the name of Elizabeth How, to be held up to abhorrence and classed among the "Malefactors." It shows how utterly blinded and perverted he was by the horrible delusion that "possessed" him. If her piety and virtue were of no avail in leading him to pause in aspersing her memory, by selecting her case to be included in the "black list" of those reported by him in his *Wonders*, one would have thought he would have paid some regard to the testimony of his clerical brethren and to the feelings of her relatives, embracing many most estimable families.

She was nearly connected with the venerable Minister of Andover, Francis Dane, and belonged to the family of Jacksons.

There was, and is, among the papers, a large body of evidence in her favor, most weighty and decisive, yet Mather makes no allusion to it whatever; although he must have known of it, from outside information as well as the documents before him. Two of the most respectable Ministers in the country, Phillips and Payson of Rowley, many of her neighbors, men and women, and the father of her husband, ninety-four years of age, testified to her eminent Christian graces, and portrayed a picture of female gentleness, loveliness, and purity, not surpassed in the annals of her sex. The two Clergymen exposed and denounced the wickedness of the means that had been employed to bring the stigma of witchcraft upon her good name. Mather not only withholds all this evidence, but speaks with special bitterness of this excellent woman, calling her, over and over again, throughout his whole account, "This 'How.'"

There is reason to apprehend that much cruelty was practised upon the Prisoners, especially to force them to confess. The statements made by John Proctor, in his letter to the Ministers, are fully entitled to credit, from his unimpeached honesty of character, as well as from the position of the persons addressed. It is not to be imagined, that, at its date, on the twenty-third of July, twelve days before his trial, he would have made, in writing, such declarations to them, had they not been true. He says that brutal violence was used upon his son to induce him to confess. He also states that two of the children of Martha Carrier were "tied neck and heels, till the blood was ready to come out of their noses." The outrages, thus perpetrated, with all the affrighting influences brought to bear, prevailed over Carrier's children. Some of them were used as witnesses against her. A little girl, not eight years old, was made to swear that she was a witch; that her mother, when she was six years old, made her so, baptizing her, and compelling her "to set her hand to a book," and carried her, "in her spirit," to afflict people; that her mother, after she was in prison, came to her in the shape of "a black cat;" and that the cat told her it was her mother. Another of her children testified that he, and still another, a brother, were witches, and had been present, in spectre, at Witch-sacraments, telling who were there, and where they procured their wine. All this the mother had to hear.

Thomas Carrier, her husband, had, a year or two before, been involved in a controversy about the boundaries of his lands, in which hard words had passed. The energy of character, so strikingly displayed by his wife, at her Examination,



rendered her liable to incur animosities, in the course of a neighborhood feud. The whole force of angry superstition had been arrayed against her; and she became the object of scandal, in the form it then was made to assume, the imputation of being a witch. Her Minister, Mr. Dane, in a strong and bold letter, in defence of his parishioners, many of whom had been accused, says: "There was a suspicion of Goodwife Carrier 'among some of us, before she was apprehended, I know." He avers that he had lived above forty years in Andover, and had been much conversant with the people, "at their habitations;" that, hearing that some of his people were inclined to indulge in superstitious stories, and give heed to tales of the kind, he preached a Sermon against all such things; and that, since that time, he knew of no person that countenanced practices of the kind; concluding his statement in these words: "So far as I had the understanding of 'any thing amongst us, do declare, that I believe the reports have been scandalous and unjust, neither will bear the light."

Atrocious as were the outrages connected with the prosecutions, in 1692, none, it appears to me, equalled those committed in the case of Martha Carrier. The Magistrates who sat and listened, with wondering awe, to such evidence from a little child against her mother, in the presence of that mother, must have been bereft, by the baleful superstitions of the hour, of all natural sensibility. They countenanced a violation of reason, common sense, and the instincts of humanity, too horrible to be thought of.

The unhappy mother felt it in the deep recesses of her strong nature. That trait, in the female and maternal heart, which, when developed, assumes a heroic aspect, was brought out in terrific power. She looked to the Magistrates, after the accusing girls had charged her with having "killed thirteen at Andover," with a stern bravery to which those dignitaries had not been accustomed, and rebuked them: "It is a shameful 'thing, that you should mind those folks that 'are out of their wits;" and then, turning to the accusers, said, "You lie, and I am wronged." This woman, like all the rest, met her fate with a demeanor that left no room for malice to utter a word of disparagement, protesting her innocence. Mather witnessed her execution; and in a memorandum to the report, written in the professed character of an historian, having great compassion for "surviving relatives," calls her a "rampant hag."

Bringing young children to swear away the life of their mother, was probably felt by the Judges to be too great a shock upon natural sensibilities to be risked again, and they were not produced at the trial; but Mather, notwithstanding, had no reluctance to publish the substance of their

testimony, as what they would have sworn to if called upon; and says they were not put upon the stand, because there was evidence "enough" without them.

Such were the reports of those of the trials, which had then taken place, selected by Mather to be put into the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, and thus to be "boxed about,"—to adopt the Reviewer's interpretation—to strike down the "Spectre of Sadduceism," that is, to extirpate and bring to an end all doubts about witchcraft and all attempts to stop the prosecutions.

This book was written while the proceedings at Salem were at their height, during the very month in which sixteen persons had been sentenced to death and eight executed, evidently, from its whole tenor, and as the Reviewer admits, for the purpose of silencing objectors and doubters, Sadducees and Witch-advocates, before the meeting of the Court, by adjournment, in the first week of November, to continue—as the Ministers, in their *Advice*, expressed it—their "sedulous and assiduous endeavours to defeat the abominable 'witchcrafts which have been committed in the 'country."

Little did those concerned, in keeping up the delusion and prolonging the scenes in the Salem Court-house and on Witch-hill, dream that the curtain was so soon to fall upon the horrid tragedy and confound him who combined, in his own person, the functions of Governor, Commander-in-chief, President of the Council, Legislative leader of the General Court, and Chief-justice of the Special Court, and all his aiders and abettors, lay and clerical.

## XII.

"WONDERS OF THE INVISIBLE WORLD"—CONTINUED. PASSAGES FROM THE "CASES OF CON-  
"SCIENCE." INCREASE MATHER.

In addition to the reports of the trials of the five "Malefactors," as Mather calls them, the *Wonders of the Invisible World* contains much matter that helps us to ascertain the real opinions, at the time, of its author, to which justice to him, and to all, requires me to ask attention. The passages, to be quoted, will occupy some room; but they will repay the reading, in the light they shed upon the manner in which such subjects were treated in the most accredited literature, and infused into the public mind, at that day. The style of Cotton Mather, while open to the criticisms generally made, is lively and attractive; and, for its ingenuity of expression and frequent felicity of illustration, often quite refreshing.

The work was written under a sense of the necessity of maintaining the position into which the Government of the Province had been led, by

so suddenly and rashly organizing the Special Court and putting it upon its bloody work, at Salem; and this could only be done by renewing and fortifying the popular conviction, that such proceedings were necessary, and ought to be vigorously prosecuted, and all Sadduceism, or opposition to them, put down. It was especially necessary to reconcile, or obscure into indistinctness, certain conflicting theories that had more or less currency. "I do not believe," says Mather, "that the progress of Witchcraft among us, is all the plot which the Devil is managing in the Witchcraft now upon us. It is judged that the Devil raised the storm, whereof we read in the eighth Chapter of Matthew, on purpose to overset the little vessel wherein the disciples of our Lord were embarked with him. And it may be feared that, in the Horrible Tempest which is now upon ourselves, the design of the Devil is to sink that happy Settlement of Government, wherewith Almighty God has graciously inclined their Majesties to favor us."—*Wonders*, p. 10.

He then proceeds to compliment Sir William Phips, alluding to his "continually venturing his all," that is, in looking after affairs and fighting Indians in the eastern parts; to applaud Stoughton as "admirably accomplished" for his place; and continues as follows: "Our Counsellors are some of our most eminent persons, and as loyal to the Crown, as hearty lovers of their country. Our Constitution also is attended with singular privileges. All which things are by the Devil exceedingly envied unto us. And the Devil will doubtless take this occasion for the raising of such complaints and clamors, as may be of pernicious consequence unto some part of our present Settlement, if he can so far impose. But that, which most of all threatens us, in our present circumstances, is the misunderstandings, and so, the animosities, whereinto the Witchcraft, now raging, has enchanted us. The embroiling, first, of our Spirits, and then, of our affairs." "I am sure, we shall be worse than brutes, if we fly upon one another, at a time when the floods of Belial are upon us." "The Devil has made us like a troubled sea, and the mire and mud begins now also to heave up apace. Even good and wise men suffer themselves to fall into their paroxysms, and the shake which the Devil is now giving us, fetches up the dirt which before lay still at the bottom of our sinful hearts. If we allow the mad dogs of Hell to poison us by biting us, we shall imagine that we see nothing but such things about us, and like such things, fly upon all that we see."

After deprecating the animosities and clamors that were threatening to drive himself and his friends from power, he makes a strenuous appeal

to persevere in the witchcraft prosecutions.

"We are to unite in our endeavors to deliver our distressed neighbors from the horrible annoyances and molestations wherewith a dreadful witchcraft is now persecuting of them. To have an hand in any thing that may stifle or obstruct a regular detection of that witchcraft, is what we may well with an holy fear avoid. Their Majesties good subjects must not every day be torn to pieces by horrid witches, and those bloody felons be left wholly unprotected. The witchcraft is a business that will not be shammed, without plunging us into sore plagues, and of long continuance. But then we are to unite in such methods for this deliverance, as may be unquestionably safe, lest the latter end be worse than the beginning. And here, what shall I say? I will venture to say thus much. That we are safe, when we make just as much use of all advice from the invisible world, as God sends it for. It is a safe principle, that when God Almighty permits any spirits, from the unseen regions, to visit us with surprising informations, there is then something to be enquired after; we are then to enquire of one another, what cause there is for such things? The peculiar government of God, over the unbodied Intelligences, is a sufficient foundation for this principle. When there has been a murder committed, an apparition of the slain party accusing of any man, although such apparitions have oftener spoke true than false, is not enough to convict the man as guilty of that murder; but yet it is a sufficient occasion for Magistrates to make a particular enquiry whether such a man have afforded any ground for such an accusation."—*Page 13*.

He goes on to apply this principle to the spectres of accused persons, seen by the "afflicted," as constituting sufficient ground to institute proceedings against the persons thus accused. After modifying, apparently, this position, although in language so obscure as to leave his meaning quite uncertain, he says: "I was going to make one venture more; that is, to offer some safe rules, for the finding out of the witches, which are to this day our accursed troublers: but this were a venture too presumptuous and Icarian for me to make. I leave that unto those Excellent and Judicious persons with whom I am not worthy to be numbered: All that I shall do, shall be to lay before my readers, a brief synopsis of what has been written on that subject, by a Triumvirate of as eminent persons as have ever handled it."—*Page 14*.

From neither of them, Perkins, Gaule and Bernard, as he cites them, can specific authority be obtained for the admission of spectral testimony, as offered by accusing witnesses, not themselves confessing witches. The third Rule, attrib-



ated to Perkins, and the fifth of Bernard, apply to persons confessing the crime of witchcraft, and, after confession, giving evidence affecting another person—the former considering such evidence “not sufficient for condemnation, but a “fit presumption to cause a strait examination;” the latter treating it as sufficient to convict a fellow-witch, that is, another person also accused of being in “league with the Devil.” Bernard specifies, as the kind of evidence, sufficient for conviction, such witnesses might give: “If they “can make good the truth of their witness and “give sufficient proof of it; as that they have “seen them with their Spirits, or that they have “received Spirits from them, or that they can tell “when they used witchery-tricks to do harm, or “that they told them what harm they had done, “or that they can show the mark upon them, or “that they have been together in their meetings, or “such like.”

Mather remarks, in connection with his synopsis of these Rules: “They are considerable things, “which I have thus related.” Those I have particularly noticed were enough to let in a large part of the evidence given at the Salem trials—in many respects, the most effective and formidable part—striking the Jury and Court, as well as the people, with an “awe,” which rendered no other evidence necessary to overwhelm the mind and secure conviction. The Prisoners themselves were amazed and astounded by it. Mr. Hale, in his account of the proceedings, says: “When “George Burroughs was tried, seven or eight of “the confessors, severally called, said, they knew “the said Burroughs; and saw him at a Witch- “meeting at the Village; and heard him exhort “the company to pull down the Kingdom of “God and set up the Kingdom of the Devil. “He denied all, yet said he justified the Judges “and Jury in condemning him; because there “were so many positive witnesses against him; “but said he died by false witnesses.” Mr. Hale proceeds to mention this fact: “I seriously spake “to one that witnessed (of his exhorting at the “Witch-meeting at the Village) saying to her; “‘You are one that bring this man to death: if “‘you have charged any thing upon him that is “‘not true, recall it before it be too late, while he “‘is alive.’ She answered me, she had nothing to “charge herself with, upon that account.”

Mather omits this circumstance in copying Mr. Hale's narrative. It has always been a mystery, what led the “accusing girls” to cry out, as they afterwards did, against Mr. Hale's wife. Perhaps this expostulation with one of their witnesses, awakened their suspicions. They always struck at every one who appeared to be wavering, or in the least disposed to question the correctness of what was going on. The statement of Mr. Hale shows how effectual and destructive

the evidence, authorized by Bernard's book, was; and it also proves how unjust, to the Judges and Magistrates, is the charge made upon them by the Reviewer, that they disregarded and violated the advice of the Ministers. In admitting a species of evidence, wholly spectral, which was fatal, more than any other, to the Prisoners, they followed a rule laid down by the very authors whose “directions” the Ministers, in their *Advice*, written by “Mr. Mather the younger,” enjoined upon them to follow. It is noticable, by the way, that, in that document, they left Gaule out of the “triumvirate;” Mather finding nothing in his book to justify the admission of spectral testimony.

He urges the force of the evidence, from confessions, with all possible earnestness.

“One would think all the rules of understanding human affairs are at an end, if after “so many most voluntary harmonious confessions, made by intelligent persons, of all ages, “in sundry towns, at several times, we must not “believe the main strokes, wherein those confessions all agree.”—Page 8.

He continues to press the point thus: “If “the Devils now can strike the minds of men “with any poisons of so fine a composition and “operation, that scores of innocent people shall “unite, in confessions of a crime, which we see “actually committed, it is a thing prodigious, “beyond the wonders of the former ages; and it “threatens no less than a sort of a dissolution “upon the world. Now, by these confessions, “it is agreed, that the Devil has made a dreadful “knot of witches in the country, and by the “help of witches has dreadfully increased that “knot; that these witches have driven a trade of “commissioning their confederate spirits, to do “all sorts of mischiefs to the neighbors, where- “upon there have ensued such mischievous consequences upon the bodies and estates of the “neighborhood, as could not otherwise be accounted for; yea, that at prodigious Witch- “meetings the wretches have proceeded so far “as to concert and consult the methods of rooting out the Christian religion from this country, and setting up, instead of it, perhaps a more “gross Diabolism, than ever the world saw before. And yet it will be a thing little short of “miracle, if, in so spread a business as this, the “Devil should not get in some of his juggles, to “confound the discovery of all the rest.”

In the last sentence of the foregoing passage, we see an idea, which Mather expressed in several instances. It amounts to this. Suppose the Devil does “sometimes” make use of the spectre of an innocent person—he does it for the purpose of destroying our faith in that kind of evidence, and leading us to throw it all out, thereby “confounding the discovery” of those cases in

which, as ordinarily, he makes use of the spectres of his guilty confederates, and, in effect, sheltering "all the rest," that is, the whole body of those who are the willing and covenanted subjects of his diabolical kingdom, from detection. He says: "The witches have not only intimated, but some of them acknowledged, that they have plotted the representations of innocent persons to cover and shelter themselves in their witchcrafts."

He further suggests—for no other purpose, it would seem, than to reconcile us to the use of such evidence, even though it may, in "rare and extraordinary" instances, bear against innocent persons, scarcely, however, to be apprehended, "when matters come before civil judicature"—that it may be the divine will, that, occasionally, an innocent person *may be cut off*: "Who of us can exactly state how far our God may, for our chastisement, permit the Devil to proceed in such an abuse?" He then alludes to the meeting of Ministers, under his father's auspices, at Cambridge, on the first of August; quotes with approval, the result of the "Discourse," then held; and immediately proceeds: "It is rare and extraordinary, for an honest Naboth to have his life itself sworn away by two children of Belial, and yet no infringement hereby made on the Rectoral Righteousness of our eternal Sovereign, whose judgments are a great deep, and who gives none account of his matters."—Page 9.

The amount of all this is, that it is so rare and extraordinary for the Devil to assume the spectral shape of an innocent person, that it is best, "when," as his expression is, in another place, "the public safety makes an exigency," to receive and act upon such evidence, even if it should lead to the conviction of an innocent person—a thing so seldom liable to occur, and, indeed, barely possible. The procedure would be but carrying out the divine "permission," and a fulfilment of "the Rectoral Righteousness" of Him, whose councils are a great deep, not to be accounted for to, or by, us.

In summing up what the witches had been doing at Salem Village, during the preceding Summer, Mather says: "The Devil, exhibiting himself ordinarily as a small black man, has decoyed a fearful knot of proud, froward, ignorant, envious and malicious creatures to list themselves in his horrid service, by entering their names in a book, by him tendered unto them." "That they, each of them, have their spectres or Devils, commissioned by them, and representing them, to be the engines of their malice." He enumerates, as facts, all the statements of the "afflicted" witnesses and confessing witches, as to the horrible and monstrous things perpetrated by the spectres of the accused

parties; and he applauds the Court, testifying to the successful and beneficial issue of its proceedings. "Our honorable Judges have used, as Judges have heretofore done, the spectral evidence, to introduce their further enquiries into the lives of the persons accused; and they have, thereupon, by the wonderful Providence of God, been so strengthened with other evidences, that some of the Witch-gang have been fairly executed."—Pages 41, 42.

The language of Cotton Mather, as applied to those who had suffered, as witches, "a fearful knot of proud, froward, ignorant, envious and malicious creatures—a Witch-gang,"—is rather hard, as coming from a Minister who, as the Reviewer asserts, had officiated in their death scenes, witnessed their devout and Christian expressions and deportment, and been their comforter, consoler, counsellor and friend.

The dissatisfaction that pervaded the public mind, about the time of the last executions at Salem, which Phips describes, was so serious, that both the Mathers were called in to allay it. The father also, at the request of the Ministers, wrote a book, entitled, *Cases of Conscience, concerning Evil Spirits, personating men, Witchcrafts, &c.*, the general drift of which is against spectral evidence. He says: "Spectres are Devils, in the shape of persons, either living or dead." Speaking of bewitched persons, he says: "What they affirm, concerning others, is not to be taken for evidence. Whence had they this supernatural sight? It must needs be either from Heaven or from Hell. If from Heaven (as Elisha's servant and Balaam's ass could discern Angels) let their testimony be received. But if they had this knowledge from Hell, though there may possibly be truth in what they affirm, they are not legal witnesses: for the Law of God allows of no revelation from any other Spirit but himself. *Isa. viii. 19.* It is a sin against God, to make use of the Devil's help to know that which cannot be otherwise known; and I testify against it, as a great transgression, which may justly provoke the Holy One of Israel, to let loose Devils on the whole land. *Luke, iv. 38.*"

After referring to a couple of writers on the subject, the very next sentence is this: "Although the Devil's accusations may be so far regarded as to cause an enquiry into the truth of things, *Job, i. 11, 12,* and *ii. 5, 6;* yet not so as to be an evidence or ground of conviction."

It appears, therefore, that Increase Mather, while writing with much force and apparent vehemence against spectral evidence, still in reality countenanced its introduction, as a basis of "enquiry into the truth of things," preliminary to other evidence. This was, after all, to use the



form of thought of these writers, letting the Devil into the case; and that was enough, from the nature of things, in the then state of wild superstition and the blind delusions of the popular mind, to give to spectral evidence the controlling sway it had in the Salem trials, and would necessarily have, every where, when introduced at all.

In a Postscript to *Cases of Conscience*, Increase Mather says that he hears that "some have taken "up a notion," that there was something contradictory between his views and those of his son, set forth in the *Wonders of the Invisible World*. "Tis strange that such imaginations "should enter into the minds of men." He goes on to say he had read and approved of his son's book, before it was printed; and falls back, as both of them always did, when pressed, upon the *Advice of the Ministers*, of the fifteenth of June, in which, he says, they concurred.

There can be no manner of doubt that the "strange" opinion did prevail, at the time, and has ever since, that the father and son did entertain very different sentiments about the Salem proceedings. The precise form of that difference is not easily ascertained. The feelings, so natural and proper, on both sides, belonging to the relation they sustained to each other, led them to preserve an appearance of harmony, especially in whatever was committed to the press. Then, again, the views they each entertained were in themselves so inconsistent, that it was not difficult to persuade themselves that they were substantially similar. There was much in the father, for the son to revere: there was much in the son, for the father to admire. Besides, the habitual style in which they and the Ministers of that day indulged, of saying and unsaying, on the same page—putting a proposition and then linking to it a countervailing one—covered their tracks to each other and to themselves. This is their apology; and none of them needs it more than Cotton Mather. He was singularly blind to logical sequence. With wonderful power over language, he often seems not to appreciate the import of what he is saying; and to this defect, it is agreeable to think, much, if not all, that has the aspect of a want of fairness and even truthfulness, in his writings, may be attributed.

As associate Ministers of the same congregation, it was desirable for the Mathers to avoid being drawn into a conflicting attitude, on any matter of importance. Drake, however, in his *History of Boston*, (p. 545.) says that there was supposed, at the formation of the New North Church, in that place, in 1712, to have been a jealousy between them. There were, indeed, many points of dissimilarity, as well as of similarity, in their culture, experience, manners, and ways; and men conversant with them, at the time, may have

noticed a difference in their judgments and expressions, relating to the witchcraft affair, of which no knowledge has come to us, except the fact, that it was so understood at the time.

Cotton Mather brought all his ability to bear in preparing the *Wonders of the Invisible World*. It is marked throughout by his peculiar genius, and constructed with great ingenuity and elaboration; but it was "water spilt on the ground." So far as the end, for which it was designed, is regarded, it died before it saw the light.

### XIII.

THE COURT OF OYER AND TERMINER BROUGHT TO A SUDDEN END. SIR WILLIAM PHIPS.

When Sir William Phips went to the eastward, it was expected that his absence would be prolonged to the twelfth of October. We cannot tell exactly when he returned; probably some days before the twelfth. Writing on the fourteenth, he says, that before any application was made to him for the purpose, he had put a stop to the proceedings of the Court. He probably signified, informally, to the Judges, that they must not meet on the day to which they had adjourned. Brattle, writing on the eighth, had not heard any thing of the kind. But the Rev. Samuel Torrey of Weymouth, who was in full sympathy with the prosecutors, had heard of it on the seventh, as appears by this entry in Sewall's Diary: "Oct. 7<sup>th</sup>, 1692. Mr. Torrey seems to be "of opinion, that the Court of Oyer and Terminer should go on, regulating any thing that may "have been amiss, when certainly found to be so."

Sewall and Stoughton were among the principal friends of Torrey; and he, probably, had learned from them, Phips's avowed purpose to stop the proceedings of the Court, in the witchcraft matter. The Court, however, was allowed to sit, in other cases, as it held a trial in Boston, on the tenth, in a capital case of the ordinary kind. The purpose of the Governor gradually became known. Danforth, in a conversation with Sewall, at Cambridge, on the fifteenth, expressed the opinion that the witchcraft trials ought not to proceed any further.

It is not unlikely that Phips, while at the eastward, had received some communication that hastened his return. He describes the condition of things, as he found it. We know that the lives of twenty people had been taken away, one of them a Minister of the Gospel. Two Ministers had been accused, one of them the Pastor of the Old South Church; the name of the other is not known. A hundred were in prison; about two hundred more were under accusation, including some men of great estates in Boston, the mother-in-law of one of the Judges, Corwin, and a member of the family of Increase Mather, although, as

he says, in no way related to him. A Magistrate, who was a member of the House of Assembly, had fled for his life; and Phips's trusted naval commander, a man of high standing in the Church and in society, as well as in the service, after having been committed to Jail, had escaped to parts unknown. More than all, the Governor's wife had been cried out upon. We can easily imagine his state of mind. Sir William Phips was noted for the sudden violence of his temper. Mather says that he sometimes "showed choler enough." Hutchinson says that "he was of a benevolent, friendly disposition; at the same time quick and passionate;" and, in illustration of the latter qualities, he relates that he got into a fisticuff fight with the Collector of the Port, on the wharf, handling him severely; and that, having high words, in the street, with a Captain of the Royal Navy, "the Governor made use of his cane and broke Short's head." When his Lady told her story to him, and pictured the whole scene of the "strange ferment" in the domestic and social circles of Boston and throughout the country, it was well for the Chief-justice, the Judges, and perhaps his own Ministers, that they were not within the reach of those "blows," with which, as Mather informs us, in the *Life of Phips*, the rough sailor was wont, when the gusts of passion were prevailing, to "chastise incivilities," without reference to time or place, rank or station.

But, as was his wont, the storm of wrath soon subsided; his purpose, however, under the circumstances, as brave as it was wise and just, was, as the result showed, unalterable. He communicated to the Judges, personally, that they must sit no more, at Salem or elsewhere, to try cases of witchcraft; and that no more arrests must be made, on that charge.

Mather's book, all ready as it was for the press, thus became labor thrown away. It was not only rendered useless for the purpose designed, but a most serious difficulty obstructed its publication. Phips forbade the "printing of any discourses, one way or another;" and the *Wonders* had incorporated in it some Sermons, impregnated, through and through, with combustible matter, in Phips's view, likely to kindle an inextinguishable flame.

All that could be done was to keep still, in the hope that he would become more malleable. In the meanwhile, public business called him away, perhaps to Rhode Island or Connecticut, from the eighteenth to the twenty-seventh of October. In his absence, whether in consequence of movements he had put in train, or solely from what had become known of his views, the circumstance occurred which is thus related in Sewall's Diary—the Legislature was then in Session: "Oct. 26, 1692. A Bill is sent in about calling a Fast and

"Convocation of Ministers, that may be led in the right way, as to the Witchcrafts. The season, and manner of doing it, is such, that the Court of Oyer and Terminer count themselves thereby dismissed. 29 nos & 33 yeas to the Bill. "Capt. Bradstreet, and Lieut. True, Wm. Hutchins, and several other interested persons, in the affirmative."

The course of Nathaniel Saltonstall, of Haverhill, and the action in the Legislature of the persons here named, entitle the Merrimac towns of Essex-county to the credit of having made the first public and effectual resistance to the fanaticism and persecutions of 1692.

The passage of this Bill, in the House of Representatives, shows how the public mind had been changed, since the June Session. Dudley Bradstreet was a Magistrate and member from Andover, son of the old Governor, and, with his wife, had found safety from prosecution by flight; Henry True, a member from Salisbury, was son-in-law of Mary Bradbury, who had been condemned to death; Samuel Hutchins, (inadvertently called "Wm.," by Sewall) was a member from Haverhill, and connected by marriage with a family, three of whom were tried for their lives. Sewall says there were "several other" members of the House, interested in like manner. This shows into what high circles the accusers had struck.

It appears, by the same Diary, that on the twenty-seventh, Cotton Mather preached the Thursday Lecture, from *James i. 4*. The day of trial was then upon him and his fellow-actors; and patience was inculcated as the duty of the hour.

The Diary relates that at a meeting of the Council, on the twenty-eighth, in the afternoon, Sewall, "desired to have the advice of the Governor and Council, as to the sitting of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, next week; said, should move it no more; great silence prevailed, as if "should say, Do not go."

The entry does not state whether Phips was present; as, however, the time fixed for his recent brief absence had expired, probably he was in his seat. The following mislap, described by Sewall, as occurring that day, perhaps detained the Deputy-governor: "Oct. 28. Lt. Gov., coming over the causey, is, by reason of the high tide, so wet, that is fain to go to bed, till sends "for dry clothes to Dorchester."

The "great silence" was significant of the embarrassment in which they were placed, and their awe of the "choler" of the Governor.

The Diary gives the following account of the Session the next day, at which, (as Sewall informs us,) the Lieutenant-governor was not present: "Oct. 29. Mr. Russel asked, whether the Court of Oyer and Terminer should sit, expressing "some fear of inconvenience by its fall. Governor said, it must fall."



Thus died the Court of Oyer and Terminer. Its friends cherished, to the last, the hope that Sir William might be placated, and possibly again brought under control; but it vanished, when the emphatic and resolute words, reported by Sewall, were uttered.

The firmness and force of character of the Governor are worthy of all praise. Indeed, the illiterate and impulsive sailor has placed himself, in history, far in front of all the honored Judges and learned Divines, of his day. Not one of them penetrated the whole matter as he did, when his attention was fully turned to it, and his feelings enlisted, to decide, courageously and righteously, the question before him. He saw that no life was safe while the evidence of the "afflicted persons" was received, "either to the committing or trying" of any persons. He thus broke through the meshes which had bound Judges and Ministers, the writers of books and the makers of laws; and swept the whole fabric of "spectral testimony" away, whether as matter of "enquiry" and "presumption," or of "conviction." The ship-carpenter of the Kennebec laid the axe to the root of the tree.

The following extract from a letter of Sir William Phips, just put into my hands, and for which I am indebted to Mr. Goodell, substantiates the conclusions to which I have been led.

"Governor Phips to the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, 3 April, 1693.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS :

"I have intreated Mr. Blathwayte to lay before your Lordships several letters, wherein I have given a particular account of my stopping a supposed witchcraft, which had proved fatal to many of their Maj<sup>ties</sup> good subjects, had there not been a speedy end putt thereto; for a stop putt to the proceedings against such as were accused, hath caused the thing itself to cease."

This shows that, addressing officially his Home Government, he assumed the responsibility of having "stopped and put a speedy end to the proceedings;" that he had no great faith in the doctrines then received touching the reality of witchcraft; and that he was fully convinced that, if he had allowed the trials to go on, and the inflammation of the public mind to be kept up by "discourses," the bloody tragedy would have been prolonged, and "proved fatal to many good" people.

There are two men—neither of them belonging to the class of scholars or Divines; both of them guided by common sense, good feeling, and a courageous and resolute spirit—who stand alone, in the scenes of the witchcraft delusions. NATHANIEL SALTONSTALL, who left the Council and the Court, the day the Ministers' *Advice*, to go on

with the prosecutions, was received, and never appeared again until that *Advice* was abandoned and repudiated: and Sir WILLIAM PHIPS, who stamped it out beneath his feet.

But how with Cotton Mather's Book, the *Wonders of the Invisible World*? On the eleventh of October, Stoughton and Sewall signed a paper, printed in the book, [p. 88.] endorsing its contents, especially as to "matters of fact and evidence" and the "methods of conviction used in the proceedings of the Court at Salem." The certificate repeats the form of words, so often used in connection with the book, that it was written "at the direction of His Excellency the Governor," without, as in all cases, specifying who, whether Phips or Stoughton, was the Governor referred to. As all the Judges were near at hand, and as the certificate related to the proceedings before them, is quite observable that only the two mentioned signed it. As they were present, in the private conference, with Cotton Mather, at the house of one of them, on the twenty-second of September, when its preparation for publication was finally arranged, they could not well avoid signing it. The times were critical; and the rest of the Judges, knowing the Governor's feelings, thought best not to appear. Of the three other persons, at that conference, Hathorne, it is true, was a Judge of that Court, but it is doubtful whether he often, or ever, took his seat as such; besides, he was too experienced and cautious a public man, unnecessarily to put his hand to such a paper, when it was known, as it was probably to him, that Sir William Phips had forbidden publications of the kind.

There is another curious document in the *Wonders*—a letter from Stoughton to Mather, highly applauding the book, in which he acknowledges his particular obligations to him for writing it, as "more nearly and highly concerned" than others, considering his place in the Court, expressing in detail his sense of the great value of the work, "at this juncture of time," and concluding thus: "I do therefore make it my particular and earnest Request unto you, that, as soon as may be, you will commit the same unto the press, accordingly." It is signed, without any official title of distinction, simply "WILLIAM STOUGHTON," and is *without date*.

It is singular, if Phips was the person who requested it to be written and was the "Excellency" who authorized its publication, that it was left to William Stoughton to "request" its being put to press.

The foregoing examination of dates and facts seems, almost, to compel the conclusion, to be drawn also from his letter, that Sir William Phips really had nothing whatever to do with procuring the preparation or sanctioning the publication of the *Wonders of the Invisible World*.

The same is true as to the request to the Ministers, for their *Advice*, dated the fifteenth of June. It was "laid before the Judges;" and was, undoubtedly, a response to an application from them. Having, very improperly, it must be confessed, given the whole matter of the trials over to Stoughton, and being engrossed in other affairs, it is quite likely that he knew but little of what had been going on, until his return from the eastward, in October. And his frequent and long absences, leaving Stoughton, so much of the time, with all the functions and titles of Governor devolved upon him, led to speaking of the latter as "His Excellency." When bearing this title and acting as Governor, for the time being, the Chief-justice, with the side Judges—all of them members of the Council, and in number meeting the requirement in the Charter for a quorum, seven—may have been considered, as substantially, "The Governor and Council."

Thinking it more than probable that, in this way, great wrong has been done to the memory of an honest and noble-hearted man, I have endeavored to set things in their true light. The perplexities, party entanglements, personal collisions, and engrossing cares that absorbed the attention of Sir William Phips, during the brief remainder of his life, and the little interest he felt in such things, prevented his noticing the false position in which he had been placed by the undistinguishing use of titular phrases.

Judge Sewall's Diary contains an entry that, also, sheds light upon the position of the Mathers. It will be borne in mind, that Elisha Cook was the colleague of Increase Mather, as Colonial Agents in London. Cook refused assent to the new Charter, and became the leader of the anti-Mather party. He was considered an opponent of the witchcraft prosecutions, although out of the country at the time. "TUESDAY, NOV. 15. 1692. Mr Cook keeps a Day of Thanksgiving for his safe arrival." \* \* \* [*Many mentioned as there, among them Mr. Willard.*] "Mr. Allen preached from Jacob's going to Beth-el, \* \* \* Mr. Mather not there, nor Mr. Cotton Mather. The good Lord unite us in his fear, and remove our animosities."

The manner in which Sewall distinguished the two Mathers confirms the views presented on pages 165, 166.

It may be remarked, that, up to this time, Sewall seems to have been in full sympathy with Stoughton and Mather. He was, however, beginning to indulge in conversations that indicate a desire to feel the ground he was treading. After a while, he became thoroughly convinced of his error; and there are scattered, in the margins of his Diary, expressions of much sensibility at the extent to which he had been misled. Over against an entry, giving an account of his pres-

ence at an Examination before Magistrates, of whom he was one, on the eleventh of April, 1692, at Salem, is the interjection, thrice repeated, "*Vae, Vae, Vae.*" At the opening of the year 1692, he inserted, at a subsequent period, this passage: "*Attonitus tamen est, ingens discrim-  
"ine parvo committi potuisse Nefas."*"\*

## XIV.

COTTON MATHER'S WRITINGS SUBSEQUENT TO THE  
WITCHCRAFT PROSECUTIONS.

I propose, now, to enquire into the position Cotton Mather occupied, and the views he expressed, touching the matter, after the witchcraft prosecutions had ceased and the delusion been dispelled from the minds of other men.

During the Winter of 1692 and 1693, between one and two hundred prisoners, including confessing witches, remained in Jail, at Salem, Ipswich, and other places. A considerable number were in the Boston Jail. It seems, from the letter to Secretary Allyn of Connecticut, that, during that time, the Mathers were in communication with them, and receiving from them the names of persons whose spectres, they declared, they had seen and suffered from, as employed in the Devil's work: After all that had happened, and the order of Sir William Phips, forbidding attempts to renew the excitement, it is wonderful that the Mathers should continue such practices. In the latter part of the Summer of 1693, they were both concerned in the affair of Margaret Rule; and Cotton Mather prepared, and put into circulation, an elaborate account of it, some extracts from which have been presented, and which will be further noticed, in another connection.

His next work, in the order of time, which I shall consider, is his *Life of Sir William Phips*, printed in London, in 1697, and afterwards included in the *Magnalia*, also published in London, a few years afterwards, constituting the last part of the Second Book. *The Life of Phips* is, perhaps, the most elaborate and finished of all Mather's productions; and "adorned," as his uncle Nathaniel Mather says, in a commendatory note, "with a very grateful variety of learning." In it, Sir William, who had died, at London, three years before, is painted in glowing colors, as one of the greatest of conquerors and rulers, "dropped, as it were, from the Machine of Heaven;" "for his exterior, he was one tall, beyond the common lot of men; and thick, as well as tall,

\* For the privilege of inspecting and using Judge Sewall's Diary I am indebted to the kindness of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and I would also express my thanks, for similar favors and civilities, to the officers in charge of the Records and Archives in the Massachusetts State House, the Librarian of Harvard University the Essex Institute, and many individuals, not mentioned in the text, especially those devoted collectors and lovers of our old New England literature, Samuel G. Drake and John K. Wiggin.



"and strong as well as thick. He was, in all respects, exceedingly robust, and able to conquer such difficulties of diet and of travel, as would have killed most men alive;" "he was well set, and he was therewithall of a very comely, though a very manly, countenance." He is described as of "a most incomparable generosity," "of a forgiving spirit." His faults are tenderly touched; "upon certain affronts, he has made sudden returns, that have shewed choler enough;" and he has, by blow, as well as by word, chastised incivilities."

It is remarkable that Mather should have laid himself out, to such an extent of preparation and to such heights of eulogy, as this work exhibits. It is dedicated to the Earl of Bellamont, just about to come over, as Phips's successor. Mather held in his hand a talisman of favor, influence, and power. In the Elegy which concludes the *Life*, are lines like these:

"Phips, our great friend, our wonder, and our glory,  
"The terror of our foes, the world's rare story,  
"Or but name Phips, more needs not be expressed,  
"Both Englands, and next ages, tell the rest."

The writer of this *Life* had conferred the gift of an immortal name upon one Governor of New England, and might upon another.

But with all this panegyric, he does not seem to have been careful to be just to the memory of his hero. The reader is requested, at this point, to turn back to pages 151, 152, of this article, and examine the paragraph, quoted from the *Life of Phips*, introducing the return of *Advice* from the Ministers. I have shown, in that connection, how deceptive the expression "arriving to his Government is." In reporting the *Advice* of the Ministers, in the *Life of Phips*, Mather omits the paragraphs I have placed within brackets [p. 149, 150]—the *first*, *second* and *eighth*. The omission of these paragraphs renders the document, as given by Mather, an absolute misrepresentation of the transaction, and places Phips in the attitude of having disregarded the advice of the Ministers, in suffering the trials to proceed as they did; throwing upon his memory a load of infamy, outweighing all the florid and extravagant eulogies showered upon him, in the *Life*: verifying and fulfilling the apprehensions he expressed in his letter of the fourteenth of October, 1652: "I know my enemies are seeking to turn it all upon me."

The Reviewer says that "Mr. Mather did not profess to quote the whole *Advice*, but simply made extracts from it." He professed to give what the Ministers "declared." I submit to every honorable mind, whether what Mather printed, omitting the *first*, *second* and *eighth* Sections,

was a fair statement of what the Ministers "declared."

The paragraphs he selected, appear, on their face, to urge caution and even delay, in the proceedings. They leave this impression on the general reader, and have been so regarded from that day to this. The artifice, by which the responsibility for what followed was shifted, from the Ministers, upon Phips and the Court, has, in a great measure, succeeded. I trust that I have shown that the clauses and words that seem to indicate caution, had very little force, in that direction; but that, when the disguising veil of an artful phraseology is removed, they give substantial countenance to the proceedings of the Court, throughout.

I desire, at this point, to ask the further attention of the reader to Mather's manner of referring to the *Advice of the Ministers*. In his *Wonders*, he quotes the *eighth* and *second* Articles of it (*Pages 12, 55*), in one instance, ascribing the *Advice* to "Reverend persons," "men of God," "gracious men," and, in the other, characterizing it as "gracious words." He also, in the same work, quotes the *sixth* Article, omitting the words *I have placed in brackets, without any indication of an omission*. Writing, in 1692, when the delusion was at its height, and for the purpose of keeping the public mind up to the work of the prosecutions, he gloried chiefly in the *first*, *second*, and *eighth* Articles, and brought them alone forward, in full. The others he passed over, with the exception of the *sixth*, from which he struck out the central sentence—that having the appearance of endorsing the views of those opposed to spectral testimony. But, in 1697, when the *Life of Phips* was written, circumstances had changed. It was apparent, then, to all, even those most unwilling to realize the fact, that the whole transaction of the witchcraft prosecutions in Salem was doomed to perpetual condemnation; and it became expedient to drop out of sight, forever, if possible, the *second* and *eighth* articles, and reproduce the *sixth*, entire.

Considering the unfair view of the import of the *Advice*, in the *Life of Phips*, and embodied in the *Magnalia*—a work, which, with all its defects, inaccuracies, and absurdities, is sure of occupying a conspicuous place in our Colonial literature—I said: "unfortunately for the reputation of Cotton Mather, Hutchinson has pre-served the *Address of the Ministers*, entire." Regarding the document published by Mather in the light of a historical imposture, I expressed satisfaction, that its exposure was provided in a work, sure of circulation and preservation, equally, to say the least, with the *Life of Phips* or the *Magnalia*. The Reviewer, availing himself of the opportunity, hereupon pronounces me igno-

rant of the fact that the "*Advice*, entire," was published by Increase Mather at the end of his *Cases of Conscience*; and, in his usual style—not, I think, usual, in the *North American Review*—speaks thus—it is a specimen of what is strown through the article: "Mr. Upham should have been familiar enough with the original sources of information on the subject, to have found this *Advice* in print, seventy-four years before Hutchinson's *History* appeared."

Of course, neither I, nor any one else, can be imagined to suppose that Hutchinson invented the document. It was pre-existent, and at his hand. It was not to the purpose to say where he found it. I wonder this Reviewer did not tell the public, that I had *never seen, read, or heard of* Calef; for, to adopt his habit of reasoning, if I had been acquainted with that writer, my ignorance would have been enlightened, as Calef would have informed me that "the whole of the Minister's advice and answer is printed in *Cases of Conscience*, the last pages."

That only which finds a place in works worthy to endure, and of standard value, is sure of perpetual preservation. Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts* is a work of this description. Whatever is committed to its custody will stand the test of time. This cannot be expected of that class of tracts or books to which *Cases of Conscience* belongs, copies of which can hardly be found, and not likely to justify a separate republication. It has, indeed, not many years ago, been reprinted in England, in a series of *Old Authors*, tacked on to the *Wonders of the Invisible World*. But few copies have reached this country; and only persons of peculiar, it may almost be said, eccentric, tastes, would care to procure it. It will be impossible to awaken an interest in the general reading public for such works. They are forbidding in their matter, unintelligible in their style, obscure in their import and drift, and pervaded by superstitions and absurdities that have happily passed away, never, it is to be hoped, again to enter the realm of theology, philosophy, or popular belief; and will perish by the hand of time, and sink into oblivion. If this present discussion had not arisen, and the "*Advice*, entire," had not been given by Hutchinson, the *suppressio veri*, perpetrated by Cotton Mather, would, perhaps, have become permanent history.

In reference to the *Advice of the Ministers*, the Reviewer, in one part of his article, seems to complain thus: "Mr. Upham has never seen fit to print this paper:" in other parts, he assails me from the opposite direction, and in a manner too serious, in the character of the assault, to be passed over. In my book, (ii. 267) I thus speak of the *Advice of the Ministers*, referring to it, in a note to p. 367, in similar terms: "The re-

sponse of the reverend gentlemen, while urging in general terms the importance of caution and circumspection in the methods of examination, decidedly and earnestly recommended that the proceedings should be vigorously carried on."

It is a summary, in general and brief terms, in my own language, of the import of the whole document, covering both sets of its articles. Hutchinson condenses it in similar terms, as do Calef and Douglas. I repeat, and beg it to be marked, that I do not quote it, in whole or in part, but only give its import in my own words. I claim the judgment of the reader, whether I do not give the import of the articles Mather printed in the *Life of Phips*—those pretending to urge caution—as fairly as of the articles he omitted, applauding the Court, and encouraging it to go on.

Now, this writer in the *North American Review* represents to the readers of that journal and to the public, that I have quoted the *Advice of the Ministers*, and, in variety of phrase, rings the charge of unfair and false quotation, against me. He uses this language: "If it were such a heinous crime for Cotton Mather, in writing the *Life of Sir William Phips*, to omit three Sections, how will Mr. Upham vindicate his own omissions, when, writing the history of these very transactions, and bringing the gravest charges against the characters of the persons concerned, he leaves out seven Sections?" I quoted no Section, and made no omissions; and it is therefore utterly unjustifiable to say that I left out any thing. I gave the substance of the Sections Cotton Mather left out, in language nearly identical with that used by Hutchinson and all others. In the same way, I gave the substance of the Sections Mather published, in the very sense he always claimed for them. What I said did not bear the form, nor profess the character, of a quotation.

In the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, written in 1692, when the prosecutions were in full blast and Mather was glorying in them, and for the purpose of prolonging them, the only Section he saw fit, in a particular connection, to quote, was the second. He prefaced it thus: "They were some of the Gracious Words inserted in the *Advice*, which many of the neighboring Ministers did this Summer humbly lay before our Honorable Judges." Let it be noted, by the way, that when he thus praised the document, its authorship had not been avowed. Let it further be noted, that it is here let slip that the paper was laid before the Judges, not Phips; showing that it was a response to them, not him. Let it be still further noted, that the Section which he thus cited, in 1692, is one of those, which, when the tide had turned, he left out, in 1697.



The Reviewer, referring to Mather's quotation of the second Section of the *Advice*, in the *Wonders*, says: "he printed it in full, which Mr. Upham has never done;" and following out the strange misrepresentation, he says: "Mr. Upham does not print any part of the eighth Section," "as the Ministers adopted it. He suppresses the essential portions, changes words, and, by interpolation, states that the Ministers 'decidedly,' 'earnestly,' and 'vehemently,' recommended that the 'proceedings' should be vigorously carried on. He who quotes in this manner needs other evidence than that produced by Mr. Upham to entitle him to impeach Mr. Mather's integrity." In another place he says, pursuing the charge of quoting falsely, as to my using the word "proceedings," "the word is not to be found in the *Advice*."

The eighth Section recommends "the speedy and vigorous prosecutions of such as have rendered themselves obnoxious." In a brief reference to the subject, I use the words "speedily and vigorously," marking them as quoted, although their form was changed by the structure of the sentence of my own in which they appear. Beyond this, I have made no quotations, in my book, of the *Advice*—not a Section, nor sentence, nor clause, nor line, is a quotation, nor pretends to be. Without characterising what the Reviewer has done, in charging me with suppression of essential portions, interpolation, and not printing in full, or correctly, what the Ministers or any body else said, my duty is discharged, by showing that there is no truth in the charge—no foundation or apology for it.

The last of the works of Cotton Mather I shall examine, in this scrutiny of his retrospective opinions and position, relating to the witchcraft prosecutions, is the *Magnalia*, printed at London, in 1702. He had become wise enough, at that time, not to commit himself more than he could help.

The Rev. John Hale, of Beverly, died in May, 1700. He had taken an active part in the proceedings at Salem, in 1692, having, as he says, from his youth, been "trained up in the knowledge and belief of most of the principles" upon which the prosecutions were conducted, and had held them "with a kind of implicit faith." Towards the close of the Trials, his views underwent a change; and, after the lapse of five years, he prepared a treatise on the subject. It is a candid, able, learned, and every-way commendable performance, adhering to the general belief in witchcraft, but pointing out the errors in the methods of procedure in the Trials at Salem, showing that the principles there acted upon were fallacious. The book was not printed until 1702. Cotton Mather, having access to Mr. Hale's manuscript, professedly made up from it his account of the witchcraft transactions of

1692, inserted in the *Magnalia*, Book VI. Page 79. He adopts the narrative part of the work, substantially, avoiding much discussion of the topics upon which Mr. Hale had laid himself out. He cites, indeed, some passages from the argumentative part, containing marvellous statements, but does not mention that Mr. Hale labored, throughout, to show that those and other like matters, which had been introduced at the Trials, as proofs of spectral agency, were easily resolvable into the visions and vagaries of a "deluded imagination," "a phantasy in the brain," "phantasma before the eyes."

Mr. Hale limits the definition of a witch to the following: "Who is to be esteemed a capital witch among Christians? viz: Those that being brought up under the means of the knowledge of the true God, yet, being in their right mind or free use of their reason, do knowingly and wittingly depart from the true God, so as to devote themselves unto, and seek for their help from, another God, or the Devil, as did the Devil's Priests and Prophets of old, that were magicians."—Page 127.

As he had refuted, and utterly discarded, the whole system of evidence connected with spectres of the living or ghosts of the dead, the above definition rescued all but openly profane, abandoned, and God-defying people from being prosecuted for witchcraft. Mather transcribes, as a quotation, what seems to be the foregoing definition, but puts it thus: "A person that, having the free use of reason, doth knowingly and willingly seek and obtain of the Devil, or of any other God, besides the true God Jehovah, an ability to do or know strange things, or things which he cannot by his own humane abilities arrive unto. This person is a witch."

The latter part of the definition thus transcribed, has no justification in Hale's language, but is in conflict with the positions in his book. Mather says, "the author spends whole Chapters to prove that there yet is a witch." He omits to state, that he spends twice as many Chapters to prove that the evidence in the Salem cases was not sufficient for that purpose. Upon the whole it can hardly be considered a fair transcript of Mr. Hale's account. He dismisses the subject, once for all, in a curt and almost disrespectful style—"But thus much for this manuscript."

Whoever examines the manner in which he, in this way, gets rid of the subject, in the *Magnalia*, must be convinced, I think, that he felt no satisfaction in Mr. Hale's book, nor in the state of things that made it necessary for him to give the whole matter the go-by. If the public mind had retained its fanatical credulity, or if Mather's own share in the delusion of 1692 had been agreeable in the retrospect, it

cannot be doubted that it would have afforded **THE GREAT THEME**, of his great book. All the strange learning, passionate eloquence, and extravagant painting, of its author, would have been lavished upon it; and we should have had another separate Book, with a Hebrew, Greek, or Latin motto or title, which, interpreted, would read *Most Wonderful of Wonders*. In 1692, his language was: "Witchcraft is a business that will not be shammed." In 1700, it was shoved off upon the memory of Mr. Hale, as a business not safe for him, Mather, to meddle with, any longer. It was dropped, as if it burned his fingers.

## XV.

HISTORY OF OPINION AS TO COTTON MATHER'S CONNECTION WITH SALEM WITCHCRAFT. THOMAS BRATTLE. THE PEOPLE OF SALEM VILLAGE. JOHN HALL. JOHN HIGGINSON. MICHAEL WIGGLESWORTH.

Such passages as the following are found in the article of the *North American Review*: "These views, respecting Mr. Mather's connection with the Salem Trials, are to be found in 'no publication of a date prior to 1831, when 'Mr. Upham's *Lectures* were published.' 'These charges have been repeated by Mr. Quincy, in his *History of Harvard University*, by Mr. Peabody, in his *Life of Cotton Mather*, by Mr. Bancroft, and by nearly all historical writers, 'since that date.' 'An examination of the historical text-books, used in our schools, will 'show when these ideas originated.'"

The position taken by the Reviewer, let it be noticed, is, that the idea of Cotton Mather's taking a leading part in the witchcraft prosecutions of 1692, "*originated*" with me, in a work printed in 1831; and that I have given "the cue" to all subsequent writers on the subject. Now what are the facts?

Cotton Mather himself is a witness that the idea was entertained at the time. In his Diary, after endeavoring to explain away the admitted fact that he was the eulogist and champion of the Judges, while the Trials were pending, he says: "Merely, as far as I can learn, for this reason, the mad people through the country, 'under a fascination on their spirits equal to, 'that which energumens had on their bodies, 'reviled me as if I had been the doer of all the 'hard things that were done in the prosecution of the witchcraft." He repeats the complaint, over and over again, in various forms and different writings. Indeed, it could not have been otherwise, than that such should have been the popular impression and conviction.

He was, at that time, bringing before the people, most conspicuously, the *second* and *eighth* Articles of the *Ministers' Advice*, urging

on the prosecutions. His deportment and harangue at Witch-hill, at the execution of Burroughs and Proctor; his confident and eager endorsement, as related by Sewall, of the sentences of the Court, at the moment when all others were impressed with silent solemnity, by the spectacle of five persons, professing their innocence, just launched into eternity; his efforts to prolong the prosecutions, in preparing the book containing the trials of the "Malefactors" who had suffered; and his zeal, on all occasions, to "vindicate the Court" and applaud the Judges; all conspired in making it the belief of the whole people that he was, preëminently, answerable for the "hard things that were done 'in the prosecutions of the witchcraft.'"

That it was the general opinion, at home and abroad, can be abundantly proved.

It must be borne in mind, as is explained in my book, that a general feeling prevailed, immediately, and for some years, after the witchcraft "judicial murders," that the whole subject was too horrible to be thought of, or ever mentioned; and as nearly the whole community, either by acting in favor of the proceedings or failing to act against them, had become more or less responsible for them, there was an almost universal understanding to avoid crimination or recrimination. Besides, so far as Cotton Mather was concerned, his professional and social position, great talents and learning, and capacity with a disposition for usefulness, joined to the reverence then felt for Ministers, prevented his being assailed even by those who most disapproved his course. Increase Mather was President of the College and head of the Clergy. The prevalent impression that *he* had, to some extent, disapproved of the proceedings, made men unwilling to wound his feelings by severe criticisms upon his son; for, whatever differences might be supposed to exist between them, all well-minded persons respected their natural and honorable sensitiveness to each other's reputation. Reasons like these prevented open demonstrations against both of them. Nevertheless, it is easy to gather sufficient evidence to prove my point.

Thomas Brattle was a Boston merchant of great munificence and eminent talents and attainments. His name is perpetuated by "Brattle-street Church," of which he was the chief founder. Dr. John Eliot, in his *Biographical Dictionary*, speaks of him thus—referring to his letter on the witchcraft of 1692, dated October 8, of that year: "Mr. Brattle wrote an account 'of those transactions, which was too plain and 'just to be published in those unhappy times, 'but has been printed since; and which cannot 'be read without feeling sentiments of esteem 'for a man, who indulged a freedom of thought



"becoming a Christian and philosopher. He, "from the beginning, opposed the prejudices of "the people, the proceedings of the Court, and "the perverse zeal of those Ministers of the Gospel, who, by their preaching and conduct, "caused such real distress to the community. "They, who called him an infidel, were obliged "to acknowledge that his wisdom shone with "uncommon lustre."

His brother, William Brattle, with whom he seems to have been in entire harmony of opinion, on all subjects, was long an honored instructor and Fellow of Harvard College, and Minister of the First Church, at Cambridge. He was celebrated here and in England, for his learning, and endeared to all men by his virtues. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. Jeremiah Dummer, as well qualified to pronounce such an opinion as any man of his time, places him as a preacher above all his contemporaries, in either Old or New England.

The Brattles were both politically opposed to the Mathers. But, as matters then stood, in view of the prevailing infatuation—particularly as the course upon which Phips had determined was not then known—caution and prudence were deemed necessary; and the letter was *confidential*. Indeed, all expressions of criticism, on the conduct of the Government, were required to be so. It is a valuable document, justifying the reputation the writer had established in life and has borne ever since. Condemning the methods pursued in the Salem Trials, he says: after stating that "several men, "for understanding, judgment, and piety, inferior to few, if any, utterly condemn the proceedings" at Salem, "I shall nominate some "of these to you, viz.: the Hon. Simon Bradstreet, Esq., our late Governor; the Hon. "Thomas Danforth, our late Deputy-governor; "the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather; and the Rev. "Mr. Samuel Willard."

Bradstreet was ninety years of age, but in the full possession of his mental faculties. In this sense, "his eye was not dim, nor his natural "force abated." Thirteen years before, when Governor of the Colony, he had refused to order to execution a woman who had been convicted of witchcraft, in a series of trials that had gone through all the Courts, with concurring verdicts, confirmed at an adjudication by the Board of Assistants—as President of which body, it had been his official duty to pass upon her the final sentence of death. Juries, Judges, both branches of the Legislature, and the people, clamored for her execution; but the brave old Governor withstood them all, resolutely and inexorably: an innocent and good woman and the honor of the Colony, at that time, were saved. Mr. Hale informs us that Bradstreet refus-

ed to allow the sentence to take effect, for these reasons: that "a spectre doing mischief in "her likeness, should not be imputed to her "person, as a ground of guilt; and that one "single witness to one fact and another single "witness to another fact" were not to be esteemed "two witnesses in a matter capital." No Executive Magistrate has left a record more honorable to his name, than that of Bradstreet, on this occasion. If his principles had been heeded, not a conviction could have been obtained, in 1692. It was because of his known opposition, that his two sons were cried out upon and had to fly for their lives. That Brattle was justified in naming Danforth, in this connection, the conversation of that person with Sewall, on the fifteenth of October, proves. It is understood, by many indications, that, although, in former years, inclined to the popular delusions of the day, touching witchcraft, Willard was an opponent of the prosecutions; and Brattle must be regarded as having had means of judging of Increase Mather's views and feelings, on the eighth of October.

This singling out of the father, thereby distinguishing him from the son, must, I think, be conclusive evidence, to every man who candidly considers the circumstances of the case and the purport of the document, that Brattle did not consider Cotton Mather entitled to be named in the honored list.

Brattle further says: "Excepting Mr. Hale, "Mr. Noyes, and Mr. Parris, the Rev. Elders, "almost throughout the whole country, are very "much dissatisfied." The word "almost," leaves room for others to be placed in the same category with Hale, Noyes, and Parris. The Reviewer argues that because Cotton Mather is not named at all, in either list, therefore he must be counted in the first!

The father and son were associate Ministers of the same Church; they shared together a great name, fame, and position; both men of the highest note, here and abroad, conspicuous before all eyes, standing, hand in hand, in all the associations and sentiments of the people, united by domestic ties, similar pursuits, and every form of public action and observation—why did Brattle, in so marked a manner, separate them, holding the one up, in an honorable point of view, and passing over the other, not ever mentioning his name, as the Reviewer observes?

If he really disapproved of the prosecutions at Salem—if, as the Reviewer positively states, he "denounced" them—is it not unaccountable that Brattle did not name him with his father?

These questions press with especial force upon the Reviewer, under the interpretation he crowds upon the passage from Brattle, I am now to cite. If that interpretation can be allowed,

it will, in the face of all that has come to us, make Brattle out to have had a most exalted opinion of Cotton Mather, and render it unaccountable indeed that he did not mention him, in honor, as he did his father and Mr. Willard. The passage is this: "I cannot but highly applaud, and think it our duty to be very thankful for, the endeavours of several Elders, whose lips, I think, should preserve knowledge, and whose counsel should, I think, have been more regarded, in a case of this nature, than as yet it has been: in particular, I cannot but think very honorably of the endeavours of a Rev. person in Boston, whose good affections to his country, in general, and spiritual relation to three of the Judges, in particular, has made him very solicitous and industrious in this matter; and I am fully persuaded, that had his notions and proposals been hearkened to and followed, when those troubles were in their birth, in an ordinary way, they would never have grown unto that height which now they have. He has, as yet, met with little but unkindness, abuse, and reproach, from many men; but, I trust, that in after times, his wisdom and service will find a more universal acknowledgment; and if not, his reward is with the Lord."

The learned Editor of the Fifth Volume of the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, First Series, in a note to this passage (p. 76), says: "Supposed to be Mr. Willard." Such has always been the supposition. The Reviewer has undertaken to make it out that Cotton Mather is the person referred to by Brattle. These two men were opposed to each other, in the politics of that period. The course of the Mathers, in connection with the loss of the old, and the establishment of the new, Charter, gave rise to much dissatisfaction; and party divisions were quite acrimonious. The language used by Brattle, applauding the public course of the person of whom he was speaking, would be utterly inexplicable, if applied to Mather. The "endeavours, counsels, notions and proposals," to which he alludes, could not have referred to Mather's plans, which I have attempted to explain, because described by Brattle as being in "an ordinary way." "Unkindness, abuse, and reproach" find an explanation in the fact, that Willard was "cried out upon" and brought into peril of reputation and life, by the creatures of the prosecution. The monstrousness of the supposition that Mather was referred to, would hardly be heightened if it should appear that Brattle supplied Calef with materials in his controversy with Mather.

The language, throughout, is in conformity with the political relations between Brattle and Willard. The side the latter had espoused was

put beyond question by his appearing, on the fifteenth of November, at Eliza Cook's Thanksgiving; and that was the same occupied by Brattle. But the question is settled by the fact that *three of the Judges* belonged to Willard's Congregation and Church, whereas only *one* belonged to the Church of the Mathers. The Reviewer says: "We do not assert that this inference is not the correct one." But, in spite of this substantial admission, with that strange propensity to overturn all the conclusions of history to glorify Cotton Mather, at the expense of others, and even, in this instance, against his own better judgment, he labors to make us believe—what he himself does not venture to "assert"—that the "spiritual relation" in which Mather stood to three of the Judges, was not, what, in those days and ever since, it has been understood to mean, that of a Pastor with his flock, but nothing more than intimate friendship. If this was what Brattle meant, he would have said at least *four* of the Judges, for, at that time, Sewall was in full accord with Mather. They took counsel together. It was at the house of Sewall that the preparation of the *Wonders of the Invisible World* was finally arranged with Mather; and he, alone, of all the side Judges, united with Stoughton, some days after the date of Brattle's letter, in endorsing and commending that work.

If the expression, "spiritual relations," is divorced from its proper sense, and made to mean sympathy of opinion or agreement in counsels, it ill becomes the Reviewer to try to make it out that Mather held that relation with *any of the Judges*. He represents him, throughout his article, as at sword's points with the Court. He says that he "denounced" its course, "as illegal, uncharitable, and cruel." There is, indeed, not a shadow of foundation for this statement, as to Mather's relation to the Court; but it absolutely precludes the Reviewer from such an interpretation as he attempts, of the expression of Brattle.

The Reviewer says: "If Mr. Mather is not alluded to, in this paragraph, he is omitted altogether from the narrative, except as spiritual adviser of the persons condemned."

This is an instance of the way in which this writer establishes history. Without any and against all evidence, in the license of his imagination alone, he had thrown out the suggestion that Mather attended the executions, as the ministerial comforter and counsellor of the sufferers. Then, by a sleight of hand, he transforms this "phantasy" of his own brain into an unquestionable fact.

If Mr. Mather is not alluded to in the following passage from Brattle's letter, who is? "I cannot but admire, that any should go with



“their distempered friends and relatives to the afflicted children to know what these distempered friends ail; whether they are not bewitched; who it is that afflicts them; and the like. It is true, I know no reason why these afflicted may not be consulted as well as any other, if so be that it was only their natural and ordinary knowledge that was had recourse to; but it is not on this notion that these afflicted children are sought unto; but as they have a supernatural knowledge—a knowledge which they obtain by their holding correspondence with spectres or evil spirits—as they themselves grant. This consulting of these afflicted children, as abovesaid, seems to me a very gross evil, a real abomination, not fit to be known in New England, and yet is a thing practiced, not only by Tom and John—I mean the ruder and more ignorant sort—but by many who profess high, and pass among us for some of the better sort. This is that which aggravates the evil and makes it heinous and tremendous; and yet this is not the worst of it, for, as sure as I now write to you, even some of our civil leaders and spiritual teachers, who, I think, should punish and preach down such sorcery and wickedness, do yet allow of, encourage, yea, and practice, this very abomination.

“I know there are several worthy gentlemen, in Salem, who account this practice as an abomination; have trembled to see the methods of this nature which others have used; and have declared themselves to think the practice to be very evil and corrupt; but all avails little with the abettors of the said practice.”

Does not this stern condemnation fall on the head of the “spiritual teacher,” who received constant communications from the spectral world, fastening the charge of diabolical confederacy upon other persons, in confidential interviews with confessing witches—not to mention the Goodwin girls;—whose boast it was, “it may be no man living has had more people, under preternatural and astonishing circumstances, cast by the Providence of God into his more particular care than I have had;” and that he had kept to himself information thus obtained, which, if he had not suppressed it, would have led to the conviction of “such witches as ought to die;” who sought to have the exclusive right of receiving such communications conferred upon him, “by the authority;” who, at that time, was holding this intercourse with persons pretending to spectral visions; and, the next year, held such relations with Margaret Rule?

The next evidence in support of the opinion that Cotton Mather was considered, at the time, as identified with the proceedings at Salem, in 1692, although circumstantial, cannot, I think, but be regarded as quite conclusive.

Immediately after the prosecutions terminated, measures began to be developed to remove Mr. Parris from his ministry. The reaction early took effect where the outrages of the delusion had been most flagrant; and the injured feelings of the friends of those who had been so cruelly cut off, and of all who had suffered in their characters and condition, found expression. A movement was made, directly and personally, upon Parris, in consequence of his conspicuous lead in the prosecutions; showing itself, first, in the form of litigation, in the Courts, of questions of salary and the adjustment of accounts. Soon, it broke out in the Church; and satisfaction was demanded, by aggrieved brethren, in the methods appropriate to ecclesiastical action. The charges here made against him were exclusively in reference to his course, at the Examinations and Trials, in 1692. The conflict, thus initiated, is one of the most memorable in our Church History. Parris and his adherents resisted, for a long time, the rightful and orderly demands of his opponents for a Mutual Council. At length, many of the Ministers, who sympathized with the aggrieved brethren, felt it their duty to interpose, and addressed a letter to Mr. Parris, giving him to understand that they were of opinion he ought to comply with the demand for a Council. This letter, dated the fourteenth of June, 1694, was signed by several of the neighboring Ministers, and by James Allen, of the First, and Samuel Willard, of the Old South, Churches, in Boston, *but not by the Mathers*. On the tenth of September, a similar letter was written to him, also signed by neighboring Ministers, and Mr. Allen, and Mr. Willard, *but not by the Mathers*.

Not daring to refuse any longer, Parris, professedly yielding to the demand, consented to a Mutual Council, but avoided it, in this way. Each party was to select three Churches, to maintain its interests and give friendly protection to its rights and feelings. The aggrieved brethren selected the Churches of Rowley, Salisbury and Ipswich. Parris undertook to object to the Church of Ipswich; and refused to proceed, if it was invited. Of course, the aggrieved brethren persisted in their right to name the Churches on their side. Knowing that they had the right so to do, and that public opinion would sustain them in it, Parris escaped the dilemma, by calling an *ex parte* Council; and the Churches invited to it were those of North Boston, Weymouth, Malden, and Rowley. The first was that of the Mathers. That Parris was right in relying upon the Rev. Samuel Torrey of Weymouth, is rendered probable by the circumstance that, of the names of the fourteen Ministers, including all those known to have been opposed to the proceedings at Salem, attached to the recommendation of the *Cases of Conscience*, his is not one; and may

be considered as made certain by the fact recorded by Sewall, that he was opposed to the discontinuance of the Trials. The Pastor of the Malden Church was the venerable Michael Wigglesworth, a gentleman of the highest repute; who had declined the Presidency of Harvard College; whose son and grand-son became Professors in that institution; and whose descendants still sustain the honor of their name and lineage. From the tone of his writings, it is quite probable that he favored the witchcraft proceedings, at the beginning; but the change of mind, afterwards strongly expressed, had, perhaps, then begun to be experienced, for he did not respond to the call, as his name does not appear in the record of the Council. The fact that Parris chiefly depended upon the Church at North Boston, of which Cotton Mather was Pastor, to sustain his cause, in a Council, whose whole business was to pass upon his conduct in the witchcraft prosecutions, is quite decisive. That Church was named by him, from the first to the last, and neither of the other Boston Churches. It shows that he turned to Cotton Mather, more than to any other Minister, to be his champion.

It is further decisively proved that the reaction had become strong among the Ministers, by the unusual steps they took to prevent that Council being under the sway of such men as Cotton Mather and Torrey, thereby prolonging the mischief. A meeting of the "Reverend Elders of the Bay" was held; and Mr. Parris was given to understand that, in their judgment, the Churches of Messrs. Allen and Willard ought also to be invited. He bitterly resented this, and saw that it sealed his fate; but felt the necessity of yielding to it. The addition of those two Churches, with their Pastors, determined the character and result of the Council, and gave new strength to the aggrieved brethren, who soon succeeded in compelling Parris and his friends to agree to submit the whole matter to the arbitration of three men, mutually chosen, whose decision should be final.

The umpire selected in behalf of the opponents of Parris was no other than Elisha Cook, the head of the party arrayed against Mather. Wait Winthrop appears to have been selected by Parris; and Samuel Sewall was mutually agreed upon. Two of the three, who thus passed final judgment against the proceedings at the Salem Trials, sat on the Bench of the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer. The case of the aggrieved brethren was presented to the Arbitrators in a document, signed by four men, as "Attorneys of the 'people of the Village,' each one of whom had been struck at, in the time of the prosecutions. It *exclusively* refers to Mr. Parris's conduct, in the witchcraft prosecutions; to "his believing "the Devil's accusations;" and to his going to the

accusing girl's, to know of them "who afflicted" them. For these reasons, and these alone, they "submit the whole" to the decision of the Arbitrators, concluding thus: "to determine whether we are, or ought to be, any ways obliged to "honor, respect, and support such an instrument "of our miseries." The Arbitrators decided that they *ought not*; fixed the sum to be paid to Parris, as a final settlement; and declared the ministerial relation, between him and the people of the Village, dissolved.

With this official statement of the grounds on which his dismissal was demanded and obtained, before his eyes, as printed by Calef (*p. 63*), this Reviewer says that Parris remained the Minister of Salem Village, five years "after the "witchcraft excitement;" and further says, "the "immediate cause of his leaving, was his quarrel with the Parish, concerning thirty cords of "wood and the fee of the parsonage." He thus thinks, by a dash of his pen, to strike out the record of the fact that the main, in truth, the only, ground on which Parris was dismissed, was the part he bore in the witchcraft prosecutions. The salary question had been pending in the Courts; but it was wholly left out of view, by the party demanding his dismissal. It had nothing to do with *dismissal*; was a question of *contract* and *debt*; and was absorbed in the "excitement," which had never ceased, about the witchcraft prosecutions. The Arbitrators did not decide those questions, about salary and the balance of accounts, except as incidental to the other question, of *dismissal*.

The feeling among the inhabitants of Salem Village, that Cotton Mather was in sympathy with Mr. Parris, during the witchcraft prosecutions, is demonstrated by the facts I have adduced connected with the controversy between them and the latter, and most emphatically by their choice of Elisha Cook, as the Arbitrator, on their part. Surely no persons, of that day, understood the matter better than they did. Indeed, they could not have been mistaken about it. It remained the settled conviction of that community.

When the healing ministry of the successor of Parris, Joseph Green, was brought to a close, by the early death of that good man, in 1715, and the whole Parish, still feeling the dire effects of the great calamity of 1692, were mourning their bereavement, expressed in their own language: "the choicest flower, and greenest olive-tree, in the garden of our God here, cut down "in its prime and flourishing estate," they passed a vote, earnestly soliciting the Rev. William Brattle of Cambridge, to visit them. He was always a known opponent of Cotton Mather. To have selected him to come to them, in their distress and destitution, indicates the views then preva-



lent in the Village. He went to them and guided them by his advice, until they obtained a new Minister.

The mention of the fact by Mr. Hale, already stated, that Cotton Mather's book, *Memorable Providences*, was used as an authority by the Judges at the Salem Trials, shows that the author of that work was regarded by Hale as, to that extent at least, responsibly connected with the prosecutions.

I pass over, for the present, the proceedings and writings of Robert Calef.

After the lapse of a few years, a feeling, which had been slowly, but steadily, rising among the people, that some general and public acknowledgment ought to be made by all who had been engaged in the proceedings of 1692, and especially by the authorities, of the wrongs committed in that dark day, became too strong to be safely disregarded. On the seventeenth of December, 1696, Stoughton, then acting as Governor, issued a Proclamation, ordaining, in his name and that of the Council and Assembly, a Public Fast, to be kept on the fourteenth of January, to implore that the anger of God might be turned away, and His hand, then stretched over the people in manifold judgments, lifted. After referring to the particular calamities they were suffering and to the many days that had been spent in solemn addresses to the throne of mercy, it expresses a fear that something was still wanting to accompany their supplications, and proceeds to refer, specially, to the witchcraft tragedy. It was on the occasion of this Fast, that Judge Sewall acted the part, in the public assembly of the old South Church, for which his name will ever be held in dear and honored memory.

The public mind was, no doubt, gratified and much relieved, but not satisfied, by this demonstration. The Proclamation did not, after all, meet its demands. Upon careful examination and deliberate reflection, it rather aggravated the prevalent feeling. Written, as was to be supposed, by Stoughton, it could not represent a reaction in which he took no part. It spoke of "mistakes on either hand," and used general forms, "wherein we have done amiss, to do so "no more." It endorsed, in a new utterance, the delusion, sheltering the proper agents of the mischief, by ascribing it all to "Satan and his "instruments, through the awful judgment of "God;" and no atonement, for the injuries to the good name and estates of the sufferers, not to speak of the lives that had been cut off, was suggested. The conviction was only deepened, in all good minds, that something more ought to be done. Mr. Hale, of Beverly, met the obligation pressing upon his sense of justice and appealing to him with especial force, by writing his book, from which the following passages are

extracted: "I would come yet nearer to our own "times, and bewail the errors and mistakes that "have been, in the year 1692—by following such "traditions of our fathers, maxims of the common law, and precedents and principles, which "now we may see, weighed in the balance of "the sanctuary, are found too light—Such was "the darkness of that day, the tortures and "lamentations of the afflicted, and the power of "former precedents, that we walked in the "clouds and could not see our way—I would "humbly propose whether it be not expedient "that somewhat more should be publicly done "than yet hath, for clearing the good name and "reputation of some that have suffered upon this "account."

The Rev. John Higginson, Senior Pastor of the First Church in Salem, then eighty-two years of age, in a recommended *Epistle to the Reader*, prefixed to Mr. Hale's book, dated the twenty-third of March, 1698, after stating that, "under the infirmities of a decrepit old age, he stirred little "abroad, and was much disenabled (both in body "and mind) from knowing and judging of occurrences and transactions of that time," proceeds to say that he was "more willing to accompany" Mr. Hale "to the press," because he thought his "treatise needful and useful upon divers accounts;" among others specified by him, is the following: "That whatever errors or mistakes we fell into, "in the dark hour of temptation that was upon "us, may be (upon more light) so discovered, "acknowledged, and disowned by us, as that it "may be matter of warning and caution to those "that come after us, that they may not fall into "the like.—*I. Cor. x, 11. Felix quem faciunt "aliena pericula cautum.* I would also "pound, and leave it as an object of consideration, to our honored Magistrates and Reverend "Ministers, whether the equity of that law in "*Leviticus*, Chap. iv. for a sin-offering for the "Rulers and for the Congregation, in the case of "sins of ignorance, when they come to be known, "be not obliging, and for direction to us in a "Gospel way." The venerable man concludes by saying that "it shall be the prayer of him who "is daily waiting for his change and looking "for the mercy of the Lord Jesus Christ, unto "eternal life," that the "blessing of Heaven may "go along with this little treatise to attain the "good ends thereof."

Judge Sewall, too, and the Jury that had given the verdicts at the Trials, in 1692, publicly and emphatically acknowledged that they had been led into error.

All these things afford decisive and affecting evidence of a prevalent conviction that a great wrong had been committed. The vote passed by the Church at Salem Village, on the fourteenth of February, 1703—"We are, through

"God's mercy to us, convinced that we were, at that dark day, under the power of those errors which then prevailed in the land." "We desire that this may be entered in our Church-book," "that so God may forgive our Sin, and may be atoned for the land; and we humbly pray that God will not leave us any more to such errors and sins"—affords striking proof that the right feeling had penetrated the whole community. On the eighth of July, of that same year, nearly the whole body of the Clergy of Essex-county addressed a Memorial to the General Court, in which they say, "There is great reason to fear that innocent persons then suffered, and that God may have a controversy with the land upon that account."

Nothing of the kind, however, was ever heard from the Ministers of Boston and the vicinity. Why did they not join their voices in this prayer, going up elsewhere, from all concerned, for the divine forgiveness? We know that most of them felt right. Samuel Willard and James Allen did; and so did William Brattle, of Cambridge. Their silence cannot, it seems to me, be accounted for, but by considering the degree to which they were embarrassed by the relation of the Mathers to the affair. One brave-hearted old man remonstrated against their failure to meet the duty of the hour, and addressed his remonstrance to the right quarter. The Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, a Fellow of Harvard College, and honored in all the Churches, wrote a letter to Increase Mather, dated July 22, 1704 [*Mather Papers*, 647], couched in strong and bold terms, beginning thus:

"REV. AND DEAR S<sup>r</sup>. I am right well assured that both yourself, your son, and the rest of our brethren with you in Boston, have a deep sense upon your spirits of the awful symptoms of the Divine displeasure that we lie under at this day." After briefly enumerating the public calamities of the period, he continues: "I doubt not but you are all endeavouring to find out and discover to the people the causes of God's controversy, and how they are to be removed; to help forward this difficult and necessary work, give me leave to impart some of my serious and solemn thoughts. I fear (amongst our many other provocations) that God hath a controversy with us about what was done in the time of the Witchcraft. I fear that innocent blood hath been shed, and that many have had their hands defiled therewith." After expressing his belief that the Judges acted conscientiously, and that the persons concerned were deceived, he proceeds: "Be it then that it was done ignorantly. Paul, a Pharisee, persecuted the Church of God, shed the blood of God's Saints, and yet obtained mercy, because he did it in ignorance; but

"how doth he bewail it, and shame himself for it, before God and men afterwards. [*I. Tim. i. 13, 16.*] I think, and am verily persuaded, God expects that we do the like, in order to our obtaining his pardon: I mean by a Public and Sollemn acknowledgment of it and humiliation for it; and the more particularly and personally it is done by all that have been actors, the more pleasing it will be to God, and more effectual to turn away his judgments from the Land, and to prevent his wrath from falling upon the persons and families of such as have been most concerned.

"I know this is a *Noli Me tangere*, but what shall we do? Must we pine away in our iniquities, rather than boldly declare the Counsel of God, who tells us, [*Isaie i. 15.*] 'When you make many prayers, I will not hear you, your hands are full of blood.'

He further says that he believes that "the whole country lies under a curse to this day, and will do, till some effectual course be taken by our honored Governor and General Court to make amends and reparation" to the families of such as were condemned "for supposed witchcraft," or have "been ruined by taking away and making havoc of their estates." After continuing the argument, disposing of the excuse that the country was too impoverished to do any thing in that way, he charges his correspondent to communicate his thoughts to "the Rev. Samuel Willard and the rest of our brethren in the ministry," that action may be taken, without delay. He concludes his plain and earnest appeal and remonstrance, in these words: "I have, with a weak body and trembling hand, endeavoured to leave my testimony before I leave the world; and having left it with you (my Rev. Brethren) I hope I shall leave this life with more peace, when God seeth meet to call me hence."

He died within a year. When the tone of this letter is carefully considered, and the pressure of its forcible and bold reasoning, amounting to expostulation, is examined, it can hardly be questioned that it was addressed to the persons who most needed to be appealed to. But no effect appears to have been produced by it.

In introducing his report of the Trials, contained in the *Wonders of the Invisible World*, Cotton Mather, alluding to the "surviving relations" of those who had been executed, says: "The Lord comfort them." It was poor consolation he gave them in that book—holding up their parents, wives, and husbands, as "Malefactors." Neither he nor his father ever expressed a sentiment in harmony with those uttered by Hale, Higginson, or Wigglesworth—on the contrary, Cotton Mather, writing a year after the Salem Tragedy, almost chuckles over it: "In the



"whole—the Devil got just nothing—but God  
"got praises. Christ got subjects, the Holy  
"Spirit got temples, the church got addition,  
"and the souls of men got everlasting benefits."  
"—*Calef, 12.*

Stoughton remained nearly the whole time, until his death, in May, 1702, in control of affairs. By his influence over the Government and that of the Mathers over the Clergy, nothing was done to remove the dark stigma from the honor of the Province, and no seasonable or adequate reparation ever made for the Great Wrong.

I am additionally indebted to the kindness of Dr. Moore for the following extracts from a Sermon to the General Assembly, delivered by Cotton Mather, in 1709, intitled *Theopolis Americana*. "na. Pure Gold in the market place."

"In two or three too Memorable *Days of Temptation*, that have been upon us, there have been *Errors* Committed. You are always ready to Declare unto all the World, 'That you disapprove those Errors.' You are willing to inform all mankind with your *Declarations*.

"That no man may be Persecuted, because he is Conscientiously not of the same Religious Opinions, with those that are uppermost.

"And; That Persons are not to be judged Confederates with Evil Spirits, merely because the Evil Spirits do make Possessed People cry out upon them.

"Could any thing be Proposed further, by way of Reparation, [Besides the General Day of Humiliation, which was appointed and observed thro' the Province, to bewayl the Errors of our Dark time, some years ago:] You would be willing to hearken to it."

The suggestion thus made, not, it must be confessed, in very urgent terms, did not, it is probable, produce much impression. The preacher seemed to rest upon the Proclamation issued by Stoughton, some eleven years before. Coupling the two errors specified together, was not calculated to give effect to the recommendation. Public opinion was not, then, prepared to second such enlightened views as to religious liberty.

It is very noticable that Mather here must be considered as admitting that "in the Dark time," persons were judged "Confederates with Evil Spirits," "merely" because of Spectral Evidence.

All that was said, on this occasion, does not amount to any thing, as an expression of *personal* opinion or feeling, relating to points on which Hale and Higginson uttered their deep sensibility, and Wigglesworth had addressed to the Mathers and other Ministers, his solemn and searching appeal. The duty of reparation for the great wrong was thrown off upon others, than those particularly and prominently responsible.

Nothing has led me to suppose that Cotton Mather was cruel or heartless, in his natural or

habitual disposition. He never had the wisdom or dignity to acknowledge, as an individual, or as *one of the Clergy*, or to propose specific reparation for, the fearful mischiefs, sufferings and horrors growing out of the witchcraft prosecutions. The extent to which he was at the time, and probably always continued to be, the victim of baleful superstitions, is his only apology, and we must allow it just weight.

A striking instance of the occasional ascendancy of his better feelings, and of the singular methods in which he was accustomed to act, is presented in the following extract from his Diary, at a late period of his life. We may receive it as an indication that he was not insensible of his obligation to do good, where, with his participation, so much evil had been done: "There is a town in this country, namely, Salem, which has many poor and bad people in it, and such as are especially scandalous for staying at home on the Lord's day. I wrapped up seven distinct parcels of money and annexed seven little books about repentance, and seven of the monitory letter against profane absence from the house of God. I sent those things with a nameless letter unto the Minister of that Town, and desired and empowered him to dispense the charity in his own name, hoping thereby the more to ingratiate his ministry with the people. Who can tell how far the good Angels of Heaven cooperate in these proceedings?"

## XVI.

HISTORY OF OPINION AS TO COTTON MATHER, CONTINUED. FRANCIS HUTCHINSON. DANIEL NEAL. ISAAC WATTS. THOMAS HUTCHINSON. WILLIAM BENTLEY. JOHN ELIOT. JOSIAH QUINCY.

It was the common opinion in England, that the Mathers, particularly the younger, were pre-eminently responsible for the proceedings at Salem, in 1692. Francis Hutchinson, in the work from which I have quoted, speaks of the whole system of witchcraft doctrine, as "fantastic notions," which are "so far from raising their sickly visions into legal evidence, that they are grounded upon the very dregs of Pagan and Popish superstitions, and leave the lives of innocent men naked, without defence against them;" and in giving a list of books, written for upholding them, mentions, "Mr. Increase and Mr. Cotton Mather's several tracts;" and, in his Chapter on Witchcraft in Massachusetts, in 1692, commends the book of "Mr. Calef, a Merchant in that Plantation."

About the same time, the Rev. Daniel Neal, the celebrated author of the *History of the Puritans*, wrote a *History of New England*, in which he gives place to a brief, impartial, and

just account of the witchcraft proceedings, in 1692. He abstains from personal criticisms, but expresses this general sentiment: "Strange were the mistakes that some of the wisest and best men of the country committed on this occasion; which must have been fatal to the whole Province, if God, in his Providence, had not mercifully interposed." The only sentence that contains a stricture on Cotton Mather, particularly, is that in which he thus refers to his statement that a certain confession was *freely* made. Neal quietly suggests, "whether the act of a man in prison, and under apprehension of death, may be called free, I leave others to judge." Dr. Isaac Watts, having read Neal's book, thought it necessary to write a letter to Cotton Mather, dated, February 19, 1720; (*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, I., v., 200) and, describing a conversation he had just been having with Neal, says: "There is another thing, wherein my brother is solicitous lest he should have displeased you, and that is, the Chapter on Witchcraft, but, as he has related matters of fact, by comparison of several authors, he hopes that you will forgive that he has not fallen into your sentiments exactly." The anxiety felt by Neal and Watts, lest the feelings of Mather might be wounded, shows what they thought of his implication with the affair. This inference is rendered unavoidable, when we examine Neal's book and find that he quotes or refers to Calef, all along, without the slightest question as to his credibility, receiving his statements and fully recognizing his authority. Indeed, his references to Calef are about ten to one oftener than to Mather. The attempt of Neal and Watts to smoothe the matter down, by saying that the former had been led to his conclusions by "a comparison of several authors," could have given little satisfaction to Mather, as the authors whom he chiefly refers to, are Calef and Mather; and, comparing them with each other, he followed Calef.

The impression thus held in England, even by Mather's friends and correspondents, that he was unpleasantly connected with the Witchcraft of 1692, has been uniformly experienced, on both sides of the water, until this Reviewer's attempt to erase it from the minds of men.

Thomas Hutchinson was born in 1711, and brought up in the neighborhood of the Mathers; finishing his collegiate course and taking his Bachelor's degree at Harvard College, in 1727, a year before the death of Cotton Mather. He had opportunities to form a correct judgment about Salem Witchcraft and the chief actors in the proceedings, greater than any man of his day; but his close family connection with the Mathers imposed some restraint upon his expressions; not enough, however, to justify the statement of the

Reviewer that he does not mention the "agency" of Cotton Mather in that transaction. There are several very distinct references to Mather's "agency," in Hutchinson's account of the transactions connected with Salem Witchcraft, some of which I have cited. I ask to whom, does the following passage refer?—*ii.*, 63.—"One of the Ministers, who, in the time of it, was fully convinced that the complaining persons were no impostors, and who vindicated his own conduct and that of the Court, in a Narrative he published, remarks, not long after, in his Diary, that many were of opinion that innocent blood had been shed."

This shows that Hutchinson regarded Cotton Mather's agency in the light in which I have represented it; that he considered him as wholly committed to the then prevalent delusion; as acting a part that identified him with the prosecutions; and that the Narrative he published was a joint vindication of himself and the Court. Hutchinson fastens the passage upon Mather, by the reference to the Diary; and while he says that it contained a statement, that many believed the persons who suffered innocent, he avoids saying that such was the opinion of the author of the Diary.

Finally, his taking particular pains to do it, by giving a Note to the purpose of expressing his confidence in Calef, pronouncing him a "fair reporter"—*ii*, 56—proves that Governor Hutchinson held the opinion about Mather's "agency," which has always heretofore been ascribed to him.

William Bentley, D. D., was born in Boston, and for a large part of the first half of his life, resided, as his family had done for a long period, in the North part of that Town. He was of a turn of mind to gather all local traditions, and, through all his days, devoted to antiquarian pursuits. No one of his period paid more attention to the subject of the witchcraft delusion. For much of our information concerning it, we are indebted to his *History and Description of Salem*, printed in 1800—(*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, I., vi.)—After relating many of its incidents, he breaks forth in condemnation of those who, disapproving, at the time, of the proceedings, did not come out and denounce them. Holding the opinion, which had come down from the beginning, that Increase Mather disapproved of the transaction, he indignantly repudiates the idea of giving him any credit therefor. "Increase Mather did not oppose Cotton Mather"—this is the utterance of a received, and, to him, unquestioned, opinion that Cotton Mather approved of, and was a leading agent in, the prosecutions.

The views of Dr. John Eliot, are freely given, to the same effect, in his *Biographical Dictionary*, as will presently be shown.



The late Josiah Quincy had studied the annals of Massachusetts with the thoroughness with which he grappled every subject to which he turned his thoughts. His ancestral associations covered the whole period of its history; and all the channels of the local traditions of Boston were open to his enquiring and earnest mind. His *History of Harvard University* is a monument that will stand forever. In that work, he speaks of the agreement of Stoughton's views with those of the Mathers; and, in connection with the witchcraft delusion, says that both of them "had 'an efficient agency in producing and prolonging that excitement.'" "The conduct of Increase Mather, in relation to it, was marked 'with caution and political skill; but that 'of his son, Cotton Mather, was headlong, zealous, and fearless, both as to character and consequences. In its commencement and progress, his activity is every-where conspicuous."

The Reviewer represents Mr. Quincy as merely repeating what I had said in my Lectures. He makes the same reckless assertion in reference to Bancroft, the late William B. O. Peabody, D. D., and every one else, who has written upon the subject, since 1831. The idea that Josiah Quincy "took his cue" from me, is simply preposterous. He does not refer to me, nor give any indication that he had ever seen my *Lectures*, but cites Calef, as his authority, over and over again. Dr. Peabody refers to Calef throughout, and draws upon him freely and with confidence, as every one else, who has written about the transaction, has probably done.

It may safely be said, that no historical fact has ever been more steadily recognized, than the action and, to a great degree, controlling agency, of Cotton Mather, in supporting and promoting the witchcraft proceedings of 1692. That it has, all along, been the established conviction of the public mind, is proved by the chronological series of names I have produced. Thomas Hutchinson, John Eliot, William Bentley, and Josiah Quincy, cover the whole period from Cotton Mather's day to this. They knew, as well as any other men that can be named, the current opinions, transmitted sentiments, and local and personal annals, of Boston. They reflect with certainty an assurance, running in an unbroken course over a century and a half. Their family connections, social position, converseance with events, and familiar knowledge of what men thought, believed, and talked about, give to their concurrent and continuous testimony, a force and weight of authority that are decisive; and demonstrate that, instead of my having invented and originated the opinion of Cotton Mather's agency in the matter now under consideration, I have done no more than to restate what has been believed and uttered from the beginning.

The writer in the *North American* says: "Within the last forty years, there has grown up a fashion, among our historical writers, of 'defaming his character and underrating his productions. For a specimen of these attacks, 'the reader is referred to a *Supposed Letter from Rev. Cotton Mather, D. D., with comments on the same by James Savage.*'" The article mentioned consists of the "supposed letter," and a very valuable communication from the late Rev. Samuel Sewall, with some items by Mr. Savage—[*Massachusetts Historical Collections, IV., ii., 122.*] Neither of these enlightened, faithful, and indefatigable scholars is to be disposed of in this style. They followed no "fashion;" and their venerable names are held in honor by all true disciples of antiquarian and genealogical learning. The author of such works, in this department, as Mr. Savage has produced, cannot be thus set aside by a magisterial and supercilious waving of the hand of this Reviewer.

## XVII.

### THE EFFECT UPON THE POWER OF THE MATHERS, IN THE PUBLIC AFFAIRS OF THE PROVINCE, OF THEIR CONNECTION WITH WITCHCRAFT.

The Reviewer takes exception to my statement, that the connection of the Mathers with the witchcraft business, "broke down" their influence in public affairs. What are the facts? It has been shown, that the administration of Sir William Phips, at its opening, was under their control, to an extent never equalled by that of private men over a Government. The prayers of Cotton Mather were fully answered; and if wise and cautious counsels had been given, what both father and son had so coveted, in the political management of the Province, would have been permanently realized. But, aiming to arm themselves with terrific and overwhelming strength, by invoking the coöperation of forces from the spiritual, invisible, and diabolical world, with rash "precipitancy," they hurried on the witchcraft prosecutions. The consequence was, that in six months, the whole machinery on which they had placed their reliance, was prostrate. At the very next election, Elisha Cook was chosen and Nathaniel Saltonstall rechosen, to the Council; and, ever after, the Mathers were driven to the wall, in desperate and unavailing self-defence.

No party or faction could claim the Earl of Bellamont, during his brief administration, covering but fourteen months. Although the only nobleman ever sent over as Governor of Massachusetts, more than all others, he conciliated the general good will. His short term of office and wise policy prevented any particular advantage to the Mathers from the dedication to him of the

*Life of Phips.* During the entire period, between 1692 and the arrival of Dudley to the Government, the opponents of the Mathers were steadily increasing their strength. Opposition to Increase Mather was soon developed in attempts to remove him from the Presidency of Harvard College. In 1701, an Order was passed by the General Court, "that no man should act as President of the College, who did not reside at Cambridge." This decided the matter. Increase Mather resigned, on the sixth of September following; and, the same day, the Rev. Samuel Willard took charge of the College, under the title of Vice-president, and acted as President, to the acceptance of the people and with the support of the Government of the Province, to his death, in 1707—all the while allowed to retain the pastoral connection with his Church, in Boston.

Joseph Dudley arrived from England, on the eleventh of June, 1702, with his Commission, as Captain-general and Governor of the Province. On the sixteenth, he made a call upon Cotton Mather, who relates the interview in his Diary. It seems that Mather made quite a speech to the new Governor, urging him "to carry an indifferent hand toward all parties," and explaining his meaning thus: "By no means, let any people have cause to say that you take all your measures from the two Mr. Mathers." He then added: "By the same rule, I may say without offence, by no means let any people say that you go by no measures in your conduct but Mr. Byfield's and Mr. Leverett's. This I speak, not from any personal prejudice against the gentlemen, but from a due consideration of the disposition of the people, and as a service to your Excellency."

Dudley—whether judging rightly or not is to be determined by taking into view his position, the then state of parties, and the principles of human nature—evidently regarded this as a trap. If he had followed the advice, and kept aloof from Byfield and Leverett, they would have been placed at a distance from him, and he would necessarily have fallen into the hands of the Mathers. He may have thought that the only way to avoid such a result, was for him to explain to those gentlemen his avoidance of them, by mentioning to them what Mather had said to him, thereby signifying to them, that, as a matter of policy, he thought it best to adopt the suggestion and stand aloof from both sides. Whether acting from this consideration or from resentment, he informed them of it; whereupon Mather inserted this in his Diary: "The WRETCH went unto those men and told them that I had advised him to be no ways directed by them, and inflamed them into implacable rage against me."

After this, the relations between Dudley and

the Mathers must have been sufficiently awkward and uncomfortable; but no particular public demonstrations appear to have been made, on either side, for some time.

Mr. Willard died on the twelfth of September, 1707; and the great question again rose as to the proper person to be called to the head of the College. The extraordinary learning of Cotton Mather undoubtedly gave him commanding and pre-eminent claims in the public estimation; and he had reason to think that the favorite object of his ambition was about to be attained. But he was doomed to bitter disappointment. On the twenty-eighth of October, the Corporation, through its senior member, the Rev. James Allen of Boston, communicated to the Governor the vote of that body, appointing the "Honorable John Leverett" to the Presidency; and, on the fourteenth of January, 1708, he was publicly inducted to office. The Mathers could stand it no longer; but, six days after, addressed, each, a letter to Dudley, couched in the bitterest and most abusive terms.—[*Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections*, I., iii., 126.] No explosions of disappointed politicians and defeated aspirants for office, in our day, surpass these letters. They show how deeply the writers were stung. They heap maledictions on the Governor, without any of the restraints of courtesy or propriety. They charge him with all sorts of malversation in office, bribery, speculation, extortion, falseness, hypocrisy, and even murder; imputing to him "the guilt of innocent blood," because, many years before, he had, as Chief-justice of New York, presided at the Trial of Leisler and Milburn; and averring that "those men were not only murdered, but barbarously murdered."

It is observable that some of the heinous crimes charged upon Dudley, occurred before his arrival as Governor of Massachusetts, in 1702; and that, in these very letters, they remind him that it was, in part, by their influence that he was then appointed, and that a letter from Cotton Mather, in favor of his appointment, was read before "the late King William." Both the Mathers were remarkable for a lack of vision, in reference to the logical bearing of what they said. It did not occur to them, that the fact of their soliciting his appointment closed their mouths from making charges for public acts well known to them at the time.

Dudley says that he was assured by the Mathers, on his arrival, that he had the favor of all good men; and Cotton Mather, in his letter, reminds him that he signalized his friendly feelings, by giving to the public, on that occasion, the "portraiture of a good man." It is proved, therefore, by the evidence on both sides, that, well knowing all about the Leisler affair and other crimes alleged against him, they were



ready, and most desirous, to secure his favor and friendship; and to identify themselves with his administration.

In alluding to these letters, Hutchinson (*History, ii, 194*,) says: "In times when party spirit prevails, what will not a Governor's enemies believe, however injurious and absurd? At such a time, he was charged with dispensing *summum jus* to Leisler and incurring an aggravated guilt of blood beyond that of a common murderer. The other party, no doubt, would have charged the failure of justice upon him, if Leisler had been acquitted."

Dudley replied to both these extraordinary missives, in a letter dated the third of February, 1708. After rebuking, in stern and dignified language, the tone and style of their letters, reminding them, by apt citations from Scripture, of the "laws of wise and Christian reproof," which they had violated, and showing upon what false foundations their charges rested, he says: "Can you think it the most proper season to do me good by your admonitions, when you have taken care to let the world know you are out of frame and filled with the last prejudice against my person and Government?" "Every one can see through the pretence, and is able to account for the spring of these letters, and how they would have been prevented, without easing any grievances you complain of." He makes the following proposal: "After all, though I have reason to complain to heaven and earth of your unchristian rashness, and wrath, and injustice, I would yet maintain a christian temper towards you. I do, therefore, now assure you that I shall be ready to give you all the satisfaction Christianity requires, in those points which are proper for you to seek to receive it in, when, with a proper temper and spirit, giving me timely notice, you do see meet to make me a visit for that end; and I expect the same satisfaction from you." He offers this significant suggestion: "I desire you will keep your station, and let fifty or sixty good Ministers, your equals in the Province, have a share in the Government of the College and advise thereabouts, as well as yourselves, and I hope all will be well." He concludes by claiming that he is sustained by the favor of the "Ministers of New England;" and characterises the issue between him and them thus: "The 'College must be disposed against the opinion of all the Ministers in New England, except yourselves, or the Governor torn in pieces. This is the view I have of your inclination."

Dudley continued to administer the Government for eight years longer, until the infirmities of age compelled him to retire. Both Hutchinson and Doctor John Eliot give us to under-

stand that he conducted the public affairs with great ability and success, with the general approval of all classes, and particularly of the Clergy. His statement that he had the support of all the Ministers of New England, except the Mathers, was undoubtedly correct. It is certainly true of the Ministers of Boston. In his Diary, under the year 1709, Cotton Mather says: "The other Ministers of the Town are this day feasting with our wicked Governor. I have, by my provoking plainness and freedom, in telling this Ahab of his wickedness, procured myself to be left out of his invitations. I rejoiced in my liberty from the temptations wherewith they were encumbered." He set apart that day for fasting and prayer, the special interest of which, he says, "was to obtain deliverance and protection" from his "enemies," whose names, he informs us, he "mentioned unto the Lord, who had promised to be my shield."

The bitterness with which Mather felt exclusion from power is strikingly illustrated in a letter addressed by him to Stephen Sewall, published by me in the Appendix to the edition of my *Lectures*, printed in 1831. I subjoin a few extracts: "A couple of malignant fellows, a while since, railing at me in the Bookseller's shop, among other things they said, 'and his friend Noyes has cast him off,' at which they set up a laughter." "No doubt, you understand, how ridiculously things have been managed in our late General Assembly; voting and unvoting, the same day; and, at last, the squirls perpetually running into the mouth open for them, though they had cried against it wonderfully. And your neighbor, Sowgelder, after his indefatigable pains at the castration of all common honesty, rewarded, before the Court broke up, with being made one of your brother Justices; which the whole House, as well as the apostate himself, had in view, all along, as the expected wages of his iniquity." "If things continue in the present administration, there will shortly be not so much as a shadow of justice left in the country. Bribery, a crime capital among the Pagans, is already a peccadillo among us. All officers are learning it. And, if I should say, Judges will find the way to it, some will say, there needs not the future tense in the case." "Every thing is betrayed, and that we, on the top of our house, may complete all, our very religion, with all the Churches, is at last betrayed—the treachery carried on with lies, and fallacious representations, and finished by the rash hands of our Clergy."

That Cotton Mather continued all his subsequent life to experience the dissatisfaction, and give way to the feelings, of a disappointed man,

is evident from his Diary. I have quoted from a few passages. The Reviewer says it "is full of penitential confessions," and seems to liken him, in this respect, to the Apostle of the Gentiles. Speaking of my having cited the Diary, as historical evidence, he says: "Such a use of the confessional, we believe, is not common with historical writers." I do not remember anything like "penitential confessions," in the passages from the Diary given in my book. The reader is referred to them, in Volume II. Page 503. They belong to the year 1724, and are thus prefaced:

"DARK DISPENSATIONS, BUT LIGHT ARISING IN DARKNESS."

"It may be of some use to me, to observe some very dark dispensations, wherein the recompense of my poor essays at well-doing, in this life, seem to look a little discouraging; and then to express the triumph of my faith over such and all discouragements." "Of the things that look dark, I may touch of twice seven instances."

The writer, in the *Christian Examiner*, November, 1831, from whom I took them, omitted two, "on account of their too personal or domestic character,"

I cannot find the slightest trace of a penitential tear on those I have quoted; and cite now out one of them, as pertinent to the point I am making: "What has a gracious Lord given me to do for the good of the country? in applications without number for it, in all its interests, besides publications of things useful to it, and for it. And, yet, there is no man whom the country so loads with disrespect, and calumnies, and manifold expressions of aversion."

This is a specimen of the whole of them—one half recounting what he had done, the other complaining, sometimes almost scolding, at the poor requital he had received.

President Leverett died, on the third of May, 1724. His death was lamented by the country; and the most eminent men vied with each other in doing honor to his memory. The Rev. Benjamin Colman called him "our master," and pronounced his life as "great and good." "The young men saw him and hid themselves, and the aged arose and stood up." Dr. Appleton declared that he had been "an honored ornament to his country. Verily, the breach is so wide, that none but an all-sufficient God (with whom is the residue of the Spirit) can repair or heal it." The late Benjamin Peirce, in his *History of Harvard University*, says that "his Presidency was successful and brilliant." He was honored abroad, as well as at home; and his name is inscribed on the rolls of the Royal Society of London. Mr. Peirce says: "He had a

"great and generous soul." His natural abilities were of a very high order. His attainments were profound and extensive. He was well acquainted with the learned languages, with the arts and sciences, with history, philosophy, law, divinity, politics." Such, we are told, were "the majesty and marks of greatness, in his speech, his behaviour, and his very countenance," that the students of the College were inspired with reverence and affection. In his earlier and later life, he had been connected with the College, as Tutor and as President; and in the intermediate period, he had filled the highest legislative and judicial stations, and been intrusted with the most important functions connected with the military service. I am inclined to think, all things considered, a claim, in his behalf, might be put in for the distinction the Reviewer awards to Cotton Mather, as "doubtless the most brilliant man of his day in New England."

President Leverett was buried on the sixth of May. Cotton Mather officiated as one of the Pallbearers, and then went home, and made the following entry in his Diary, dated the seventh: "The sudden death of the unhappy man who sustained the place of President in our College, will open a door for my doing singular services in the best of interests. I do not know that the care of the College will now be cast upon me; though I am told it is what is most generally wished for. If it should be, I shall be in abundance of distress about it; but, if it should not, yet I may do many things for the good of the College more quietly and more hopefully than formerly."

As time wore away, and no choice of President was made, he became more and more sensible that an influence, hostile to him, was in the ascendancy; and, on the first of July, he writes thus, in his Diary: "This day being our insipid, ill-contrived anniversary, which we call Commencement, I chose to spend it at home, in supplications, partly on the behalf of the College, that it may not be foolishly thrown away, but that God may bestow such a President upon it, as may prove a rich blessing unto it and unto all our Churches."

In the meanwhile, he renewed his attendance at the meetings of the Overseers; having never occupied his seat, in that Body, with the exception of a single Session, during the whole period of Leverett's presidency. The Board, at a meeting he attended, on the sixth of August, 1724, passed a vote advising and directing the speedy election of a President. On the eleventh, the Corporation chose the Rev. Joseph Sewall of the Old South Church; and Mather records the event in his Diary, as follows: "I am informed that, yesterday, the six men, who call themselves the Corporation of the College, met, and, contrary



"to the epidemical expectation of the country, "chose a modest young man, Sewall, of whose "piety (and little else) every one gives a laudable character."

"I always foretold these two things of the Corporation: First, that, if it were possible for them to steer clear of me, they will do so. Secondly, that, if it were possible for them to act foolishly, they will do so. The perpetual envy with which my essays to serve the kingdom of God are treated among them, and the dread that Satan has of my beating up his quarters at the College, led me into the former sentiment; the marvellous indiscretion, with which the affairs of the College are managed, led me into the latter."

Mr. Sewall declined the appointment. On the eighteenth of November, the Rev. Benjamin Colman, of the Brattle-street Church, was chosen. He also declining, the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, of the First Church, was elected, in June, 1725, and inaugurated on the seventh of July.

It thus appears that Dr. Mather was pointedly passed over; and every other Minister of Boston successively chosen to that great office.

Of course he took, as Mr. Peirce informs us, no further part in the management of the College. While he considered, as he expressed it, the "senselessness" of those entrusted with its affairs, as threatening "little short of a dissolution of the College," yet he persuaded himself that he had never desired the office. He had, he says, "unspeakable cause to admire the compassion of Heaven, in saving him from the appointment;" and that he had always had a "dread of what the generality of sober men" thought he desired—"dismal apprehension of the distresses which a call at Cambridge would bring" upon him.—He was sincere in those declarations, no doubt; but they show how completely he could blind himself to the past and even to the actual present. Mr. Peirce explains why the Corporation were so resolute in withholding their suffrages from Mather: "His contemporaries appear to have formed a very correct estimate of his character." "They saw, what posterity sees, that he was a man of wonderful parts, of immense learning, and of eminent piety and virtue." "They saw his weakness and eccentricities." "It is evident that his judgment was not equal to his other faculties; that his passions, which were naturally strong and violent, were not always under proper regulation; that he was weak, credulous, enthusiastic, and superstitious. His conversation is said to have been instructive and entertaining, in a high degree, though often marred by levity, vanity, imprudence and puns." For these reasons, he was deemed an unsuitable person for the Presidency of the College.

## XVIII.

## COTTON MATHER'S WRITINGS AND CHARACTER.

While compelled—by the attempt of the writer in the *North American Review* to reverse the just verdict of history in reference to Cotton Mather's connection with Salem Witchcraft—to show the unhappy part he acted and the terrible responsibility he incurred, in bringing forward, and carrying through its stages, that awful tragedy, and the unworthy means he used to throw that responsibility, afterwards, on others, I am not to be misled into a false position, in reference to this extraordinary man. I endorse the language of Mr. Peirce: "He possessed great vigor and activity of mind, quickness of apprehension, a lively imagination, a prodigious memory, uncommon facility in acquiring and communicating knowledge, with the most indefatigable application and industry; that he amassed an immense store of information on all subjects, human and divine." I follow Mr. Peirce still further, in believing that his natural temperament was pleasant and his sentiments of a benevolent cast: "that he was an habitual promoter and doer of good, is evident, as well from his writings as from the various accounts that have been transmitted respecting him."

If the question is asked, as it naturally will be, how these admissions can be reconciled with the views and statements respecting him, contained in this article and in my book on witchcraft, the answer is: that mankind is not divided into two absolutely distinct and entirely separated portions—one good and the other evil. The good are liable to, and the bad are capable of, each receiving much into their own lives and characters, that belongs to the other. This interfusion universally occurs. The great errors and the great wrongs imputable to Cotton Mather do not make it impracticable to discern what was commendable in him. They may be accounted for without throwing him out of the pale of humanity or our having to shut our eyes to traits and merits other ways exhibited.

The extraordinary precocity of his intellect—itsself always a peril, often a life-long misfortune—awakened vanity and subjected him to the flattery by which it is fed. All ancestral associations and family influences pampered it. Such a speech as that made to him, at his graduation, by President Oakes, could not have failed to have inflated it to exaggerated dimensions. Clerical and political ambition was natural, all but instinctive, to one, whose father, and both whose grandfathers, had been powers, in the State as well as Church. The religious ideas, if they can be so called, in which he had been trained from childhood, in a form bearing upon him with more weight than upon any other person in all history,

inasmuch, as they constituted the prominent feature of his father's reading, talk, thoughts, and writings, gave a rapid and overshadowing growth to credulity and superstition. A defect in his education, perhaps, in part, a natural defect, left him without any true logical culture, so that he seems, in his productions and conduct, not to discern the sequences of statements, the coherence of propositions, nor the consistency of actions, thereby entangling him in expressions and declarations that have the aspect of untruthfulness—his language often actually bearing that character, without his discerning it. His writings present many instances of this infirmity. Some have already been incidentally adduced. In his *Life of Phips*, avowing himself the author of the document known as the *Advice of the Ministers*, he uses this language: "By Mr. Mather the 'younger, as I have been informed.'" He had, in fact, never been so informed. He knew it by consciousness. Of course he had no thought of deceiving; but merely followed a habit he had got, of such modes of expression. So, also, when he sent a present of money and tracts to "poor 'and bad people," in Salem, with an anonymous letter to the Minister of the place, "desiring and 'empowering him to dispense the charity, in his 'own name, hoping thereby the more to ingratiate his ministry with the people," he looked only on one side of the proposal, and saw it in no other light than a benevolent and friendly transaction. It never occurred to him that he was suggesting a deceptive procedure and drawing the Minister into a false position and practice.

When, in addition, we consider to what he was exposed by his proclivity to, and aspirations for, political power, the expedients, schemes, contrivances, and appliances, in which he thereby became involved in the then state of things in the Colony, and the correction which leading Ministers, although not admitted to what are strictly speaking political offices, had with the course of public affairs—his father, to an extent never equalled by any other Clergyman, before or since—we begin to estimate the influences that disastrously swayed the mind of Cotton Mather.

Vanity, flattery, credulity, want of logical discernment, and the struggles between political factions, in the unsettled, uncertain, transition period, between the old and new Charters, are enough to account for much that was wrong, in one of Mather's temperament and passions, without questioning his real mental qualities, or, I am disposed to think, his conscious integrity, or the sincerity of his religious experiences or professions.

But his chief apology, after all, is to be found in the same sphere in which his chief offences were committed. Certain topics and notions, in reference to the invisible, spiritual, and diabolical

world, whether of reality or fancy it matters not, had, all his life long, been the ordinary diet, the daily bread, of his mind.

It may, perhaps, be said with truth, that the theological imagery and speculations of that day, particularly as developed in the writings of the two Mathers, were more adapted to mislead the mind and shroud its moral sense in darkness, than any system, even of mythology, that ever existed. It was a mythology. It may be spoken of with freedom, now, as it has probably passed away, in all enlightened communities in Christendom. Satan was the great central character, in what was, in reality, a Pantheon. He was surrounded with hosts of infernal spirits, disembodied and embodied, invisible demons, and confederate human agents. He was seen in everything, everywhere. His steps were traced in extraordinary occurrences and in the ordinary operations of nature. He was hovering over the heads of all, and lying in wait along every daily path. The affrighted imagination, in every scene and mode of life, was conversant with ghosts, apparitions, spectres, devils. This prevalent, all but universal, exercise of credulous fancy, exalted into the most imposing dignity of theology and faith, must have had a demoralizing effect upon the rational condition and faculties of men, and upon all discrimination and healthfulness of thought. When error, in its most extravagant forms, had driven the simplicity of the Gospel out of the Church and the world, it is not to be wondered at that the mind was led to the most shocking perversions, and the conscience ensnared to the most indefensible actions.

The superstition of that day was foreshadowed in the ferocious cannibal of classic mythology—a monster, horrific, hideous in mein, and gigantic in stature. It involved the same fate. The eye of the intellect was burned out, the light of reason extinguished—*cui lumen ademptum*.

Having always given himself up to the contemplation of diabolical imaginations, Cotton Mather was led to take the part he did, in the witchcraft proceedings; and it cannot be hidden from the light of history. The greater his talents, the more earnestly he may, in other matters, have aimed to be useful, the more weighty is the lesson his course teaches, of the baleful effects of bewildering and darkening superstition.

There is another, and a special, explanation to be given of the disingenuousness that appears in his writings. He was a master of language. He could express, with marvelous facility, any shade of thought. He could also make language conceal thought. No one ever handled words with more adroitness. He could mould them to suit his purposes, at will, and with ease. This faculty was called in requisition by the special circumstances of his times. It was necessary to



preserve, at least, the appearance of unity among the Churches, while there was as great a tendency, then, as ever, to diversity of speculations, touching points of casuistical divinity or ministerial policy. The talent to express in formulas, sentiments that really differed, so as to obscure the difference, was needed; and he had it. He knew how to frame a document that would suit both sides, but, in effect, answer the purposes of one of them, as in the *Advice of the Ministers*. He could assert a proposition and connect with it what appeared to be only a judicious modification or amplification, but which, in reality, was susceptible of being interpreted as either more or less corroborating or contradicting it, as occasion might require. This was a sort of sleight of hand, in the use of words; and was noticed, at the time, as "legerdemain." He practised it so long that it became a feature of his style; and he actually, in this way, deceived himself as well as others. It is a danger to which ingenious and hair-splitting writers are liable. I am inclined to think that what we cannot but regard as patent misstatements, were felt by him to be all right, in consequence, as just intimated, of this acquired habit.

His style is sprightly, and often entertaining. Neal, the author of the *History of the Puritans*, in a letter to the Rev. Benjamin Colman, after speaking with commendation of one of Cotton Mather's productions, says: "It were only to be wished that it had been freed from those puns and jingles that attend all his writings, before 'it had been made public.'"—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, I., v., 199.—Mr. Peirce, it has been observed, speaks of his "puns," in conversation. It is not certain, but that, to a reader now, these very things constitute a redeeming attraction of his writings and relieve the mind of the unpleasant effects of his credulity and vanity, pedantic and often far-fetched references, palpable absurdities, and, sometimes, the repulsiveness of his topics and matter.

The Reviewer represents me as prejudiced against Cotton Mather. Far from it. Forty-three years ago, before my attention had been particularly called to his connection with alleged witchcrafts or with the political affairs of his times, I eulogized his "learning and liberality," in warm terms.—*Sermon at the Dedication of the House of Worship of the First Church, in Salem, Massachusetts*, 48.

I do not retract what I then said. Cotton Mather was in advance of his times, in liberality of feeling, in reference to sectarian and denominational matters. He was, undoubtedly, a great student, and had read all that an American scholar could then lay his hands on. Marvellous stories were told of the rapidity of his reading. He was a devourer of books. At the same time,

I vindicated him, without reserve, from the charge of pedantry. This I cannot do now. Observation and reflection have modified my views. He made a display, over all his pages, of references and quotations from authors then, as now, rarely read, and of anecdotes, biographical incidents, and critical comments relating to scholars and eminent persons, of whom others have but little information, and of many of whom but few have ever heard. This filled his contemporaries with wonder; led to most extravagant statements, in funeral discourses, by Benjamin Colman, Joshua Gee, and others; and made the general impression that has come down to our day. Without detracting from his learning, which was truly great, it cannot be denied that this superfluous display of it subjects him, justly, to the imputation of pedantry. It may be affected where, unlike the case of Cotton Mather, there is, in reality, no very extraordinary amount of learning. It is a trick of authorship easily practised.

Any one reading Latin with facility, having a good memory, and keeping a well-arranged scrap-book, needs less than half a dozen such books as the following, to make a show of learning and to astonish the world by his references and citations—the six folio volumes of Petavius, on Dogmatic Theology, and his smaller work, *Rationarium Temporum*, a sort of compendium or schedule of universal history; and a volume printed, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, at Amsterdam, compiled by Limborch, consisting of an extensive collection of letters to and from the most eminent men of that and the preceding century, such as Arminius, Vossius, Episcopius, Grotius, and many others, embracing a vast variety of literary history, criticism, biography, theology, philosophy, and ecclesiastical matters—I have before me the copy of this work, owned by that prodigy of learning, Dr. Samuel Parr, who pronounced it "a precious book;" and it may have contributed much to give to his productions, that air of rare learning that astonished his contemporaries. To complete the compendious apparatus, and give the means of exhibiting any quantity of learning, in fields frequented by few, the only other book needed is Melchior Adams's *Lives of Literati*, including all most prominently connected with Divinity, Philosophy, and the progress of learning and culture, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and down to its date, 1615. I have before me, the copy of this last work, owned by Richard Mather, and probably brought over with him, in his perilous voyage, in 1635. It was, successively, in the libraries of his son, Increase, and his grandson, Cotton Mather. At a corner of one of the blank leaves, it is noted, apparently in the hand of Increase Mather: "began Mar. 1. fin-

ished April 30, 1676." According to the popular tradition, Cotton would have read it, in a day or two. It contains interesting items of all sorts—personal anecdotes, critical comments, and striking passages of the lives and writings of more than one hundred and fifty distinguished men, such as Erasmus, Fabricius, Faustus, Cranmer, Tremellius, Peter Martyr, Beza, and John Knox. Whether Mather had access to either of the above-named works, except the last, is uncertain; but, as his library was very extensive, he spared no pains nor expense in furnishing it, and these books were severally then in print, and precisely of the kind to attract him and suit his fancy, it is not unlikely that he had them all. They would have placed in easy reach, much of the mass of amazing erudition with which he "entertained" his readers and hearers.

Cotton Mather died on the thirteenth of February, 1728, at the close of his sixty-fifth year.

Thirty-six years had elapsed since the fatal imbroglio of Salem witchcraft. He had probably long been convinced that it was vain to attempt to shake the general conviction, expressed by Calef, that he had been "the most active and forward of any Minister in the country in those matters," and acquiesced in the general disposition to let that matter rest. It must be pleasing to all, to think that his very last years were freed from the influences that had destroyed the peace of his life and left such a shade over his name. Having met with nothing but disaster from attempting to manage the visible as well as the invisible world, he probably left them both in the hands of Providence; and experienced, as he had never done, a brief period of tranquillity, before finally leaving the scene. His aspiration to control the Province had ceased. The object of his life-long pursuit, the Presidency of the College, was forever baffled. Nothing but mischief and misery to himself and others had followed his attempt to lead the great combat against the Devil and his hosts. It had fired his early zeal and ambition; but that fire was extinguished. The two ties, which more than all others, had bound him, by his good affections and his unhappy passions, to what was going on around him, were severed, nearly at the same time, by the death of his father, in 1723, and of his great and successful rival, Leverett, in 1724. Severe domestic trials and bereavements completed the work of weaning him from the world; and it is stated that, in his very last years, the resentments of his life were buried and the ties of broken friendships restored. The pleasantest intercourse took place between him and Benjamin Colman; men of all parties sought his company and listened to the conversation, which was always one of his shining gifts; he had written kindly about Dudley; and his end was as peace-

ful as his whole life would have been, but for the malignant influences I have endeavored to describe, leading him to the errors and wrongs which, while faithful history records them, men must regard with considerate candor, as God will with infinite mercy.

It is a curious circumstance, that the two great public funerals, in those early times, of which we have any particular accounts left, were of the men who, in life, had been so bitterly opposed to each other. When Leverett was buried, the cavalcade, official bodies, students, and people, "were fain to proceed near as far as Hastings" "before they returned," so great was the length of the procession: the funeral of Mather was attended by the greatest concourse that had ever been witnessed in Boston.

## XIX.

### ROBERT CALEF'S WRITINGS AND CHARACTER.

I approach the close of this protracted discussion with what has been purposely reserved. The article in the *North American Review* rests, throughout, upon a repudiation of the authority of Robert Calef. Its writer says, "his faculties appear to us to have been of an inferior order." "He had a very feeble conception of what credible testimony is." "If he had not intentionally lied, he had a very imperfect appreciation of truth." He speaks of "Calef's disqualifications as a witness." He seeks to discredit him, by suggesting the idea that, in his original movements against Mather, he was instigated by pre-existing enmity—"Robert Calef, between whom and Mr. Mather a personal quarrel existed." "His personal enemy, Calef."

There is no evidence of any difficulty, nor of any thing that can be called "enmity," between these two persons, prior to their dealings with each other, in the Margaret Rule case, commencing on the thirteenth of September, 1693. Mather himself states, in his Diary, that the enmity between them arose out of Calef's opposition to his, Mather's, views relating to the "existence and influences of the invisible world." So far as we have any knowledge, their acquaintance began at the date just mentioned. The suggestion of pre-existing enmity, therefore, gives an unfair and unjust impression.

Robert Calef was a native of England, a young man, residing, first in Roxbury, and afterwards at Boston. He was reputed a person of good sense; and, from the manner in which Mather alludes to him, in one instance, of considerable means: he had, probably, been prosperous in his business, which was that of a merchant. Not a syllable is on record against his character, outside of his controversy with the Mathers; all that is known of him, on the contrary, indicates



that he was an honorable and excellent person. He enjoyed the confidence of the people; and was called to municipal trusts, for which only reliable, discreet, vigilant, and honest citizens were selected, receiving the thanks of the Town for his services, as Overseer of the Poor. As he encountered the madness and violence of the people, when they were led by Cotton Mather, in the witchcraft delusion, it is a singular circumstance, constituting an honorable distinction, in which they shared, that, in a later period of their lives, they stood, shoulder to shoulder, breasting bravely together, another storm of popular fanaticism, by publicly favoring inoculation for the small pox. He offered several of his children to be treated, at the hands of Dr. Boylston, in 1721. His family continued to bear up the respectability of the name, and is honorably mentioned in the municipal records. A vessel, named *London*, was a regular Packet-ship, between that port and Boston, and probably one of the largest class then built in America. She was commanded by "Robert Calef;" and, in the *Boston Evening Post*, of the second of May, 1774, "Dr. Calef of Ipswich" is mentioned among the passengers just arrived in her. Under his own, and other names, the descendants of the family of Calef are probably as numerous and respectable as those of the Mathers; and on that, as all other higher accounts, there is an equal demand for justice to their respective ancestors.

It is related by Mather, that a young woman, named Margaret Rule, belonging to the North part of Boston, "many months after the General 'Storm of the late enchantments, was over," "when the country had long lain pretty quiet," was "seized by the Evil Angels, both as to molestations and accusations from the Invisible World". On the Lord's Day, the tenth of September, 1693, "after some hours of previous disturbance of the public assembly, she fell into odd fits," and had to be taken out of the congregation and carried home, "where her fits, in a few hours, grew into a figure that satisfied the spectators of their being supernatural." He further says, that, "from the 10th of September to the 18th, she kept an entire fast, and yet, she was to all appearance as fresh, as lively, as hearty, at the nine days end, as before they began. In all this time she had a very eager hunger upon her stomach, yet if any refreshment were brought unto her, her teeth would be set, and she would be thrown into many miseries. Indeed, once, or twice, or so, in all this time, her tormentors permitted her to swallow a mouthful of somewhat that might increase her miseries, whereof a spoonful of rum was the most considerable."

The affair, of course, was noised abroad. It reached the ears of Robert Calef. On the thir-

teenth, after sunset, accompanied by some others, he went to the house, "drawn," as he says, "by curiosity to see Margaret Rule, and so much the rather, because it was reported Mr. Mather would be there, that night." They were taken into the chamber where she was in bed. They found her of a healthy countenance. She was about seventeen years of age. Increase and Cotton Mather came in, shortly afterwards, with others. Altogether, there were between thirty and forty persons in the room. Calef drew up Minutes of what was said and done. He repeated his visit, on the evening of the nineteenth. Cotton Mather had been with Margaret half an hour; and had gone before his arrival. Each night, Calef made written minutes of what was said and done, the accuracy of which was affirmed by the signatures of two persons, which they were ready to confirm with their oaths. He showed them to some of Mather's particular friends. Whereupon Mather preached about him; sent word that he should have him arrested for slander; and called him "one of the worst of liars." Calef wrote him a letter, on the twenty-ninth of September; and, in reference to the complaints and charges Mather was making, proposed that they should meet, in either of two places he mentioned, each accompanied by a friend, at which time he, Calef, would read to him the minutes he had taken, of what had occurred on the evenings of the thirteenth and nineteenth. Mather sent a long letter, not to be delivered, but read to him, in which he agreed to meet him, as proposed, at one of the places; but, in the mean time, on the complaint of the Mathers, for scandalous libels upon Cotton Mather, Calef was brought before "their Majesties Justice, and bound over to answer at Sessions." Mather, of course, failed to give him the meeting for conference, as agreed upon. On the twenty-fourth of November, Calef wrote to him again, referring to his failure to meet him and to the legal proceedings he had instituted; and, as the time for appearance in Court was drawing near, he "he thought it not amiss to give a summary" of his views on the "great concern," as to which they were at issue. He states, at the outset, "that there are witches, is not the doubt." The Reviewer seizes upon this expression, to convey the idea that Calef was trying to conciliate Mather, and induce him to desist from the prosecution. Whoever reads the letter will see how unfair and untrue this is. Calef keeps to the point, which was not whether there were, or could be, witches; but whether the methods Mather was attempting, in the case of Margaret Rule, and which had been used in Salem, the year before, were legitimate or defensible. He was determined not to suffer the issue to be shifted.

Upon receiving this letter, Mather, who had

probably, upon reflection, begun to doubt about the expediency of a public prosecution, signified that he had no desire to press the prosecution; and renewed the proposal for a conference. Calef waited on Sessions; but no one appearing against him, was dismissed. The affair seemed, at this crisis, to be tending toward an amicable conclusion. But Mather failed to meet him; and, on the eleventh of January, 1694, Calef addressed him again, recapitulating what had occurred, sending him copies of his previous letters and a copy of the Minutes he had taken of what occurred on the evenings of the thirteenth and nineteenth of September, with these words: "REVEREND SIR: Finding it necessary, on many accounts, I here present you with the copy of that Paper, which has been so much misrepresented, to the end, that what shall be found defective or not fairly represented, if any such shall appear, they may be set right."

This letter concludes in terms which show that, in that stage of the affair, Calef was disposed to treat Mather with great respect; and that sincerely and earnestly desired and trusted that satisfaction might be given and taken, in the interview he so persistently sought—not merely in reference to the case of Margaret Rule, but the general subject of witchcraft, on which they had different apprehensions: "I have reason to hope for a satisfactory answer to him, who is one that reverences your person and office."

This language strikingly illustrates the estimate in which Ministers were held. Reverence for their office and for them, as a body, pervaded all classes.

On the fifteenth of January, Mather replied, complaining, in general terms, of the narrative contained in Calef's Minutes, as follows: "I do scarcely find any one thing, in the whole paper, whether respecting my father or myself, either fairly or truly represented." "The narrative contains a number of mistakes and falsehoods which, were they wilful and designed, might justly be termed great lies." He then goes into a specification of a few particulars, in which he maintains that the Minutes are incorrect.

On the eighteenth of January, Calef replied, reminding him that he had taken scarcely any notice of the general subject of diabolical agency; but that almost the whole of his letter referred to the Minutes of the meetings, on the thirteenth and nineteenth of September; and he maintains their substantial accuracy and shows that some of Mather's strictures were founded upon an incorrect reading of them. In regard to Mather's different recollection of some points, he expresses his belief that if his account, in the Minutes, be not fully exact, it was as near as memory

"could bear away." He notices the fact that he finds in Mather's letter no objection to what related to matters of greatest concern. Mather had complained that the Minutes reported certain statements made by Rule, which had been used to his disadvantage; and Calef suggests, "What can be expected less from the father of lies, by whom, you judge, she was possessed?"

Appended to Mather's letter, are some documents, signed by several persons, declaring that they had seen Rule lifted up by an invisible force from the bed to the top of the room, while a strong person threw his whole weight across her, and several others were trying with all their might to hold her down or pull her back. Upon these certificates, Calef remarks: "Upon the whole, I suppose you expect I should believe it; and if so, the only advantage gained is, that what has been so long controverted between Protestants and Papists, whether miracles are ceased, will hereby seem to be decided for the latter; it being, for aught I can see, if so, as true a miracle as for iron to swim; and 'the Devil can work such miracles.'"

Calef wrote to him again, on the nineteenth of February, once more praying that he would so far oblige him, as to give him his views, on the important subjects; for a right understanding of which he had so repeatedly sought a conference and written so many letters; and expressing his earnest desire to be corrected, if in error, to which end, if Mather would not, he indulged a hope that some others would, afford him relief and satisfaction. On the sixteenth of April, he wrote still another letter. In ail of them, he touched upon the points at issue between them, and importuned Mather to communicate his views, fully, as to one seeking light. On the first of March, he wrote to a gentleman, an acknowledgment of having received, through his hands, "after more than a year's waiting," from Cotton Mather, four sheets of paper, not to be copied, and to be returned in a fortnight. Upon returning them, with comments, he desires the gentleman to request Mr. Mather not to send him any more such papers, unless he could be allowed to copy and use them. It seems that, in answer to a subsequent letter, Mather sent to him a copy of Richard Baxter's *Certainty of the World of Spirits*, to which, after some time, Calef found leisure to reply, expressing his dissent from the views given in that book, and treating the subject somewhat at large. In this letter, which closes his correspondence with Mather, he makes this solemn and severe appeal: "Though there is reason to hope that these diabolical principles have not so far prevailed (with multitudes of Christians), as that they ascribe to a witch and a devil the attributes peculiar to the Almighty; yet how few are willing to be found opposing



"such a torrent, as knowing that in so doing they shall be sure to meet with opposition to the utmost, from the many, both of Magistrates, Ministers, and people; and the name of Sadducee, atheist, and perhaps witch too, cast upon them, most liberally, by men of the highest profession in godliness; and, if not so learned as some of themselves, then accounted only fit to be trampled on, and their arguments (though both rational and scriptural) as fit only for contempt. But though this be the deplorable dilemma, yet some have dared, from time to time, (for the glory of God and the good and safety of men's lives, etc.) to run all these risks. And, that God who has said, 'My glory I will not give to another,' is able to protect those that are found doing their duty herein against all opposers; and, however otherwise contemptible, can make them useful in his own hand, who has sometimes chosen the weakest instruments that His power may be the more illustrious.

"And now, Reverend Sir, if you are conscious to yourself, that you have, in your principles or practices, been abetting to such grand errors, I cannot see how it can consist with sincerity, to be so convinced, in matters so nearly relating to the glory of God and lives of innocents, and, at the same time, so much to fear disparagement among men, as to trifle with conscience and disseminate an approving of former sentiments. You know that word, 'He that honoreth me I will honor, and he that despiseth me shall be lightly esteemed.' But, if you think that, in these matters, you have done your duty, and taught the people theirs; and that the doctrines cited from the above mentioned book [*Baxter's*] are ungainsayable; I shall conclude in almost his words. He that teaches such a doctrine, if through ignorance he believes not what he saith, may be a Christian; but if he believes them, he is in the broad path to heathenism, devilism, popery, or atheism. It is a solemn caution (*Gal. i. 8*): 'But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.' I hope you will not misconstrue my intentions herein, who am, Reverend Sir, yours to command, in what I may."

Resolute in his purpose to bring the Ministers, if possible, to meet the questions he felt it his duty to have considered and settled, and careful to leave nothing undone that he could do, to this end, he sought the satisfaction from others, he had tried, in vain, to obtain from Mather. On the eighteenth of March, 1695, he addressed a letter "To the Ministers, whether English, French, or Dutch," calling their attention to "the mysterious doctrines" relating to the "power of the

"Devil," and to the subject of Witchcraft. On the twentieth of September, he wrote to the Rev Samuel Willard, invoking his attention to the "great concern," and his aid in having it fairly discussed. On the twelfth of January 1696, he addressed "The Ministers in and near Boston," for the same purpose; and wrote a separate letter to the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth.

These documents were all composed with great earnestness, frankness, and ability; and are most creditable to his intelligence, courage, and sense of public duty. I have given this minute account of his proceedings with Mather and the Clergy generally, because I am impressed with a conviction that no instance can be found, in which a great question has been managed with more caution, deliberation, patience, manly openness and uprightness, and heroic steadiness and prowess, than this young merchant displayed, in compelling all concerned to submit to a thorough investigation and over-hauling of opinions and practices, established by the authority of great names and prevalent passions and prejudices, and hedged in by the powers and terrors of Church and State.

It seems to be evident that he must have received aid, in some quarter, from persons conversant with topics of learning and methods of treating such subjects, to an extent beyond the reach of a mere man of business. In the First Volume of the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Page 288, a Memorandum, from which I make an extract, is given, as found in Doctor Belknap's hand-writing, in his copy of Calef's book, in the collection, from the library of that eminent historian, presented by his heirs to that institution: "A young man of good sense, and free from superstition; a merchant in Boston. He was furnished with materials for his work, by Mr. Brattle of Cambridge, and his brother of Boston, and other gentlemen, who were opposed to the Salem proceedings.—E. P."

The fact that Belknap endorsed this statement, gives it sufficient credibility. Who the "E. P." was, from whom it was derived, is not known. If it were either of the Ebenezer Pembertons, father or son, no higher authority could be adduced. But whatever aid Calef received, he so thoroughly digested and appropriated, as to make him ready to meet Mather or any, or all, the other Ministers, for conference and debate; and his title to the authorship of the papers remains complete.

The Ministers did not give him the satisfaction he sought. They were paralyzed by the influence or the fear of the Mathers. Perhaps they were shocked, if not indignant, at a layman's daring to make such a movement against a Minister. It was an instance of the laying of unsanctified hands on the horns of the altar, such as had not been equalled in audacity, since the days of Anne Hutchinson, by any but Quakers. Calef, how-

er, was determined to compel the attention of the world, if he could not that of the Ministers of Boston, to the subject; and he prepared, and sent to England, to be printed, a book, containing all that had passed, and more to the same purpose. It consists of several parts.

PART I. is *An account of the afflictions of Margaret Rule*, written by Cotton Mather, under the title of *Another Brand plucked out of the Burning, or more Wonders of the Invisible World*. In my book, the case of Margaret Rule is spoken of as having occurred the next "Summer" after the witchcraft delusion in Salem. This gives the Reviewer a chance to strike at me, in his usual style, as follows: "The case did not occur in the Summer; the date is patent to any one who will look for it." Cotton Mather says that she first found herself to be formally besieged by "the spectres," on the tenth of September. From the preceding clauses of the same paragraph, it might be inferred that she had had fits before. He speaks of those, on the tenth, as "the first I'll mention." The word "formally," too, almost implies the same. This, however, must be allowed to be the smallest kind of criticism, although uttered by the Reviewer in the style of a petulant pedagogue. If Summer is not allowed to borrow a little of September, it will sometimes not have much to show, in our climate. The tenth of September is, after all, fairly within the astronomical Summer.

The Reviewer says it will be "difficult for me to prove" that Margaret Rule belonged to Mr. Mather's Congregation, before September, 1693. Mather vindicates his taking such an interest in her case, on the ground that she was one of his "poor flock." The Reviewer raises a question on this point; and his controversy is with Mather, not with me. If Rule did not belong to the Congregation of North Boston, when Mather first visited her, his language is deceptive, and his apology, for meddling with the case, founded in falsehood. I make no such charge, and have no such belief. The Reviewer seems to have been led to place Cotton Mather in his own light—in fact, to falsify his language—on this point, by what is said of another Minister's having visited her, to whose flock she belonged, and whom she called, "Father." This was Increase Mather. We know he visited her; and it was as proper for him to do so, as for Cotton. They were associate Ministers of the same Congregation—that to which the girl belonged—and it was natural that she should have distinguished the elder, by calling him "Father."

In contradiction of another of my statements, the Reviewer says: "Mr. Mather did not publish an account of the long-continued fastings, or any other account of the case of Margaret Rule." He seems to think that "published"

means "printed." It does not necessarily mean, and is not defined as exclusively meaning, to put to press. To be "published," a document does not need, now, to be printed. Much less then. Mather wrote it, as he says, with a view to its being printed, and put it into open and free circulation. Calef publicly declared that he received it from "a gentleman, who had it of the author, and communicated it to use, with his express consent." Mather says, in a prefatory note: "I now lay before you a very entertaining story," "of one who had been prodigiously handled by 'the evil Angels.'" "I do not write it with a design of throwing it presently into the press, but only to preserve the memory of such memorable things, the forgetting whereof would neither be pleasing to God, nor useful to men." The unrestricted circulation of a work of this kind, with such a design, was publishing it. It was the form in which almost every thing was published in those days. If Calef had omitted it, in a book professing to give a true and full account of his dealings with Mather, in the Margaret Rule case, he would have been charged with having withheld Mather's carefully prepared view of that case. Mather himself considered the circulation of his "account," as a publication, for in speaking of his design of ultimately printing it himself, he calls it a "farther publication."

PART II. embraces the correspondence between Calef, Mather, and others, which I have particularly described.

PART III. is a brief account of the Parish troubles, at Salem Village.

PART IV. is a correspondence between Calef and a gentleman, whose name is not given, on the subject of witchcraft, the latter maintaining the views then prevalent.

PART V. is *An impartial account of the most memorable matters of fact, touching the supposed witchcraft in New England*, including the "Report" of the Trials given by Mather in his *Wonders of the Invisible World*.

The work is prefaced by an *Epistle to the Reader*, couched in plain but pungent language, in which he says: "It is a great pity that the matters of fact, and indeed the whole, had not been done by some abler hand, better accomplished, and with the advantages of both natural and acquired judgment; but, others not appearing, I have enforced myself to do what is done. My other occasions will not admit any further scrutiny therein." A Postscript contains some strictures on the *Life of Sir Wm. Phips*, then recently printed, "which book," Calef says, "though it bear not the author's name, yet the style, manner, and matter are such, that, were there no other demonstration or token to know him by, it were no witchcraft to determine that Mr.



"Cotton Mather is the author of it." The real agency of Sir William Phips, in demolishing, with one stern blow, the Court of Oyer and Terminer, and treading out the witchcraft prosecutions, has never, until recently, been known. The Records of the Council, of that time, were obtained from England, not long since. They, with the General Court Records, Phips's letter to the Home Government—copied in this article—and the Diary of Judge Sewall, reveal to us the action of the brave Governor, and show how much that generation and subsequent times are indebted to him, for stopping, what, if he had allowed it to go on, would have come, no man can tell "where at last."

Calef speaks of Sir William, kindly: "It is not doubted but that he aimed at the good of the people; and great pity it is that his Government was so sullied (for want of better information and advice from those whose duty it was to have given it) by the hobgoblin Monster, Witchcraft, whereby this country was night-mared and harassed, at such a rate as is not easily imagined."

Such were the contents, and such the tone, of Calef's book. The course he pursued, his carefulness to do right and to keep his position fortified as he advanced, and the deliberate courage with which he encountered the responsibilities, connected with his movement to rid the country of a baleful superstition, are worthy of grateful remembrance.

Mather received intelligence that Calef had sent his book to England, to be printed; and his mind was vehemently exercised in reference to it. He set apart the tenth of June, 1698, for a private Fast on the occasion; and he commenced the exercise of the day, by, "first of all, declaring unto the Lord" that he freely forgave Calef, and praying "the Lord also to forgive him." He "pleaded with the Lord," saying that the design of this man was to hurt his "precious opportunities of glorifying" his "glorious Lord Jesus Christ." He earnestly besought that those opportunities might not be "damified" by Calef's book. And he finished by imploring deliverance from his calumnies. So "I put over my calumnious adversary into the hands of the righteous God."

On the fifth of November, Calef's book having been received in Boston, Mather again made it the occasion of Fasting and Praying. His friends also spent a day of prayer, as he expresses it, "to complain unto God," against Calef, he, Mather, meeting with them. On the twenty-fifth of November, he writes thus, in his Diary: "The Lord hath permitted Satan to raise an extraordinary Storm upon my father and myself. All the rage of Satan, against the holy churches of the Lord, falls upon us. First Calf's and then

"Colman's, do set the people into a mighty ferment."

The entries in his Diary, at this time, show that he was exasperated, to the highest degree, against Calef, to whom he applies such terms as, "a liar," "vile," "infamous," imputing to him diabolical wickedness. He speaks of him as "a weaver;" and, in a pointed manner calls him *Calf*, a mode of spelling his name sometimes practised, but then generally going out of use. The probability is that the vowel *a*, formerly, as in most words, had its broad sound, so that the pronunciation was scarcely perceptibly different, when used as a dissyllable or monosyllable. As the broad sound became disused, to a great extent, about this time, the name was spoken, as well as spelled, as a dyssyllable, the vowel having its long sound. It was written, *Calef*, and thus printed, in the title-page of his book; so that Mather's variation of it was unjustifiable, and an unworthy taunt.

It is unnecessary to say that a fling at a person's previous occupation, or that of his parents—an attempt to discredit him, in consequence of his having, at some period of his life, been a mechanic or manufacturer—or dropping, or altering a letter in his name, does not amount to much, as an impeachment of his character and credibility, as a man or an author. Hard words, too, in a heated controversy, are of no account whatever. In this case, particularly, it was a vain and empty charge, for Mather to call Calef a liar. In the matter of the account, the latter drew up, of what took place in the chamber of Margaret Rule: as he sent it to Mather for correction, and as Mather specified some items which he deemed erroneous, his declaration that all the rest was a tissue of falsehoods, was utterly futile; and can only be taken as an unmeaning and ineffectual expression of temper. So far as the truthfulness of Calef's statements, generally, is regarded, there is no room left for question.

In his Diary for February, 1700, Mather says, speaking of the "calumnies that Satan, by his instrument, *Calf*, had cast upon" him and his father, "the Lord put it into the hearts of a considerable number of our flock, who are, in their temporal condition, more equal unto our adversary, to appear in our vindication." A Committee of seven, including John Goodwin, was appointed for this purpose. They called upon their Pastors to furnish them with materials; which they both did. The Committee drew up, as Mather informs us, in his Diary, a "hand-some answer unto the slanders and libels of our slanderous adversary," which was forthwith printed, with the names of the members of the Committee signed to it. The pamphlet was entitled, *Some Few Remarks, &c.* Mather says of "it: The Lord blesses it, for the illumination of

"his people in many points of our endeavour to serve them, whereof they had been ignorant; and there is also set before all the Churches a very laudable example of a people appearing to vindicate their injured Pastors, when a storm of persecution is raised against them."

This vindication is mainly devoted to the case of the Goodwin children, twelve years before, and to a defence of the course of Increase Mather, in England, in reference to the Old and New Charters. No serious attempt was made to controvert material points in Calef's book, relating to Salem Witchcraft. As it would have been perfectly easy, by certificates without number, to have exposed any error, touching that matter, and as no attempt of the kind was made, on this or any other occasion, the only alternative left is to accept Hutchinson's conviction, that "Calef was a fair relator" of that passage in our history.

His book has, therefore, come down to us, bearing the ineffaceable stamp of truth.

It was so regarded, at the time, in England, as shown in the manner in which it was referred to by Francis Hutchinson and Daniel Neal; and in America, in the way in which Thomas Hutchinson speaks of Calef, and alludes to matters as stated by him. I present, entire, the judgment of Dr. John Eliot, as given in his *Biographical Dictionary*. Bearing in mind that Eliot's work was published in 1806, the reader is left to make his own comments on the statement, in the *North American Review*, that I originated, in 1831, the unfavorable estimate of Cotton Mather's agency in the witchcraft delusion of 1692. It is safe to say that no higher authority can be cited than that of John Eliot: "CALEF, ROBERT, merchant, in the town of Boston, rendered himself famous by his book against Witchcraft, when the people of Massachusetts were under the most strange kind of delusion. The nature of this crime, so opposite to all common sense, has been said to exempt the accusers from observing the rules of common sense. This was evident from the trials of witches, at Salem, in 1692. Mr. Calef opposed facts, in the simple garb of truth, to fanciful representations; yet he offended men of the greatest learning and influence. He was obliged to enter into a controversy, which he managed with great boldness and address. His letters and defence were printed, in a volume, in London, in 1700. Dr. Increase Mather was then President of Harvard College; he ordered the wicked book to be burnt in the College yard; and the members of the Old North Church published a defence of their Pastors, the Rev. Increase and Cotton Mather. The pamphlet, printed on this occasion, has this title-page: *Remarks upon a scandalous book, against the Government and Ministry of New England, written by Robert*

*Calef, &c.* Their motto was, *Truth will come off conqueror*, which proved a satire upon themselves, because Calef obtained a complete triumph. The Judges of the Court and the Jury confessed their errors; the people were astonished at their own delusion; reason and common sense were evidently on Calef's side; and even the present generation read his book with mingled sentiments of pleasure and admiration."

Calef's book continues, to this day, the recognized authority on the subject. Its statements of matters of fact, not disputed nor specifically denied by the parties affected, living at the time, nor attempted to be confuted, then, and by them, never can be. The current of nearly two centuries has borne them beyond all question. No assault can now reach them. No writings of Mather have ever received more evidence of public interest or favor. First printed in London, Calef's volume has gone through four American editions, the last, in 1861, edited by Samuel P. Fowler, is presented in such eligible type and so readable a form, as to commend it to favorable notice.

It may be safely said that few publications have produced more immediate or more lasting effects. It killed off the whole business of Margaret Rule. Mather abandoned it altogether. In 1694, he said "the forgetting thereof would neither be pleasing to God nor useful to men." Before Calef had done with him, he had dropped it forever.

Calef's book put a stop to all such things, in New and Old England. It struck a blow at the whole system of popular superstition, relating to the diabolical world, under which it reels to this day. It drove the Devil out of the preaching, the literature, and the popular sentiments of the world. The traces of his footsteps, as controlling the affairs of men and interfering with the Providence of God, are only found in the dark recesses of ignorance, the vulgar profanities of the low, and a few flash expressions and thoughtless forms of speech.

No one can appreciate the value of his service. If this one brave man had not squarely and defiantly met the follies and madness, the priestcraft and fanaticism, of his day; if they had been allowed to continue to sway Courts and Juries; if the pulpit and the press had continued to throw combustibles through society, and, in every way, inflame the public imaginations and passions, what limit can be assigned to the disastrous consequences?

Boston Merchants glory in the names, on their proud roll of public benefactors, of men whose wisdom, patriotism, and munificence have upheld, adorned, and blessed society; but there is no one of their number who encountered more



danger, showed more moral and intellectual prowess, or rendered more noble service to his fellow citizens and fellow men, every where, than ROBERT CALEF.

I again ask attention to the language used in the *North American Review*, for April, 1869. "These views, respecting Mr. Mather's connection with the Salem trials, are to be found IN NO PUBLICATION OF A DATE PRIOR TO 1831, when "Mr. Upham's *Lectures* were published."

Great as may be the power of critical journals, they cannot strike into non-existence, the recorded and printed sentiments of Brattle, the Hutchinsons, Neal, Watts, Bentley, Eliot, Quincy, and Calef.

## XX.

## MISCELLANEOUS REMARKS. CONCLUSION.

There are one or two minor points, where the Reviewer finds occasion to indulge in his peculiar vein of criticism on my book, which it is necessary to notice before closing, in order to prevent wrong impressions being made by his article, touching the truth of history.

A pamphlet, entitled, *Some Miscellaneous Observations on our present debates respecting Witchcraft, in a Dialogue between S and B*, has been referred to. It was published in Philadelphia, in 1692. Its printing was procured by Hezekiah Usher, a leading citizen of Boston, who, at the later stages of the prosecution, had been cried out upon, by the accusing girls, and put under arrest. Its author was understood to be the Rev. Samuel Willard. The Reviewer claims for its writer precedence over the Rev. John Wise, of Ipswich, and Robert Pike, of Salisbury, as having earlier opposed the proceedings. Wise headed a Memorial, in favor of John Proctor and against the use of spectral evidence, before the trials that took place on the fifth of August; and Pike's second letter to Judge Corwin was dated the eighth of August.

The pamphlet attributed to Willard is a spirited and able performance; but seems to allow the use of spectral evidence, when bearing against persons of "ill-fame."

Pike concedes all that believers in the general doctrines of witchcraft demanded, particularly the ground taken in the pamphlet attributed to Willard, and then proceeds, by the most acute technical logic, based upon solid common sense, to overturn all the conclusions to which the Court had been led. It was sent, by special messenger, to a Judge on the Bench, who was also an associate with Pike at the Council Board of the Province. Wise's paper was addressed to the Court of Assistants, the Supreme tribunal of the Province. The *Miscellany Observations*, appear to have been written after the trials. There is nothing, however, absolutely to determine the pre-

cise date; and they were published anonymously, in Philadelphia. The right of Wise and Pike to the credit of having first, by written remonstrance, opposed the proceedings, on the spot, cannot, I think, be taken away.

The Reviewer charges me, in reference to one point, with not having thought it necessary to "pore over musty manuscripts, in the obscure "chirography of two centuries ago." So far as my proper subject could be elucidated by it, I am constrained to claim, that this labor was encountered, to an extent not often attempted. The files of Courts, and State, County, Town, and Church records, were very extensively and thoroughly studied out. So far as the Court papers, belonging to the witchcraft Examinations and Trials, are regarded, much aid was derived from *Records of Salem Witchcraft, copied from the original documents*, printed in 1864, by W. Eliot Woodward. But such difficulty had been experienced in deciphering them, that the originals were all subjected to a minute re-examination. The same necessity existed in the use of the *Annals of Salem*, prepared and published by that most indefatigable antiquary, the late Rev. Joseph B. Felt, LL. D. In writing a work for which so little aid could be derived from legislative records or printed sources, bringing back to life a generation long since departed, and reproducing a community and transaction so nearly buried in oblivion; covering a wide field of genealogy, topography and chronology, embracing an indefinite variety of municipal, parochial, political, social, local, and family matters, and of things, names, and dates without number, it was, after all, impossible to avoid feeling that many errors and oversights might have been committed; and, as my only object was to construct a true and adequate history, I coveted, and kept myself in a frame gratefully to receive all corrections and suggestions, with a view of making the work as perfect as possible, in a reprint. As I was reasonably confident that the ground under me could stand, at all important points, any assaults of criticism, made in the ordinary way, it gave me satisfaction to hear, as I did, in voices of rumor reaching me from many quarters, that an article was about to appear in the *North American Review* that would "demolish" my book. I flattered myself that, whether it did or not, much valuable information would, at least, be received, that would enable me to make my book more to my purpose, by making it more true to history.

After the publication of the article, and before I could extricate myself from other engagements so far as to look into it, I read, in editorials, from week to week, in newspapers and journals, that I had been demolished. Surely, I thought, some great errors have been discovered, some precious "original sources" opened, some lost records ex-

humbled, so that now, at last, no matter by whom, the story of Salem witchcraft can be told. My disappointment may be imagined, when, upon examining the article, it appeared that only one error had been discovered in my book, and that I now proceed to acknowledge.

The Reviewer says: "Thomas Brattle, the 'Treasurer of Harvard College, (not William 'Brattle, a merchant of Boston, as Mr. Upham 'states) wrote, at the time, an account of Salem 'Witchcraft.'" This was not an error of the press, but wholly my own, as it is in the "copy," sent to the printers. In finding the interesting relations held by the Rev. William Brattle with the Salem Village Parish, after the death of Mr. Green, he being called to act as their patron and guide, and eventually marrying Green's widow, his name became familiar to my thoughts, and slipped through my pen. Every one who has gone through the drudgery of proof-reading knows what ridiculous and, sometimes, frightful, errors are detected, even in the "last revise." Upon opening the volume, when it came to me from the binder, I saw this error and immediately informed my publishers. It is pleasing to think that it cost the Reviewer no pains to discover it, as the right name stands out in the caption of the article, which is in capital letters—*Massachusetts Historical Collections*, 1., v., 61—where alone he or I could have seen it.

Mistakes in names and dates—always provoking, often inexplicable—are a fate to which all are liable. In a friendly, elaborate, and able notice of my book, in a newspaper of high character, it is stated that Salem Village was the home of the family which gave General Rufus Putnam to "the War of 1812;" and George Burroughs is called "John" Burroughs.

It is sometimes as hard to correct an error, as it is easy to fall into one. In pointing out my inadvertant mistake, the Reviewer unwittingly reproduces it. His sentence, just quoted, is liable to convey the idea that William Brattle was "a merchant of Boston." As he has been kind enough, all through his article, to tell what I ought to have read, and seen, and done, I venture to suggest that his sentence ought to have been constructed thus: "Thomas Brattle, a merchant of Boston, (not William, as Mr. Upham 'says.)"

A queer fatality seems to have attended this attempt to correct my error.

A reader of the *North American Review* cannot fail to have noticed the manner in which the late Rev. Dr. Peabody, as well as myself, is held up to ridicule, for having called Cotton Mather, "Dr." when referring to any thing previous to his having received his Doctorate. Perhaps we were excusable. By usage, such honorary titles, and indeed all titles, are applied retrospectively,

running back over the life, indefinitely. The *Encyclopædia Americana*, Eliot's *Biographical Dictionary*, and one of the last numbers of the *Historic Genealogical Register*, all give that title to Increase Mather, referring to a period anterior to its having been conferred upon him. The title was given by the learned editor of the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, to Cotton Mather, in the caption of his letter to Governor Dudley. In the *Mather Papers*, letters written a score of years before that degree had been conferred on him, are endorsed "Doctor Cotton Mather." If the high authority of the *North American Review* is to establish it, as a literary canon, that titles are never to be given, except in relation to a period subsequent to their conferment, writers must, hereafter, be very careful, when cursorily alluding to anything in the earlier lives of the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Castlereagh, the Duke of Wellington, Doctor Franklin, Doctor Channing, or Doctor Priestley, to say, Mr. Churchill, Mr. Stewart, Mr. Wellesley, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Channing, or Mr. Priestley.

What renders this making of a great matter out of so trivial a point, by our Reviewer, amusing, as well as ridiculous, is that he is the first to break his own rule.

"'Tis the sport to have the engineer  
"Hoist with his own petard."

The critic is caught by his own captious criticism. In the passage, pointing out the error in the name of Brattle, he calls him, "at the time" he wrote the account of Salem witchcraft, "the 'Treasurer of Harvard College.'" Brattle held not then, and never had held, that honorable trust and title, though subsequently appointed to the office.

It is not probable that Cotton Mather will ever find a biographer more kind and just than the late W. B. O. Peabody, whose mild and pleasant humor was always kept under the sway of a sweet spirit of candor and benevolence, and who has presented faithfully all the good points and services of his subject—*Sparks's American Biography*, Vol. VI. But the knight errant who has just entered the lists, brandishing his spear against all who have uttered a lisp against Cotton Mather, goes out of his way to strike at Doctor Peabody. He inserts, at the foot of one of his pages, this sneering Note: "Mr. 'Peabody says; 'Little did the venerable Doctor 'tor think,' etc. The venerable Doctor was 'twenty-nine years of age! and was no Doctor 'at all.'"

Let us see how the ridicule of the Reviewer can be parried by his own weapons. Indulging myself, for a moment, in his style, I have to say that "this Reviewer has never seen" Worcester's Dictionary, nor Webster's Dictionary, in



neither of which does time or age enter into the definition of *venerable*. The latter gives the sense as follows: "Rendered sacred by religious associations, or being consecrated to God and to his worship; to be regarded with awe, and treated with reverence." Further: "This Reviewer should have been familiar enough with the original sources of information on 'this subject,' to have known that it was common, in those days, to speak and think of such persons as Cotton Mather, although not old in years, as 'venerable.' All the customs, habits, ideas, and sentiments of the people invested them with that character. Their costume and bearing favored it. The place they filled, and the power they exercised, imparted awe and veneration, whatever their years. All that age could contribute to command respect was anticipated and brought, to gather round the young Minister, when hands were laid upon him, at his ordination, by the title he thenceforth wore, of 'Elder.' By his talents, learning, and ambition, Cotton Mather had become recognized as a 'Father in the Church;' and his aspect, as he stood in the pulpit of 'North Boston,' fulfilled the idea of venerableness. And we find that this very term was applied to the representative centre of a consecrated family, in the 'Attestation' to the *Magnalia*, written by John Higginson, venerable in years, as in all things else, in some Latin lines of his composure: "*Venerande Mathere.*"

In the popular eye, Cotton Mather concentrated all the sacred memories of the great "deceivrate," as Higginson called it, of the Mathers, who had been set apart as Ministers of God; and he was venerable, besides, in the associations connected with the hallowed traditions of his maternal grand-father, whose name he bore, John Cotton.

An object is *venerable*, whether it be a person, a building, a locality, or any thing else, around which associations gather, that inspire reverence. Age, in itself, suggests the sentiment, if its natural effect is not marred by unworthiness: so does wisdom. Virtue is venerable, whatever the age. So are all great traits of character; and so is every thing that brings to the mind consecrated thoughts and impressions. There was much in Mather's ancestry, name, and office, to suggest the term, without any regard whatever to his years. If applied to him by the people of that day, or by a writer now, in reference to any period of his life after entering the ministry and being classed with the Elders of the Church and the land, it was entirely legitimate and appropriate.

While acknowledging the one error, detected by the Reviewer, I avail myself of the opportunity to apprise those who have my book

of a probable error, not discovered by him. In Vol. II. p. 208, the name of "Elizabeth Carey" is given among those for whose arrest Warrants were issued, on the twenty-eighth of May, 1692. On page 238, the name "Elizabeth Cary" is again mentioned. The facts are, that Calef, (p. 95,) says: "MAY 24TH: Mrs. Carey, of Charles-town, was examined and committed. Her husband, Mr. Nathaniel Carey, has given account thereof, as also of her escape, to this effect." He then gives a letter going into much interesting detail, evidently written by her husband, and signed "Jonathan Carey." Hutchinson (*History*, ii. 49,) repeats Calef's account, calling the woman, "Elizabeth, wife of Nathaniel;" and gives the substance of her husband's letter, without attempting to explain, or even noticing, the discrepancy as to the name of the husband. Not knowing what to make of it, I examined the miscellaneous mass of papers, in the Clerk's office, and found, on a small scrip, the original Complaint, on which the Warrant was issued. It is the only paper, relating to the case, in existence, or at least to be found here. In it, the woman is described as "Elizabeth, the wife of Capt. Nathaniel Carey of Charlestown, mariner." This seemed to settle it and I let it pass, without attempting to explain how "Jonathan Carey" came to appear as the husband of the woman, in the letter signed by that name. I am now quite convinced that, in this case, I was misled, together with Calef and Hutchinson, by paying too much regard to "original sources." I am satisfied that the authority of the letter of "Jonathan Carey," must stand; that the woman was his wife, "Hannah;" and that the error is in the original "Complaint," here on file.

The facts, probably, were, that, it being rumored in Charlestown that a Mrs. Carey was "cried out upon," without its being known which Mrs. Carey it was, Jonathan, determined to meet the matter at the threshold, took his wife directly to the spot. He arrived at Salem Village, in the midst of a great excitement, bringing together a crowd of people, half crazed under the terrors of the hour. Nobody knew him, which would not have been so likely to have been the case with his brother, Nathaniel, who was a more conspicuous character. He could find no one he knew, except Mr. Hale, who was formerly a Charlestown man, and whom he soon lost in the confusion of the scene. The accusing girls were on the look out, and noticing these two strangers, enquired their names, and were told, *Mr. and Mrs. Carey*. They had been crying out upon *Elizabeth Carey*, and thinking they had her, informed Thomas Putnam and Benjamin Hutchinson, two persons perfectly deluded by them, who instantly drew

up the Complaint. In the hurry and horrors of the moment, the error in the names was not discovered: *Jonathan* and *Hannah* were sent forthwith to prison, from which they broke, and escaped to New York. The girls, thinking they had got *Mrs. Elizabeth Carey* in prison, said no more about it. As Jonathan and his wife were safe, and beyond reach, the whole matter dropped out of the public mind; and Mrs. Elizabeth remained undisturbed. This is the only way in which I can account for the strange incongruity of the statements, as found in the "Complaint," Calef, and Hutchinson. The letter of Jonathan Carey is decisive of the point that it was "*Hannah*," his wife, that was arrested, and escaped. The error in Calef was not discovered by him, as his book was printed in London; and, under the general disposition to let the subject pass into oblivion, if possible, no explanation was ever given.

I cannot let the letter of Jonathan Carey pass, without calling to notice his statement that, upon reaching New York, they found "His Excellency, Benjamin Fletcher, Esq. very courteous" to them. Whatever multiplies pleasant historical reminiscences and bonds of association between different States, ought to be gathered up and kept fresh in the minds of all. The fact that when Massachusetts was suffering from a fiery and bloody, but brief, persecution by its own Government, New York opened so kind and secure a shelter for those fortunate enough to escape to it, ought to be forever held in grateful remembrance by the people of the old Bay State, and constitutes a part of the history of the Empire State, of which she may well be proud. If the historians and antiquaries of the latter State can find any traces, in their municipal or other archives, or in any quarter, of the refuge which the Careys and others found among them, in 1692, they would be welcome contributions to our history, and strengthen the bonds of friendly union.

The Reviewer seems to imagine that, by a stroke of his pen, he can, at any time, make history. Referring to Governor Winthrop, in connection with the case of Margaret Jones, forty-two years before, he says that he "presided at her Trial; signed her Death-warrant; and wrote the report of the case in his journal." The fact that, in his private journal, he has a paragraph relating to it, hardly justifies the expression "wrote the report of the case." Where did he, our Reviewer, find authority for the positive statement that Winthrop "signed the Death-warrant?" We have no information, I think, as to the use of Death-warrants, as we understand such documents to be, in those days; and especially are we ignorant as to the official who drew and signed the Order for the execu-

tion of a capital convict. Sir William Phips, although present, did not sign the Death-warrant of Bridget Bishop.

The Reviewer expresses, over and over again, his great surprise at the view given in my book of Cotton Mather's connection with Salem witchcraft. It is quite noticeable that his language, to this effect, was echoed through that portion of the Press committed to his statements. My sentiments were spoken of as "surprising errors." What I had said was, as I have shown, a mere continuation of an ever-received opinion; and it was singular that it gave such a widespread simultaneous shock of "surprise." But that shock went all around. I was surprised at their surprise; and may be allowed, as well as the Reviewer, to express and explain that sensation. It was awakened deeply and forcibly by the whole tenor of his article. He was the first reader of my book, it having been furnished him by the Publishers before going to the binder. He wrote an elaborate, extended, and friendly notice of it, in a leading paper of New York city, kindly calling it "a monument of historical and antiquarian research;" "a narrative as fascinating as the latest novel;" and concluding thus: "Mr. Upham deserves the thanks of the many persons interested in 'psychological inquiries, for the minute details he has 'given of these transactions.' Some criticisms were suggested, in reference to matters of form in the work; but not one word was said about Cotton Mather. The change that has come over the spirit of his dream is more than surprising.

The reference, in the foregoing citation, to "psychological enquiries," suggests to me to allude, before closing, to remarks made by some other critics. I did not go into the discussion, with any particularity, of the connection, if any, between the witchcraft developments of 1692 and modern spiritualism, in any of its forms. A fair and candid writer observes that "the facts 'and occurrences,' as I state them, involve difficulties which I 'have not solved. There are 'depths,' he continues, 'in this melancholy episode, which his plummet has not sounded, by 'a great deal.' This is perfectly true.

With a full conviction that the events and circumstances I was endeavoring to relate, afforded more material for suggestions, in reference to the mysteries of our spiritual nature, than any other chapter in history, I carefully abstained, with the exception of a few cautionary considerations hinting at the difficulties that encompass the subject, from attempting to follow facts to conclusions, in that direction. My sole object was to bring to view, as truthfully, thoroughly, and minutely, as I could, the phenomena of the case, as bare historical facts,



from which others were left to make their own deductions. This was the extent of the service I desired to render, in aid of such as may attempt to advance the boundaries of the spiritual department of science. I was content, and careful, to stay my steps. Feeling that the story I was telling led me along the outer edge of what is now knowledge—that I was treading the shores of the *ultima Thule*, of the yet discovered world of truth—I did not venture upon the ocean beyond. My only hope was to afford some data to guide the course of those who may attempt to traverse it. Other hands are to drop the plummet into its depths, and other voyagers feel their way over its surface to continents that are waiting, as did this Western Hemisphere, for ages upon ages, to be revealed. The belief that fields of science may yet be reached, by exploring the connection between the corporeal and spiritual spheres of our being, in which explorations the facts presented in the witchcraft Delusion may be serviceable, suggested one of the motives that led me to dedicate my volumes to the Professor of Physiology in Harvard University.

The Reviewer concludes his article by saying that the "History of Salem witchcraft is as yet 'unwritten,'" but, that I must write it; and he tells me how to write it. He advises a more concise form, although his whole article consists of complaints because I avoided discussions and condensed documents, which, if fully gone into and spread out at length, would have swelled the dimensions of the work, as well as broken the thread of the narrative. It must be borne in mind, that a reader can only be held to the line of a subject, by an occasional retrospection and reiteration of what must be constantly kept in view. The traveler needs, at certain points and suitable stages, to turn and survey the ground over which he has passed. A condensation that would strike out such recapitulations and repetitions, might impair the effect of a work of any kind, particularly, of one embracing complicated materials.

The Reviewer says that, "by all means, I must 'give references to authorities,' when I quote. This, as a general thing, is good advice. But it must be remembered that my work consists of three divisions. The History of Salem Village constitutes the First. This is drawn, almost wholly, from papers in the offices of registry, and from judicial files of the County, to which references would be of little use, and serve only to cumber and deform the pages. Everything can be verified by inspection of the originals, and not otherwise. The Second Part is a cursory, general, abbreviated sketch or survey of the history of opinions, not designed as an authoritative treatise for special students, but to prepare the

reader for the Third Part, the authorities for which are, almost wholly, Court files.

As to the remaining suggestion, that I must divide the work into Chapters, with headings, there is something to be said. When the nature of an historical work admits of its being invested with a dramatic interest—and all history is capable, more or less, of having that attraction—where minute details can fill up the whole outline of characters, events, and scenes, all bearing the impress of truth and certainty, real history, being often stranger than fiction, may be, and ought to be, so written as to bring to bear upon the reader, the charm, and work the spell, of what is called romance. The same solicitude, suspense, and sensibilities, which the parties, described, experienced, can be imparted to the reader; and his feelings and affections keep pace with the developments of the story, as they arise, with the progress of time and events. Headings to Chapters, in historical works, capable of this dramatic element, would be as out of place, and as much mar and defeat the effect, as in a novel.

As for division into Chapters. This was much thought of and desired; but the nature of the subject presented obstacles that seem insurmountable. One topic necessarily ran into, or overlapped, another. No chronological unity, if the work had been thus cut up, could have been preserved; and much of the ground would have had to be gone over and over again. Examinations, Trials, Executions were, often, all going on at once.

There is danger of a diminution of the continuous interest of some works, thus severed into fragments. There are, indeed, animals that will bear to be chopped up indefinitely, and each parcel retain its life: not so with others. The most important of all documents have suffered injury, not to be calculated, in their attractiveness and impressiveness, by being divided into Chapter and Verse, in many instances without reference to the unity of topics, or coherence of passages; dislocating the frame of narratives, and breaking the structure of sentences. We all know to what a ridiculous extent this practice was, for a long period, carried in Sermons, which were "divided" to a degree of artificial and elaborate dissection into "heads," that tasked to the utmost the ingenuity of the preacher, and overwhelmed the discernment and memory of the hearer. He, in fact, was thought the ablest sermonizer, who could stretch the longest string of divisions, up to the "nineteenthly," and beyond. This fashion has a prominent place among *The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion*, by John Eachard, D. D., a work published in London, near the commence-

ment of the last century—one of the few books, like Cale's, which have turned the tide, and arrested the follies, of their times. In bold, free, forcible satire, Eachard's book stands alone. Founded on great learning, inspired by genuine wit, its style is plain even to homeliness. It struck at the highest, and was felt and appreciated by the lowest. It reformed the pulpit, simplified the literature, eradicated absurdities of diction and construction, and removed many of the ecclesiastic abuses, of its day. No work of the kind ever met with a more enthusiastic reception. I quote from the Eleventh Edition, printed in 1705: "We must observe, that there is a great difference in texts. For all texts come not asunder, alike; for sometimes the words naturally fall asunder; sometimes they drop asunder; sometimes they melt; sometimes they untwist; and there be some words so willing to be parted, that they divide themselves, to the great ease and rejoicing of the Minister. But if they will not easily come in pieces, then he falls to hacking and hewing, as if he would make all fly into shivers. The truth of it is, I have known, now and then, some knotty texts, that have been divided seven or eight times over, before they could make them split handsomely, according to their mind."

An apology to those critics who have complained of my not dividing my book into Chapters, is found in the foregoing passage. I tried to do it, but found it a "knotty" subject, and, like the texts Eachard speaks of, "would not easily come in pieces." With all my efforts, it it could not be made to "split handsomely."

This, and all other suggestions of criticism, are gratefully received and respectfully considered. But, after all, it will not be well to establish any canons, to be, in all cases, implicitly obeyed, by all writers. Much must be left to individual judgment. Regard must be had to the nature of subjects. Instead of servile uniformity, variety and diversity must be encouraged. In this way, only, can we have a free, natural, living literature.

In passing, I would say, that in meeting the demand made upon me by the Reviewer, to re-write the history of Salem witchcraft, I shall avail myself of the opportunity to correct the single error he has mentioned. In a re-issue of the work, I shall endeavor to make it as accurate as possible. Anything that is found to be wrong shall be rectified. The work, in the different forms in which it was published, is nearly out of print. When issued again, it will be in a less costly style and more within the reach of all. From the result of my own continued researches and the suggestions of others, I feel inclined to the opinion that no very considerable

alterations will be made; and that subsequent editions, will not impair the authority or value of the work, as originally published, in 1867.

In preparing the statement, now brought to a close, the only object has been to get at, and present, the real facts of history. Nothing, merely personal, affecting the writer in the *North American Review* or myself, can be considered as of comparative moment. Many of the expressions used by that writer, as to what I have "seen" or "read" and the like, are, it must be confessed, rather peculiar; but of very little interest to the public. Any notice, taken of them, has been incidental, and such as naturally arose in the treatment of the subject.

In parting with the reader, I venture so far further to tax his patience, as to ask to take a retrospective glance, together, over the outlines of the road we have travelled.

In connection with some preliminary observations, the first step in the argument was to show the relation of the Mathers, father and son, to the superstitions of their times culminating in the Witchcraft Delusion of 1692, and their share of responsibility therefor. The several successive stages of the discussion were as follows:—The connection of Cotton Mather with alleged cases of Witchcraft in the family of John Goodwin of Boston, in 1688; and said Goodwin's certificates disposed of: Mather's idea of Witchcraft, as a war waged by the Devil against the Church; and his use of prayer: The connection between the cases, at Boston in 1688, and at Salem in 1692: The relation of the Mathers to the Government of Massachusetts, in 1692: The arrival of Sir William Phips; the impression made upon him by those whom he first met; his letter to the Government in England: The circumstances attending the establishment of the Special Court of Oyer and Terminer, and the precipitance with which it was put into operation: Its proceedings, conducted by persons in the interest of the Mathers: Spectral Testimony; and the extent to which it was authorized by them to be received at the Trials, as affording grounds of enquiry and matter of presumption: Letter of Cotton Mather to one of the Judges: The Advice of the Ministers: Cotton Mather's probable plan for dealing with spectral evidence: His views on that subject, as gathered from his writings and declarations: The question of his connection with the Examinations before the Magistrates: His connection with the Trials and Executions: His Report of five of the Trials: His book entitled *The Wonders of the Invisible World*; its design; the circumstances attending its preparation for the press; and the views, feelings, and expectations of its author, exhibited in extracts from it: Increase Mather's *Cases of Conscience*: The suppression of the Court of Oyer and Terminer, by



Sir William Phips: Cotton Mather's views subsequent to 1692, as gathered from his writings.

In traversing the field thus marked out, I submit that it has become demonstrated that, while Cotton Mather professed concurrence in the generally-received judgment of certain writers against the reception of spectral evidence, he approved of the manner in which it had been received by the Judges, at the Salem Trials, and eulogized them throughout, from the beginning to the end of the prosecutions, and ever after. He vindicated, as a general principle, the *admission* of that species of testimony, on the ground of its being a sufficient basis of enquiry and presumption, and needing only some additional evidence, —his own Report and papers on file show how little was required—to justify conviction and execution. This has been proved, at large, by an examination of his writings and actions, and is fully admitted by him, in various forms of language, on several occasions—substantially, in his statement, that Spectral Testimony was the “chief” ground upon which “divers” were condemned and executed, and, explicitly, in his letter to Foster, in which he says that “a very “great use is to be made” of it, in the manner and to the extent just mentioned; and that, when thus used, the “use for which the Great God intended it,” will be made. In the same passage, he commends the Judges for having admitted it; and declares they had the divine blessing thereupon, inasmuch as “God strangely sent other “convincing testimony,” to corroborate, and thereby render it sufficient to convict. In his Address to the General Assembly, years afterward, he fully admits that the Judges, in 1692, whose course he applauded at the time, allowed persons to be adjudged guilty, “merely because” of Spectral Testimony.

My main purpose and duty, in preparing this article, have been to disprove the absolute and unlimited assertions made by the contributor to the *North American Review*, that Cotton Mather was opposed to the *admission* of Spectral Evidence; “denounced it as illegal, uncharitable, “and cruel;” and “ever testified against it, both “publicly and privately;” and that the *Advice of the Ministers*, drawn up by him, “was very “specific in excluding Spectral Testimony.”

It has been thought proper, also, to vindicate the truth of history against the statements of this Reviewer, on some other points; as, for instance, by showing that the opinion of Cotton Mather's particular responsibility for the Witchcraft Tragedy, instead of originating with me, was held at the time, at home and abroad, and has come down, through an unbroken series of the most accredited writers, to our day; and that the influence of the Mathers never recovered from the shock given it, by the catastrophe of 1692.

The apology for the great length of this article is, that the high authority justly accorded to the *North American Review*, demanded, in controverting any position taken in its columns, a thorough and patient investigation, and the production, in full, of the documents belonging to the question. It has further been necessary, in order to get at the predominating tendency and import of Cotton Mather's writings, to cite them, in extended quotations and numerous extracts. To avoid the error into which the Reviewer has fallen, the peculiarity of Mather's style must be borne in mind. Opposite drifts of expression appear in different writings and in different parts of the same writing; and, not infrequently, the clauses of the same passage have contrary bearings. He often palters, with himself as well as others, in a double sense.

Quotations, to any amount, from the writings of either of the Mathers, of passages having the appearance of discountenancing spectral evidence, can be of no avail in sustaining the positions taken by the Reviewer, because they are qualified by the admission, that evidence of that sort might and ought, notwithstanding, to be received as a basis for enquiry and ground of presumption, and, if supported by other ordinary testimony, was sufficient for conviction. That other testimony, when adduced, was, as represented by Mather, clothed with a divine authority; having, as he says, been supplied by a special Providence, and been justly regarded, by the “excellent “Judges,” as “an encouraging presence of God, “strangely sent in.” It could, indeed, in the then state of the public mind, always be readily obtained. No matter how small in quantity or utterly irrelevant, it was sufficient for conviction, coming after the Spectral Evidence, To minds thus subdued and overwhelmed with “awe,” trifles light as air were confirmation strong.

It is to be presumed that his warmest admirers would not think of comparing Cotton Mather with his transatlantic correspondent and coadjutor, as to force of character, power of mind, or the moral and religious value of their writings. Yet there were some striking similarities between them. They were men of undoubted genius and great learning. They were all their lives awake to whatever was going on around them. Earnestly interested, and actively engaging, in all questions of theology and government, they both rushed forthwith and incontinently to the press, until their publications became too voluminous and numerous to be patiently read or easily counted. Of course, what they printed was imbued with the changing aspects of the questions they handled and open to the imputation of inconsistency, of which Baxter was generally disregarded and Mather mostly unconscious.

Sir Roger L'Estrange was one of the great

wits and satirists of his age. His style was rough and reckless. A vehement and fierce upholder of the doctrines of arbitrary government, he was knighted by James the Second. His controversial writings, having all the attractions of unscrupulous invective and homely but cutting sarcasm, were much patronized by the great, and extensively read by the people. All Nonconformists and Dissenters were the objects of his coarse abuse. He issued an ingenious pamphlet with this title: *The Casuist uncased; in a Dialogue betwixt Richard and Baxter, with a moderator between them, for quietness sake.*" The two disputants range over a variety of subjects, and are quite vehement against each other; the Moderator interposing to keep them to the point, preserve order in the debate, and, as occasion required, reduce them to "quietness." At one stage of the altercation, he exclaimed: "If an Angel from Heaven, I perceive, were employed to bring you two to an agreement, he should lose his labor." Great was the amusement of all classes to find that the language uttered by the combatants, on each side, was taken from one or another of writings published by Richard Baxter, during his diversified controversial life.

If any skilful and painstaking humorist of our day, should feel so disposed, he might, by wading through the sea of Cotton Mather's writings, pick up material enough for the purpose; and, by cutting in halves paragraphs and sentences, entertain us in the same way, by giving to the public, through the Press, "*A Dialogue betwixt COTTON and MATHER. with a Moderator between them for quietness sake.*"

## II.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

MEMOIRS OF THE RICHELIEU.—The Richelieu valley, from Chambly to Sorel, was the centre of insurrection, in 1837. The houses of its principal citizens were the rendezvous of the ringleaders; two of its villages acquired a local renown, by being the scenes of battle and bloodshed; and its forests, mountains, and ravines, like Sherwood, in the days of the yeoman, Robin Hood, were for a long time associated, in the imagination of the young, with the wanderings, privations, and perils of the *patriotes*, on their way to a safe retreat, beyond the frontier.

St. Charles is a pretty village, on the right bank of the Richelieu, some twenty-five miles above its mouth. The Seigneur of the Parish, Mr. Debartzch, connected by marriage with the

ancient family of the St. Ours, distinguished himself as one of the principal chiefs, as one of the Canadian party, at the time of the rebellion. A preliminary meeting took place at his mansion, at which the details of a Provisional Government were agreed upon, in case of success in the martial uprising which was then contemplated. It is charged, however, that he bid against Mr. Papineau, for the headship of the new Administration; and, on being refused by Mr. Viger and others, turned against his former friends. This so incensed his followers that when he took refuge at St. Ours, in the bosom of his wife's family, his life was threatened; and he encountered many dangers on the way.

It is well known that Mr. Papineau and Dr. O'Callaghan discountenanced an open appeal to arms. The enemies of the former pretend that this counsel was prompted by his fears; and that, like most political leaders, he was more of a speaker than a soldier. The same reproach, however, cannot be made to O'Callaghan, Editor of the *Vindicator*, who was better acquainted with both sides of the situation, and who saw clearly, as he has since stated, "that the country was not prepared."

The views of Dr. Nelson, T. S. Brown, and others, prevailed over the masses; and the cry to arms resounded along the lower Richelieu, in the Autumn of 1836. The insurgents rendezvoused chiefly at St. Denis and St. Charles. At the latter village, they were powerfully entrenched. The plan of campaign, on the part of the authorities, was a good one, and would have been decisive, and probably bloodless, if it had succeeded. Colonel Gore was to advance from Sorel, with a strong column; and Colonel Wetherall, with another, from Chambly, was to form a junction with him. Both were to strike together and, if possible, envelope the enemy on every side.

Colonel Wetherall's detachment consisted of three hundred and thirty men, a few mounted volunteers, and two pieces of artillery. His progress was very slow, for the bridges over the streams were broken down, and he had to feel his way with great caution, owing to the fact that Gore had failed to meet him at the appointed time. That veteran officer had been repulsed at St. Denis.

When he reached a point a little above St. Charles, Wetherall was attacked by a party of rebel skirmishers. Driving these before him, he reached the entrenched camp of the *patriotes*. This was situated a little above the village of St. Charles, on land belonging to a certain Kussier and to Mr. Debartzch. The works consisted of an oblong, fenced in with felled trees and covered with earth. The river lay on one wing, a wooded hillock on the other, while the



little garrison had a strong *point d'appui*, in Debartzch's house and barn. The men, numbering seven hundred, were commanded by Mr. T. S. Brown. Many of them were poorly armed; but many of them had rifles; and the camp contained two pieces of cannon. The key of the position was the wooded hillock, just mentioned. If Brown had defended that with sharpshooters and artillery, he would have made a strong fight; but when the first shot from Wetherall's ordnance shrieked through the air and struck the belfry on St. Charles' Church, Brown lost his presence of mind and fled from the camp. Wetherall took possession of the eminence; got his two guns into full play upon the insurgents; and created havoc amongst them. His fire, however, was returned with spirit for a whole hour. A sortie was even attempted, with the view of dislodging him from his vantage ground. A select party threw themselves behind trees, after the Indian fashion, and poured so galling a fire into Wetherall's flank, that he was obliged to detach a Company or two to shake them off from his rear. At length, the Regulars received orders to fix bayonets, and carried the works at one charge, amid great slaughter. The loss of the vanquished was one hundred, killed, and three hundred and seventy-two, wounded. The camp was destroyed, and so was Debartzch's barn; but his house was spared.

Wetherall then returned to Montreal, by way of Chambly and St. Johns—just before crossing the river he dispersed a party of insurgents, at Point Oliver. In the *Petit Domaine*, on the spot where the St. Hilaire railway now stands, a company of *patriotes*, under Davignon, was ready to intercept the passage of the British forces; but, owing to the fears and exaggerations of scouts, they desisted from their attempt and disbanded.

In war, more especially, small events often entail important consequences. This was the case with the engagement at St. Charles. It may be said to have crushed the rebellion of 1837. St. Charles was the headquarters and entrenched camp of the insurgents. If Wetherall had been repulsed, as Gore was at St. Denis, the campaign, especially at so late a season of the year, would have been lost. As it was, the defeat of Brown broke up Nelson's organization and discouraged thousands from following Cherrier at St. Eustache.

In this view of the case, the Battle of St. Charles, on the twenty-fifth of November, 1837, may be set down as one of the remarkable incidents of Canadian history.—*St. Johns News*.

NESE.—Was Columbus the first discoverer of America, or did he only rediscover that Continent, after it had, in remote ages, been found, peopled, and forgotten, by the Old World? It is curious that this question has not been more generally raised, for it is very clear that one of two things must be true: either the people whom Columbus found in America must have been descended from emigrants from the Old World, and therefore America was known to the Old World before Columbus's time, or else the aborigines of the Western Hemisphere were the result of spontaneous human generation, the development of man from a lower species of animal, or descended from a second Adam and Eve, whose origin would be equally puzzling. Unless we are prepared to cast aside Holy Writ and all our general notions of the origin of the human race, we must believe that there was, at one time, communication between the Old World and the New.

Probably this communication took place on the opposite side of the world to ours, between the eastern coast of Asia and the side of America most remote from Europe; and I believe it is quite possible that the inhabitants of Eastern Asia may have been aware of the existence of America, and kept up intercourse with it while our part of the Old World never dreamed of its existence. The impenetrable barrier the Chinese were always anxious to preserve between themselves and the rest of the nations of the Old World, renders it quite possible that they should have kept their knowledge of America to themselves, or, at any rate, from Europe. The objection that the art of navigation, in such remote times, was not sufficiently advanced to enable the Chinese to cross the Pacific and land on the western shore of America, is not conclusive, as we have now found that arts and sciences which were once generally supposed to be of quite modern origin, existed in China, ages and ages before their discovery in Europe. The arts of paper-making and printing, among others, had been practised in China, long before Europeans had any idea of them. Why then should not the Chinese have been equally or more in advance of us in navigation? The stately ruins of Baalbec—with gigantic arches, across the streets, whose erection would puzzle our modern engineers—the pyramids, and other such remains of stupendous works, point to a state of civilization and the existence of arts and sciences, in times of which European historians give no account.

One fact corroborative of the idea that the Old World, or at least some of the inhabitants of Asia, were once aware of the existence of America, before its discovery by Columbus, is, that many of the Arabian *ulema*, with whom I have conversed on this subject, are fully convinced that the

ancient Arabian geographers knew of America; and, in support of this opinion, point to passages in old works in which a country to the West of the Atlantic is spoken of. An Arab gentleman, a friend of mine, General Hussein Pasha, in a work he has just written on America, called *En-Nessr-El-Tayir*, quotes from Djeldeki and other writers, to show this. There is, however, among Chinese records, not merely vague references to a country to the West of the Atlantic, but a circumstantial account of its discovery, by the Chinese, long before Columbus was born. A competent authority on such matters, J. Haulay, the Chinese interpreter in San Francisco, has lately written an essay on this subject, from which we gather the following startling statements, drawn from Chinese historians and geographers:

Fourteen hundred years ago, even America had been discovered by the Chinese and described by them. They stated that land to be about twenty thousand miles distant from China. About five hundred years after the birth of Christ, Buddhist Priests repaired there, and brought back the news that they had met with Buddhist idols and religious writings, in the country, already. Their descriptions, in many respects, resemble those of the Spaniards, a thousand years after. They called the country "Fusauy," after a tree which grew there, whose leaves resemble those of the bamboo, whose bark the natives made clothes and paper out of, and whose fruit they ate.

These particulars correspond exactly and remarkably with those given by the American historian, Prescott, about the maquay tree, in Mexico. He states that the Aztecs prepared a pulp for paper-making, out of the bark of this tree. Then, even its leaves were used for thatching; its fibres for making ropes; its roots yielded a nourishing food; and its sap, by means of fermentation, was made into an intoxicating drink. The accounts given by the Chinese and Spaniards, although a thousand years apart, agree in stating that the natives did not possess any iron, but only copper; that they made all their tools, for working in stone and metals, out of a mixture of copper and tin; and they, in comparison with the nations of Europe and Asia, thought but little of the worth of silver and gold. The religious customs and forms of worship presented the same characteristics to the Chinese, fourteen hundred years ago, as to the Spaniards, four hundred years ago.

There is, moreover, a remarkable resemblance between the religion of the Aztecs and the Buddhism of the Chinese, as well as between the manners and customs of the Aztecs and those of the people of China. There is also a great similarity between the features of the Indian tribes of Middle and South America and those of the Chinese; and, as Haulay, the Chinese interpreter of whom

we spoke above, states, between the accent and most of the monosyllabic words of the Chinese and Indian languages. Indeed, this writer gives a list of words which point to a close relationship; and infers, therefrom, that there must have been emigration from China to the American Continent, at a most early period indeed, as the official accounts of Buddhist Priests, fourteen hundred years ago, notice these things as existing already. Perhaps, now, old records may be recovered in China, which may furnish full particulars of this question. It is, at any rate, remarkable and confirmative of the idea of emigration, from China to America, at some remote period, that, at the time of the discovery of America, by the Spaniards, the Indian tribes on the coast of the Pacific, opposite to China, for the most part, enjoyed a state of culture of ancient growth, while the inhabitants of the Atlantic shore were found by Europeans in a state of original barbarism. If the idea of America having been discovered before the time of Columbus be correct, it only goes to prove that there is nothing new under the sun; and that Shelley was right in his bold but beautiful lines: "Thou canst not find one spot whereon no city stood." Admitting this, who can tell whether civilization did not exist in America, when we were plunged into barbarism, and, stranger still, whether the endless march of ages, in rolling over our present cultivation, may not obliterate it, and sever the two hemispheres once again from each other's recognition? Possibly, man is destined, in striving after civilization, to be like Sisyphus, always engaged in rolling up a stone which ever falls down.—*Gentlemen's Magazine*.

THE DELAWARE BREAKWATER.—The erection of the Delaware Breakwater is due to a plan submitted by William Jones, formerly Secretary of the Navy, to the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, in 1822, in relation to the perils and difficulties of the winter navigation of the Delaware. Mr. Jones proposed, *First*, the building of two steam ice-boats; *Second*, the formation of ice-harbors, at the existing public piers in the river; *Third*, new harbors at Christina and Cohansey-creeks; *Fourth*, the construction of small intermediate harbors, in the channel side of the river, where the tides are strong and sweep, alternately, the same ground in a direction parallel to the shore. In the same year, application was made to Congress for the erection of two piers, to be framed of timber and filled in with stone, on the tail of the shoal called the "Shears," near Cape Henlopen. In 1823, Congress appropriated twenty-two thousand dollars for the purpose; but it was abandoned, it being believed that worms would



attack the timbers and the tides sweep away the wharves. A stone breakwater was then suggested by Mr. Jones. In 1823, a Board of Engineers reported in favor of the project. In 1824 and 1825, Memorials were sent to Congress, but without effect. In 1828, the effort was renewed, and was finally successful, shortly afterward.—*Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch.*

ROBERT SANDEMAN.—What a place for meditation is an old-fashioned New England graveyard. In all our populous towns, there are beautiful and well-kept cemeteries, rivalling, in a small way, Greenwood or Mount Auburn; but there are also graveyards, neglected and for the most part unvisited, given over to grass, and weeds, and briars. And here,

“Beneath the rugged elms, the yew-tree’s shade,  
“Where heaves the turf in many a mouldering  
“heap,  
“Each in his narrow cell, forever laid,  
“The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep.”

The town of Danbury, Connecticut, is one of the oldest in New England. A few days ago I was walking through its ancient graveyard, now and then stopping to rub the moss from some half-fallen headstone, revealing records, not only of dead forefathers, but of dead centuries, and musing, as one will, in such a place, when a plain marble slab arrested my attention. I give the inscription just as it is rudely carved on the weather-stained stone:

“Here lies  
“Until the Resurrection  
“the body of  
“ROBERT SANDEMAN,  
“a native of Perth, North Britain,  
“who, in the face of continual opposition,  
“from all sorts of men,  
“long and boldly contended for the ancient faith,  
“that the bare work of Jesus Christ,  
“without a deed or thought on the part of man,  
“is sufficient to present the chief of sinners  
“spotless before God.  
“To declare this blessed truth,  
“as testified in the Holy Scriptures,  
“he left his country, he left his friends,  
“and, after much patient suffering,  
“finished his labours at Danbury,  
“April 2, 1771,  
“Æ 53 years.”

Here slumbered the dust of a man who strove, with all the might of a powerful and cultivated intellect, backed by undoubted sincerity and earnestness, to build a Church upon the dogma which is traced upon his tombstone. He strenuously maintained that the sect which he founded

was the only true Church; that all others were Antichrist, whose reign was drawing to a close. He was a keen writer and a caustic controversialist. In his own words, “he made use of every “weapon he could most readily wield, by which “he might cut deepest, whether it be keen satire, disdainful irony, the contemptuous smile, “indignant frown, or more cool reasoning.”

Such was the energy of his attacks that he set the religious world in a blaze. Religious periodicals and the Reviews were filled with long and bitter discussions of the nature of justifying faith. Mr. Sandeman established many Churches in England and Scotland, while he waged bitter warfare with what he called “the popular doctrine and the popular preachers.” A clear and comprehensive statement of his views and their tendencies may be found in Andrew Fuller’s admirable *Letters on Sandemanianism*.

In the year 1764, he came to America and organized a number of Churches. He finally settled in Danbury, and died there, on the second of April, 1771. The Sandemanian Church, in this place, was, for many years, a large and flourishing body. It still maintains a visibility, and is the only Church of its kind in the United States. In England and Scotland, there are a few scattered and dying Churches.

Such has been the result of Robert Sandeman’s earnest toil and patient life-work. The fierce polemic wars which he waged, the bitter heart-burnings enkindled in his own and others’ bosoms, the ferment and the fight, have ended in naught. A moss-covered tombstone, in a neglected graveyard, and a little band of disciples, less than a score in number, soon to become entirely extinct, are all that serve to perpetuate the memory, in this land, of one of the foremost men of his time.—*N. Y. Examiner.*

### III.—NOTE.

I send you the following patriotic lines, written in the year 1811, produced by an unknown author, after rambling over the grounds on which the Battle of Harlem Heights took place, in 1776.

“Hail to the shades where Freedom dwelt!  
“Where wild flowers deck her martyrs’  
“graves:  
“Where Britain’s minions keenly felt  
“The stern resistance of the brave.  
“’Twas here, in firm array, they stood;  
“Here met Oppression’s giant power;  
“Here nobly pour’d their sacred blood;  
“And victory crown’d their dying hour.  
“Here *Leslie* fell—a gallant name!—  
“By every freeman’s wishes blest;

"And *Knowlton* here, (of equal fame)  
 "In Honor's lap has sunk to rest.  
 "Oh! ever hallowed be the earth,  
 "Where Freedom's Soldiers found a tomb;  
 "There, laurels proudly spring to birth,  
 "And shadowing cedars spread their gloom.  
 "Hail to the shades where Freedom dwelt!  
 "Dwells she no more those shades among?  
 "Yes—by the sacred blood here spilt—  
 "We'll still resist the Oppressor's wrong?  
 "What boots the herd of puny Slaves,  
 "Who o'er the Atlantic plow their way?  
 "Our Western world shall find them graves—  
 "Our Freedom beam a purer ray.  
 "L."

## IV.—QUERIES.

"AMERICAN ARTISTS.—Messrs. Perkins and Tappan, engravers, from Newburyport, passed through New London, on Monday, on their way to London, where they are to be employed in engraving for the Bank of England. Mr. Bagot, we understand, has paid them in advance, £5000.; and if they succeed in their business, of which there can be no doubt, they will also receive £100,000, in addition. Mr. Fairman, of Philadelphia, is also attached to the company.

"This tribute of respect to the genius of our countrymen is certainly gratifying."

The above is from *Niles's Register*, of June 15, 1819. Can any one tell us, through the Magazine, what was the result of this visit to England, of the three engravers referred to?

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

DICK.

WASHINGTON, THE GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS, AND THE SELECTMEN OF BOSTON.

We have heard, over and over again, that Washington's entry into the Town of Boston, during his eastern tour, was obstructed because John Hancock, then Governor of the Commonwealth, claimed precedence over the President of the Republic, in the courtesies of the occasion.

The following, which we cut from an old copy of the *Centinel*, seems to tell an entirely different story. Can any of your readers tell us the truth of the matter?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

DE B.

"It will be recollected by many, that an altercation occurred when President Washington visited Boston, in 1790, between the Governor of the State (Hancock) and the Committee of the Town, of which the Selectmen formed a part. The Governor, on this occasion, claimed the honor of first seeing the President and

"bidding him welcome to the Metropolis of the State over which he presided. The Municipal authorities, on the other hand, contended, that the chief of the Nation was then about to visit Boston; and that it was the right and the duty of the fathers and authorities of the Town to receive him and escort him to the lodgings they had prepared for him; and that, if the Governor had intended to bid him welcome to the State, he ought to have attended at the frontier, to have done it. The controversy continued some time after the President arrived at the southern entrance to the Town; and it was not until after he had enquired of his Secretary, (Major Jackson) if 'there was not another avenue to the Town,' that the Municipal authorities gave way."

## V.—REPLY.

JOURNAL OF THE FIRST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF OHIO. (H. M. II. vi, , .)

In the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE for July, 1869, I find this sentence in regard to the Journal of the Convention which framed the Constitution of Ohio, in 1802: "The Journal of that Convention has been considered one of the rarest, as it is one of the most interesting, tracts, connected with the History of the West; and we know of only one copy of it, that in the State Library at Columbus, Ohio. It is a thin octavo, of forty-eight pages, shabbily printed, and bears the following title:—"

I hope that your copying of the Journal into the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will not only be the means of placing it always within reach of those who may desire to refer to it, but that it may also tend to make many people in Ohio take the Magazine, as subscribers, who are not such now.

I have three copies of the Journal spoken of: First: I have the original edition, of forty-six pages, the Title of which runs thus:

"JOURNAL  
 "OF THE  
 "CONVENTION  
 "of the

"Territory of the United States North West  
 "of the Ohio,

"BEGUN AND HELD AT CHILLICOTHE, ON MONDAY, THE FIRST  
 "DAY OF NOVEMBER, A. D. ONE THOUSAND EIGHT  
 "HUNDRED AND TWO, AND THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED  
 "STATES THE TWENTY-  
 "SEVENTH.

"Published by Authority.

"CHILLICOTHE:

"From the Press of N. Willis, Printer to the Convention.  
 "1802."



and, also, of like date and imprint, the original edition of the Constitution, and bound with the Journal. It is printed on wire-wove foolscap, quarto, and numbers thirty-two pages.

After the lapse of twenty-five years, the Journal had become rare; and, at the Session of the Legislature, in 1826-27, it was ordered to be reprinted and appended to the Journal of each House for that Session. My set of the Legislative Journals embraces two other copies of the Convention Journal; which are the same as the one described as being in the State Library at Columbus.

URBANA, OHIO.

JOHN H. JAMES.

## VI.—BOOKS.

### RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MOBBISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

#### A.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

1.—*The General Association of the Congregational Churches of Massachusetts.* Minutes of the Sixty-seventh Annual Meeting, Woburn, June 15-17; with the Rules, the Narrative of the State of Religion, the Report on Home Evangelization, and Statistics of the Ministers and Churches. Boston: Congregational Sabbath-School and Publishing Society. 1889. Octavo, pp. 116.

The Orthodox Congregational Churches of Massachusetts number just five hundred, with eighty thousand and fifty-seven members. The volume before us is the record of this large and respectable body of Christians, during the past year, 1868; and in its exhibit of the condition of the Churches, there seems to be evidence of unusual harmony and a moderate prosperity.

In the arrangement of the material, the excellent Secretary, our good friend, Doctor Quint, has shown unusual good judgment—nearly as good as Deacon Duren of Bangor, whom we consider "a model Secretary"—and there is comfort in turning over such well-disposed material.

2.—*Minutes. Twenty-first Session of the Penobscot Musical Association. September 29, 30, October 1, 2, 1868.* Bangor: 1869. Octavo, pp. 15.

The record of one of those assemblages, for instruction in musical science, which tend so much to improve the taste and add to the ability of our countrymen, in that delightful branch of knowledge.

#### B.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

3.—*The Trans-continental Railway.* Remarks at Rutland, Vermont, June 24, 1869. By John A. Poor. Portland: B. Thurston & Co. 1869. Octavo, pp. 77.

If any one man is entitled to especial credit, in Portland, for his efforts to promote the welfare

of that city by means of an extended system of railroads, centering there, it is our good-natured friend, Hon. John A. Poor; and, in this elegant pamphlet, we have another instalment of the result of his labors.

In the pamphlet before us, Mr. Poor presents a most complete survey of the several complicated systems of railways which connect the West with the Atlantic seaboard and of the struggle for the trade of the West, between the several contestants, which has stripped Boston of her commercial importance, threatens to restore Portland to her recent position of a peaceful country-town, and promises to make New York, more than ever, the mistress of the trade of America.

It is a truly valuable work, exhibiting great research in the minutiae of commercial affairs, and, but for the evident tone of despondency, at the retrograde movement of the trade of Portland, an exceedingly encouraging exhibit of the growing importance of the West.

4.—*History of England, from the fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth.* By James Anthony Froude, M. A. Volumes I-IV. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1870. Octavo, pp. (I) 447; (II) 501; (III) 480; (IV) 508. Price \$1.25 per volume.

We have so often called the attention of our readers to what we conceive to be the peculiar merits of this work, that we shall mainly confine ourself, in this instance, to the announcement of a new and popular edition, from the same plates as the Library Edition, which has been commenced by its excellent Publishers.

Concerning the importance of this new *History of England*, the following judgment of an accomplished critic, just received by us, fully and fairly presents the case:—

"It seems to me that the new edition of 'Froude, just begun by Scribner & Co., is the 'best cheap book ever issued in this country. 'It is about as good as the more costly editions; 'it is handier to hold; and its paper, type, and 'impression are very clean and nice. It is superfluous almost to speak of this as a history. 'Perhaps the solitude of the Adirondac woods 'is a more favorable place for the enjoyment of 'any book than one's own easy chair; but I never found any reading more enjoyable, at the 'lakes or elsewhere, than the two last volumes 'of Froude. And now that I am beginning at 'the first volume, and reading onward, through 'the story of Henry VIII., it seems to me that 'Froude is better than Macaulay, or anybody else who has written the History of England. 'This new edition, as I have said, is very inexpensive and very nice; and I don't see why it 'should not have a large sale in these days when 'almost everybody has a little money and a little leisure for reading."

THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VI. SECOND SERIES.]

OCTOBER, 1869.

[No. 4.]

I.—JOHN ROBINSON, THE FATHER OF THE INDEPENDENTS, NOT A PURITAN—ROGER WILLIAMS, NOT THE AUTHOR OF THE FIRST RECORDED AGREEMENT IN RHODE ISLAND, SECURING LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE—WILLIAM PENN'S FATHER, NOT A BAPTIST.

By MARTIN B. SCOTT, Esq.

On the fourth of July last, the Rev. G. W. Clark, Pastor of the Baptist-church in Ballston Spa, New York, delivered a Discourse, published in *The Ballston Democrat*, as a contribution to history, the burden of which was, that we are indebted to the Baptists for the incorporation, in our Government, of the principle of Liberty of Conscience—"who may justly be styled, The "Conservators of Religious Liberty."

In illustrating his subject, he affirmed the opposite of the heading of this article. I propose to take issue with the Reverend gentleman and maintain, from documentary and the highest historical authority, the truth thereof—his assertion and authorities, to the contrary, notwithstanding—passing over, for the present, the assumption that it was Baptist influence that secured the Liberty of Conscience, in our Government.

WAS JOHN ROBINSON A PURITAN, as alleged by the Rev. Mr. Clark? I am aware that historians, without regard to the true meaning of the term, have called Robinson and the *Mayflower* Pilgrims, PURITANS: with equal impropriety, Roger Williams and his sect were called, by many historians, ANABAPTISTS; which the Baptists consider a stigma on their good name, indignantly repelling "the charge, as the language of ignorance "or malice."\* PURITAN, as applied to Robinson and the Puritan Fathers, is equally "the language of ignorance or malice" with ANABAP-

TIST, as applied to the Baptists. Neal, in his *History of the Puritans*, -i., 342.—says: "But "the greatest number of those who left their native country, for religion, were Brownists, or "RIGID SEPARATISTS, of whom Mr. Johnson, "Ainsworth, Smith, and Robinson were the leaders." Again, Neal says: (i., 382.) "Among "the Brownists, in Holland, we have mentioned "Mr. J. Robinson, the Father of the Independents."

It should be borne in mind, that Brownists, Separatists, and Independants, are synonymous terms. Robinson, however, considered Brownist a term of reproach, from the apostacy of Brown, who returned to the Established Church. Robinson said to his people, on their departure for New England, "Abandon, avoid, "and shake off, the name of Brownist. It is a "nick-name and a brand for the making religion and the professors of it odious to the "Christian world." He scorned the name of Brownist as much as Benedict did the name of Anabaptist. It does not appear, also, that the term *Puritan* was, at that time, applied to them, even by their most unrelenting enemies; therefore they had no occasion to repudiate it—the difference between the Puritans and Separatists was so fundamental, and the enmity of the former so bitter against the latter, that we find, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the Puritan Clergy visiting the Separatists in prison, under color of sympathy and friendship, and, after noting down their familiar discourse, appeared against them on trial.—Bancroft's *Survey*.

Robinson had been distinguished as a rigid and unyielding Separatist,—Baylies' *History of Plymouth*, i., 11, 12. John Robinson was a teacher in the Congregation of Separatists, at Scrooby, in 1586,—Palfrey's *History of New England*, i., 134. "Mr. Robinson, when he first went into Holland, "was a most rigid Separatist: he published a "justification of separation from the Church of "England, in 1610."—Allen's *Biographical Dictionary*, 707. "He was called the Father of "Independency \* \* \* and when persecution dispersed the Separatists, he escaped with the "remnant of his Church, in 1608, to Amsterdam."

\* "Anabaptist, we reject as slanderous and no ways descriptive of our sentiments and practice; and when our "opponents accuse us of Anabaptism, we also understand "the charge as the language of ignorance or malice."—Benedict's *History of the Baptists*, i., 92.



—Maunder, 870. The Rev. Mr. Higginson, a prominent Puritan Divine, who came over to Massachusetts, in 1629, denounced the Pilgrim Fathers, as Separatists.—Mather's *Magnalia*, i., 362. Bancroft, in his *History of the United States*, alludes to the Congregation of Robinson, when about to leave Holland, as *Separatists*; and he afterwards invariably calls them "Pilgrims," to distinguish them from the *Puritans*.

The first Puritan Church organized in New England, was at Cape Ann, under charge of Roger Conant, "who had lately removed out of "New Plymouth, out of dislike of their principles of *rigid Separation*."—See Palfrey and Bancroft. Doctor Mosheim, calls the Independents and Puritans two distinct sects; and avers that John Robinson was the founder of the former sect.—Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, v., 48, 405.

It is therefore clear, from the many reliable authorities quoted, that John Robinson was not a *Puritan*, but a Separatist, or Independent; and that the difference between a Puritan and a Separatist was not merely in name—the former being within the Established Church and the latter outside of it. The distinction was not narrow, but a broad primary principle of Christian faith and liberty, involving the whole subject of constrained and free religion.—HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Second Series, i., 262.

Mr. Clark also says, in his discourse, that "John Robinson opposed full religious freedom, and advocated using the power of civil law to further the Kingdom of Christ;" and he quotes Professor Curtis's *Progress of Baptist Principles* in support of his assertion. Robinson may have entertained such views, in common with the Baptists and most Christians of the sixteenth century.

In the reign of Elizabeth, the only difference that existed between the Baptists and other dissenters, was the right of Christian Baptism to infants,—Stowell's *History of the Puritans*, 175:—they also differed in the mode of Baptism, then as now. There is no evidence that Roger Williams did not entertain, while in the bosom of the Established Church, the same views with Robinson; and it is just as certain that Robinson had no such ideas, when the Pilgrim Fathers left Holland, as it is that Roger Williams had discarded them at Salem. It is well known that Robinson was a progressive Christian; that he changed his views, on some points, before his Church left for New England—in his address to them he said: "If God reveal anything to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as you were to receive any truth from my ministry." In his form of ecclesiastical Government for the new settlers of Plymouth, we find the following: "Ecclesiastical censures, where wholly spiritual, are not to be accompanied with tem-

poral penalties; and, finally, they renounced all right of human invention or imposition in religious matters."—Belknap's *Life of Robinson*. Hume says: "The Independents" [*of whom John Robinson was the Father*,] "was the first Christian Sect, that admitted of toleration \* \* \* no interposition of the Magistrate in religious concerns." "The Independents have the honor to be the first and, long, the only Christian community who collectively adopted the sacred principle of religious liberty."—Sir James Macintosh. "The Independents are to be held in lasting veneration, for the unshaken fortitude with which, in all times, they maintained their attachment to civil and religious liberty,"—Lord Brougham. "The Pilgrim Fathers were not Puritans, but Separatists, who were the first advocates of perfect Freedom of Conscience, at the Reformation."—Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of London.

Thus much in vindication of John Robinson from the charge of advocating, in his latter days, the use of civil power to further the Kingdom of Christ; and showing, conclusively, by high authority, that the Baptists were not the first advocates of perfect Freedom of conscience, nor the only conservators of religious liberty, at the period referred to.

The first Rhode Island record, that has come down to us, is as follows: "We whose names are hereunder, desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to subject ourselves, in active or passive obedience, to all such Orders or Agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major assent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a township, and such others whom they shall admit unto them. Only in civil things:

RICHARD SCOTT,	THOMAS ANGELL,
WILLIAM REYNOLDS,	THOMAS HARRIS,
JOHN FIELD,	FRANCIS WICKES,
CHAD BROWN,	BENEDICT ARNOLD,
JOHN WARNER,	JOSHUA WINSOR,
GEORGE RICKARD,	WILLIAM WICKENDEN,
"EDWARD COPE."	

This is the document, referred to by Mr. Clark, for which he claims the authorship for Roger Williams, and quotes Knowles and Gammell as his authorities. Now, if it can be shown that his authorities are not reliable, his assumption falls to the ground.

In 1834, Rev. James D. Knowles published a *Memoir of Roger Williams*. In collecting his materials, he applied to John Howland,\* first

\* "An intelligent antiquarian of Providence, whose opinions are authority on all points touching its early history."—Knowles's *Memoirs of Roger Williams*, 121.

President of the Rhode Island Historical Society; who was familiar with all the publications, traditions, and records accessible, throwing light on the subject. Howland wrote Knowles: "All that we at present know of the history of Roger Williams would not fill half a dozen pages."—*Life of Howland*, 237, 240. The materials for such a work were so scanty and meagre, that Doctor Belknap, many years before, had given up, as a hopeless task, his idea of writing the biography of Williams.

Knowles, in his Preface, says: "I was obliged to gather hints from disconnected documents, and to reconcile contradictory assertions; and, in fine, my labor often resembled that of the miner, who sifts large masses of sand to obtain a few particles of gold \* \* \* It would be strange if, amid so much contradiction and confusion, I have fallen into no errors \* \* \* I am well aware that it is defective in several points." The claim that Roger Williams was author of the Agreement referred to, no doubt, he had in his mind's eye.

Knowles entered upon his work in a similar spirit with Abbott, in his *Life of Napoleon I.*, and, notwithstanding his apparent candor and honesty, could not resist the temptation to appropriate to the credit of Williams, so rich a nugget as the aforesaid document, even at the expense of robbing its real authors of the honor and reputation of their own liberal sentiments. He, however, asserted too much for public belief and his own reputation, as an impartial historian, when he says, "every inhabitant was required to sign the Covenant," while the evidence of the document itself shows it was signed only by the thirteen "second-comers," as they are called by Staples, who went to Providence in 1637, or early in 1638. Arnold says, "it is therefore presumed to be the agreement of the 'second-comers.'" It is evident, from the tenor of the Agreement, that the thirteen signers considered themselves of the "body" "of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a town-fellowship."

There is no evidence, whatever, of any civil or religious organization, prior to the arrival of the thirteen "second-comers." Knowles was probably correct, in saying: "This simple instrument, which combines the principles of a pure democracy and of unrestricted religious liberty, was the basis of the first Government in Providence." Staples and Arnold think there was a previous Agreement, between the first settlers; but it is only an inference which they draw from the phraseology of the Agreement of the "second-comers." Howland describes the first company of emigrants to Providence, as "an assemblage of individuals, each possessing and exercising all the attributes of sovereignty in

"and over his own person and independant of his contemporaries."

The case of "Verin," referred to by Winthrop, occurred after the arrival of the "second-comers," as shown by Arnold's taking part in it, who was one of the thirteen signers. Backus, in his *Church History*, in referring to the signers of the Agreement, says: "And the men who were for such liberty soon formed the first Baptist-church in America." He further says, Mr. Williams was baptized in March, 1639, by one of his brethren; and that he then baptized about ten more. Chad Brown, ancestor of John Carter Brown, was the first Baptist Minister; William Wickenden was his assistant and the last who signed the Agreement. Richard Scott and Edward Cope, (according to a letter from Roger Williams to Governor Winthrop, in 1638) accompanied Williams in a journey to Connecticut; and were turned back from fear of the Indians—all going to show that the Agreement was signed at one time, and previous to any Church or civil organization.

Knowles says, "It was undoubtedly drawn up by Roger Williams \* \* \* The Government of the town was thus placed in the inhabitants."

Admitting the Government was not in the hands of the body of the inhabitants, prior to the Agreement of the "second-comers," Knowles has given us a fac-simile of Roger Williams's hand-writing, which, had he compared them, ought to have convinced him that the Agreement was not drawn up by Williams, as there is not the least resemblance between them. Staples refers to the hand-writing, but does not intimate that Williams was the author; and in conversation, a few years before his death, rejected the assumption as without foundation. No other historian than Knowles and Gammell have the assurance to claim the authorship for Roger Williams; and the latter is merely the copyist of the former, as he admits in his Preface. Gammell says: "The narrative of Mr. Knowles has been generally compared with the original authorities; yet it seems they failed to discover that the Agreement was not signed by all the inhabitants," as alleged by Knowles, but only by the thirteen second-comers. The signature of the first signer and the hand-writing in the body of the Agreement bear a strong resemblance. The record was probably made by unanimous consent of the thirteen—not at the dictation of Roger Williams, although in accordance with his views, but to register the terms upon which they joined the Colony. Many of them had suffered persecution in England, and had crossed the Atlantic, hoping to find religious liberty in the new world; but, in the language of Blackstone, the first white settler in Rhode Island, they had "escaped the tyranny of the Lord's Bishops, to fall under the



"tyranny of the Lord's Brethren of Massachusetts." These men, smarting under persecution, were determined to define their position by this record. It is note-worthy that no other names were added to the document, either by the early or latter settlers.

Some of those "second-comers," were evidently persons of superior education and of large estate.—Gammell, 73. Many of them were the peers of Roger Williams, and filled the highest places in the Colony, both civil and religious. The oldest tax-bill bears date 1647, by which we find many of the thirteen signers paid the highest taxes. The first settlers that came with Roger Williams were poor, and paid nothing for their lands; while the "second-comers" paid Roger Williams a valuable consideration for their interest in his purchases.—Backus, 49. "Several of the associates of Roger Williams, in the establishment of the new Colony, were men of eminent abilities, and probably understood the nature of civil and religious liberty better than many Ministers of State, at that time in Europe."—*Life of Howland*, 258.

That Roger Williams was an early and ardent advocate of civil and religious liberty, no one doubts; but that he was the author of the document referred to, as assumed by Knowles and Gammell, there is no evidence to sustain it: on the contrary, there is strong proof against such an assumption. We cannot over-estimate the labor of Roger Williams, in the cause of civil and religious freedom; but Knowles, in his excessive zeal, has marred his work, by claiming too much for him, to the prejudice of his compeers.

With much self-confidence, Mr. Clark, in his Discourse, says: "Another fact. The father of William Penn was a Baptist; and it is quite certain that the son derived from his father those liberal sentiments which he imbodyed in the Constitution of Pennsylvania."

Mr. Clark rests his assertion upon Curtiss's *Progress of Baptist Principles*, 43, and Fish's *Soul of Liberty*, 145. Curtiss says: "William Penn was, 'himself, by birth, a son of a Baptist,'" and Fish says "William Penn's father was a Baptist." Neither of them give any reference or authority for their assertion; and it is presumed they have none, beyond some vague tradition.

The fact that Admiral Penn educated his son at Christ's college, Oxford, one of the most rigid institutions in ritualism within the Establishment, and that he beat and turned him out of doors, for his departure from the forms of the Church, as we are told by the *Cyclopædia*, evinces anything but "liberal sentiments." The intimate relations of friendship that existed between Admiral Penn and the two Monarchs, Charles I. and II., and the high offices he held in the gift of those Sover-

eigns, who were both persecutors of all Dissenters, would incline us to the belief, that there is no solid ground to suppose Admiral Penn was a Baptist. Fortunately, we have still better evidence that the father of William Penn was not a Baptist. In the *Life of Admiral Penn*, by his great-grandson, Granville Penn—ii. 563, 564—is to be found, in a note, a statement respecting the Clergy, containing the following words: "The Church of England, to which Sir William Penn always adhered." This, from so near a relative, is conclusive; and it is confirmed, if it needs confirmation, by the fact that in his *Will*, which is copied on Page 565, Admiral Penn says: "My body I commit to the grave, to be buried in the Parish Church of Redclyffe, within the City of Bristol," and directs "a handsome and decent tomb to be erected in said Church." Is there an instance on record, where a Baptist has directed, in his *Will*, that his sepulchre shall be within the walls of a Parish Church of the Establishment? The idea is absurd!

Moreover, the Act of Uniformity was passed in the first of Elizabeth and amended in the reign of Charles II., imposing the obligation, on both Clergy and laity, of subscribing to the Articles of Faith of the Established Church, as an indispensable condition of obtaining honorable and useful offices, in both Church and State. (Rees's *Cyclopædia*, xxxix., Art. UNIFORMITY.) Those impediments that lay in the way of advancement and holding civil and military offices of trust and profit, as well as Church preferments, were not removed until 1827; previous to which, no Dissenter from the Established Church could hold any office or place of trust, however humble, either in the service of the State or of any Municipal Corporation.—HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, Second Series, i., 264. The epitaph on the tomb of Sir William Penn, in Redclyffe Church, says Sir William Penn was a Member of Parliament; and it names eleven other high civil and military offices with which he had been honored by his Sovereigns, not one of which could he have held under the "Act of Uniformity," had he been a Baptist—not even the office, more humble, of a Constable.

Having fully established, from unquestionable authority, the correctness of the heading of this article, it may not be out of place to say that the Rev. Mr. Clark, in his Discourse, no doubt believed his statements to be correct; that he had no intention of misleading his audience or the public. He relied on the authorities he quoted: his misfortune was in following "blind guides"—sectarian writers, of more zeal than discretion, who deluded him with the *ignis-fatuus* of incorrect history into the morass of fiction. We have much corrupt history, and no opportunity should be

lost in correcting it. A process of reconstruction of the world's history is going forward; and those who contribute to it are public benefactors. Already the researches going on, in the British State Paper Office, promise to revolutionize the history of England, if not of Europe; and much documentary evidence is being unearthed, bearing up on the early history of the men and times, connected with the first settlement of America.

CLEVELAND, O.

M. B. S.

## II.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON THE ISLAND OF NEW YORK.

[From *The Catholic World*, x, 413-420.

The early history of the Catholic Church, on the island of New York, is indeed an attractive and interesting theme. It opens with the romantic story of the early Jesuit Missions; for, of the visits of the Catholic navigators, Verrazzani and Estevan Gomez, we have too little detail to know whether a Priest actually said Mass on our island.

The first Priest who is known to have set his foot on the island of Manhattan, was an illustrious Missionary, who, while on his way from Quebec to his Mission-ground, on the upper lakes, was, in 1643, taken by the Mohawks, tortured almost beyond the power of human endurance, spared to become the slave of savages, bearing their burdens in their winter hunts, in their fishing trips to Saratoga Lake and the Hudson, on their trading visits to the Dutch Fort, Orange, where Albany now stands, bearing all, enduring all, with a soul ever wrapt in prayer and union with God, till at last the Dutch overcame his reluctance and saved him from the hands of his savage captors, as they were about to put him to death. Covered with wounds and bruises, mutilated, extenuated, scarce human in dress or outward form, such was Isaac Jogues, the first Catholic Priest to enter our great City, then in its infancy, to meet with respect and kindness, from the Dutch; with the reverence due to a martyr, from the two Catholics, sole children of the ancient faith, then in New Amsterdam.

The stay of this illustrious Missionary was brief; and his ministry was limited to the Confessional, his chapel and vestments having fallen into the hands of the Indians, and been greedily seized as trophies.

Governor Kieft displayed great humanity in his care of the Missionary, and seized the first opportunity to enable him to return to Europe. Panting for martyrdom, Father Jogues remained in his native land only to obtain needed dispensations and permission to return to his labors.

On reaching Canada, he found peace almost made with the Mohawks, and, proceeding as Envoy to their territory, concluded a Treaty. He was invited to plant a Mission among them, as his associates had done among their kindred, the Hurons. But when he returned to do so, prejudices had sprung up; a hatred of Christianity, as something baneful, had seized them; the Missionary was arrested, treated as a prisoner, and, in a few days, put to death, on the banks of Caughnawaga-creek, on the eighteenth of October, 1646.

The next Priest known to have visited New York was the Italian Father, Bressani, who underwent a similar course of suffering; was captured, tortured, enslaved, and ransomed by the kindly Dutch; and by them sent to France. Although he subsequently published a short account of the Huron Missions, he is entirely silent as to New Amsterdam; and we know nothing in regard to any exercise of the ministry, during his stay on our island.

The first Priest who came here actually to extend his ministry to any Catholics in the place, was the Jesuit Father, Simon Le Moyne, the discoverer of the salt-springs at Syracuse, and the successful founder of the Mohawk and Onondaga Missions. His visit was repeated; and there would seem to be a probability that he may have actually offered the holy sacrifice. The real field of his labors and those of his associates was, however, the Castles of the Five Nations of Iroquois, in which, for many years, regular Catholic Chapels subsisted, winning many to the faith, and saving many, by baptism in infancy or in fatal illness. The converts at last began to emigrate to Canada, where three villages of Catholic Iroquois still attest the power of the Gospel, as preached by the early Missionaries. Political jealousies, infused by the English, gradually intensified the innate dislike of the Pagans to Catholicity; and prejudice, debauchery, and penal laws at last drove the Catholic Missionaries from a field in which they had labored with such courageous and unremitting zeal.

For years, the only Catholic Missionary in their territory was Father Milet, held at Oneida as a prisoner. Flying visits, alone, after this, kept up the faith; and, in 1709, Father Peter Mareuil, on the outbreak of war, retired to Albany; and the Mission in the Iroquois country virtually closed. The later and tardy Protestant efforts were in a measure built on these early Catholic labors; and, from Delliuss to Zeisberger, they gladly availed themselves of the pupils of the Jesuits to form their own instructions.

This Iroquois Church has its martyr Missionary Jogues; its martyred neophytes, who died at the hands of their countrymen, rather than renounce Jesus to bow the knee to Aireskoi; and its holy



virgin, in Catharine Tehgahkwita, the Genevieve of New France. Then came the growth of mustard-seed in the Dutch Colony. We hear of the freedom of worship achieved and established by the founders of the Dutch Republic. It is indeed a favorite theme. Catholic and Protestant alike battled with Spain; and the blood of both won the liberty of the Seven United Provinces. Then, as now, Catholics formed nearly half the population of Holland. But, as soon as freedom was obtained, the Protestants turned on the Catholics who had fought by their sides; deprived them of civil rights; put their religion under a ban; expelled them from their ancient Churches. In fact, they halted in their course of tyranny and oppression, only when fear dictated a little prudence.

The very Church given to the English Puritans, under Robinson, by the Dutch authorities, was the Church of the Catholic Beguines, whose residences encircled the Chapel of which Dutch laws deprived them, in order to give it to foreigners who reviled the creed that erected it and the worship of the Most High, so long offered within its walls.

When New Netherland was colonized, this fierce intolerance of the dominant party in Holland excluded Catholics from the new settlement, as rigorously as Puritan fanaticism banished them from the shores of New England. The Catholic Hollander could not emigrate to the new land. No worship was permitted but that of the Protestant Church of Holland. It is well to talk of Dutch toleration, but it is the veriest myth ever concocted; and in New Netherland, though men were received who had denied Christ and been pirates on Salee rovers, Catholicity was excluded.

Gradually, a few Catholics did creep into the Colony. Father Jogues, on his visit, in 1643, found an Irishman and a Portuguese woman, forerunners of the four hundred thousand now on Manhattan Island. Le Moyne, as we have stated, subsequently visited the island; and a Dutch Domine avers that he did so in order to give the consolations of religion to some Catholic sailors and residents; but the fanaticism of Holland was here; and, as an illustration of the freedom of worship supposed to exist, we find that, in 1658, a Catholic, in Brooklyn, was punished for objecting to support a Reformed Minister.

By the reduction of New York, in 1664, to the English sway, restrictions were really if not explicitly removed. James, Duke of York, was a Catholic; and his Province of New York was, for a time, governed by Colonel Thomas Dongan, also a Catholic. His character and career are known to our readers. Under his administration, Catholic Priests, for the first time, took up their residence on the island. Unfortunately, we have little more than the names of three Clergymen

and some indication of the period of their stay; though hostile notices tell us of one terrible crime they perpetrated—they actually did erect a “Jesuit college,” and taught boys Latin. The King’s Farm was assigned as the place for this institution of learning; but, before Catholicity could take an enduring form, James II. was hurled from his throne, for trying to make the Anglican Bishops speak a little toleration. As has often happened, intolerance, with the banner-cry of “Liberty,” became the order of the day. New York soon enjoyed the benefit of a Governor of a true bigot stamp, grandson of one of the bloodiest butchers in the blood-stained annals of Ireland, Coote, Earl of Bellomont. He disgraced the colonial legislation with penal laws against Catholics, and characteristically lied in the Preamble of his Act. But he was a staunch Protestant, and had some curious dealings with Captain Kidd. The result of this change in New York affairs was, that the King’s Farm slipped into the hands of the Episcopalians, and they built Trinity Church on it. There is some squabbling now about this property: why not settle the matter amicably by devoting it to the object originally intended—“a Jesuit college”?

Under the harrying that began with Leisler’s usurpation of authority in the Province, on the fall of James, and his mad brain full of plots and “diabolical designs of the wicked and cruel “papists,” such Catholics as had settled in New York seem gradually to have removed elsewhere; or, if they remained, reared families who were strangers to the faith.

Thus far, Catholicity in New York had a strange history. Is it a dream? Fact first: Enlightened Dutch Protestants, champions of liberty of conscience, exclude Catholics, and, when they creep in, tax them to support a Church, against the dictates of their conscience. Fact second: Enlightened English Protestants, after a great and glorious Revolution, and of course full of toleration, passed penal laws subjecting Catholic Priests to imprisonment for life, with murderers and criminals. Fact third: Catholics, during the brief period of their influence, gave the Colony a Legislature, a Bill of Rights, freedom of worship to all Christians, and a College; and first attempted to elevate and christianize the negro slave. Bishop Bayley thus narrates one of these glorious works: “The first Act of the first Assembly of New York, convened by Colonel Dongan, was the ‘Charter of Liberty,’ passed October 30th, 1683, which, among other things, declares that ‘no person or persons which profess faith in God by Jesus Christ shall, at any time, be any ways molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any difference of opinion on matter of religious concernment, who do not actually disturb the

"civil peace of the Province; but that all and every such person or persons may, from time to time, and at all times, freely have and fully enjoy, his or their judgments or consciences in matters of religion, throughout all the Province—they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others.' By another enactment, all denominations then in the Province were secured in their liberty and discipline; and the like privilege was granted to others who might come into it."

For fifty years, the history of Catholicity on New York island is a blank. A Priest was occasionally brought in, as a prisoner, on some Spanish ship taken by a privateer; that is all. Catholics are scarcely alluded to. But an awakening came in 1741, in one of the wildest excitements in our annals. Catholics had, indeed, nothing to do with it; and, for a long time, no breath implicated the few Catholics with the supposed dangers, till a silly letter of General Oglethorpe put the idea into the heads of the New York authorities. Then the negro question and the Catholic question, which have so long alternately afforded a topic for sensation and have at times been so oddly combined, met, for the first time, in New York annals.

Bishop Bayley thus describes the Negro-plot: "The year 1741 was made memorable by one of those popular excitements which show that whole communities as well as individuals are sometimes liable to lose their wits. Upon a rumor of a plot made by the negroes, to burn the city and massacre the inhabitants, the whole body of the people were carried away by a sudden excitement. The Lieutenant-governor offered a reward of one hundred pounds and full pardon to any free white person, who would make known the author or authors of certain attempts to set fire to houses in various parts of the city. A servant-girl, named Mary Burton, living with a man named Hughson, who had been previously condemned for receiving stolen goods, came forward to claim the reward, declaring that certain negroes who frequented her master's house (he kept a small tavern) had made a plot; one of the accused, named Cuffee, she declared, had said that 'a great many people had too much, and others too little;' and that such an unequal state of things should not continue long.\* The pre-

tended disclosures increased the excitement, and the lawyers of the city, to the number of seven, with the Attorney-general, were called together to take council in regard to the matter. They certainly manifested very little coolness or judgment; and may be said to have led on the unfair and unjust trials which followed. The accused had no Counsel allowed them; the Attorney-general and the whole Bar were on the side of the Prosecution; the evidence was loose and inconclusive, and came, without exception, from the mouths of interested persons, of bad character. Yet, upon such evidence as this, four white persons were hanged, eleven negroes were burned at the stake, eighteen hanged, and fifty were transported and sold, principally in the West Indies.\* Among those hung, was the unfortunate Mr. John Ury. Whether he was really a Catholic Priest or not, he was certainly condemned and hung as such. We have no other evidence upon the matter than Horsmanden's account; and from this it does not clearly appear whether he was really a Priest or a nonjuring Clergyman of the Church of England.† The most conclusive fact in favor of his being a Priest, is founded upon the circumstance that, when arraigned as a Priest, tried as a Priest, and condemned as a Priest, he never formally denied it nor exhibited any evidence of his being ordained in the Church of England.‡

"The persons most to blame were the Judges and lawyers. The speech of the Attorney-

incendiaries, especially Priests, whom he accused of having made a plot to burn the chief cities in the Northern Colonies.

\* Several of the negroes were Catholics. Horsmanden mentions that they held crucifixes in their hands and kissed them, before they died. This act of faith and piety, on the part of these poor victims of prejudice, of course only served to confirm the enlightened inhabitants of Manhattan, in the conviction that they had a very narrow escape from being delivered over, body and soul, to the Pope. It is a curious circumstance, that a law made against Catholic Priests should have been enforced only once, and then resulted in the death of a Protestant Clergyman.

† Campbell, in his *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, has given a clear and able analysis of the trial and of the evidence, upon which he concludes that the unfortunate Ury was undoubtedly a Priest. Horsmanden always speaks of him as "Ury, the Priest," in his history of the plot. It is my opinion that he was a Nonjuror.

‡ Smith, in his *History of New York*, vol. ii. p. 73, says that Mr. Smith, his father, assisted, at the request of the Government, on the trial against Ury, who asserted his innocence to the last. And when the ferments of the hour had subsided, and an opinion prevailed that the conspiracy extended no further than to create alarms for committing thefts with more ease, the fate of this man was lamented by some and regretted by many, and the proceedings against him generally condemned as harsh, if not "cruel and unjust." Ury was the son of a former Secretary of the South Sea Company. He was executed on an island in the Collect, near where the Halls of Justice now stand. "Hughson was executed on the South-east point of H. Rutgers's farm, on the East-river, not ten rods from the South-east corner of Cherry and Catharine-streets." — *Notes on New York*, in the Appendix to Watson's *Notes on Philadelphia*.

\* The city of New York, at this time, contained about twelve thousand inhabitants, of which one sixth, in all probability, were negro slaves. (Preface to Second edition *Negro Plot*.) The foolish fears and prejudices of the inhabitants were not a little increased by a silly letter, written to them, at this time, by the good-intentioned, but visionary, founder of the Colony of Georgia, in which he warned them to be on their guard against Spanish spies and



"general, on the trial of Ury, the sentence given "by Horsmanden, upon certain of the negroes, "and that by the Chief-justice, on others, are so "harsh, cruel, and abusive, that we could hardly "believe it possible that they had uttered them, if "they were not published with the authority of "Horsmanden himself. It is evident, however, "that their 'holy horror of Popery' had as much "to do with the whole matter as their fear of "insurrection among the blacks."

Of course, after this attack of insanity, New York was scarcely a place for a Catholic to reside. There must have been a few; but, evidently, they avoided attracting attention. The next Catholic sensation was that of a poor creature whose life had been a sad defiance of all religion and morality; but who, at her death, sent some money to the Rev. Mr. Inglis, Rector of Trinity-church, with a request that she should be buried in the Church. She was indeed interred there, till a clamor rose, fierce and loud. She was not only a public sinner, but a Catholic—the latter, too terrible a sin to forgive—so she was taken up; but Mr. Inglis never recovered from the stigma.

Not long before the Revolution, the few Catholics in New York were again the object of the zeal of the Jesuit fathers, with whom so much of our history is connected. The Mission of the sons of St. Ignatius, which, in Maryland, was coeval with the settlement of that Colony, gradually extended to Pennsylvania and New Jersey, aided chiefly by the bequest of Sir John James. The Mission was one involving some danger, and hence required great caution; but, finally, a Catholic Priest stood in New York, to begin to gather the faithful and administer the Sacraments of which they had been so long deprived. The Priest who formed this first congregation, the nucleus of St. Peter's, and thus of all the Catholic institutions on the island of Manhattan, was a German Jesuit, Father Ferdinand Steinmeyr, known on the American Mission as Father Farmer. A man of extensive learning, not only in the theological studies of his Church, but in the Natural Sciences, the Royal Society of London had been glad to add his name to its list of members. Here, he would have been a fit associate for Colden, Franklin, and Barton; but the gratification of this taste would have made him too conspicuous in a prejudiced and hostile community; and the man of science submitted to be passed by, without notice, anxious only to do his duty, as a Missionary, and gather the lost sheep of Israel. The reticence required, unfortunately leaves us without any direct information as to his visits; and we do not positively know when or where this man, whose learning would have adorned the Colony of New York, first offered the holy sacrifice, for the pioneer congregation of Catholics in this City. Bishop Bayley has col-

lected the various early notes and hints on this interesting point; but it is, after all, involved in great obscurity. Yet this founder of Catholicity, in New York City, lived so recently, that the writer, who can claim neither gray hairs nor advanced years, remembers several who had received the Sacraments of the Church at his hands.

Father Farmer came undoubtedly with the address of some German Catholic; and his visit would thus be less likely to attract attention, as German clergymen, of various denominations, often passed through the city. Mr. Idley, a German of the early day, claimed that Mass was first said in his house, in Wall-street; and the claim may not be unfounded.

Father Farmer continued these occasional visits until the breaking out of hostilities with England. The defeat of Washington, on Long Island, threw New York into the hands of the English; and, for the next seven years, his pastoral visits became impossible.

So long as the colonial dependence prevailed, the British Government stimulated anti-Catholic fanaticism, because, while this spirit was fanned, the Colonies readily gave men and money to aid in the reduction of Canada. That French Colony, after many fruitless attempts, at last fell, under the combined efforts of the mother country and the Colonies; but Canada, once reduced, became the object of sounder and more dispassionate statesmanship. By the surrender, the Canadians were guaranteed certain rights, as the Irish were, by the Treaty of Limerick. Protestant Governments have never been over-scrupulous, on such points; and it was as easy to break faith with the Canadians as with the Irish; but this time England was honest. The Catholic Church was left almost intact in Canada: nay, its Clergy continued, under British rule, to gather titles and receive certain traditional honors.

This was too much for the people of the older Colonies to brook. They had not lavished blood and treasure for this. The very bigotry nurtured by English rule now turned against it. And what wonder, then, that the first standard of revolt reared in New York expressed this long-cherished feeling, this hatred of Catholics so long encouraged by Government! What wonder that the flag of American freedom that first floated to the breeze in New York, bore the motto, "No Popery!"

How little we can fathom the designs of the Almighty! Who, looking on that flag, could see in it the germ of a freedom of the Church which she then nowhere, out of the patrimony of St. Peter, really possessed? Yet it was there. Down to the French alliance, this anti-Catholic feeling nerved the Whigs and discouraged the friends of British rule. Then it changed; and the Tory papers caught up every occasion to show how zeal-

ously Protestant the British party was. While the Selectmen of Boston followed a Catholic procession through the streets and Congress went to Mass, the British authorities in New York are pointed out, by a pamphleteer of the day, as beyond reproach. They showed their anti-Catholic zeal in this way: "In 1778, in the month of February, a large French ship was taken by the British, near the Chesapeake, and sent for condemnation into New York, at that time still in possession of the English. Among her officers was a Priest, of the name of De la Motte, of the Order of St. Augustine, who was Chaplain of the vessel. Being permitted to go at large in the City, he was solicited, by his countrymen and by those of his own faith, to celebrate Mass. Being advised of the existence of a prohibitory law, he applied to the commanding officer, for permission, which was refused; but M. de la Motte, not knowing the language very well, mistook what was intended for a refusal as a permission, and accordingly celebrated Mass. For this, he was arrested and kept in close confinement, until exchanged. This was under Governor Tryon's administration."

Benedict Arnold—for even this precious worthy may come in as an illustration—when he sat down in New York, in his uniform of a British Brigadier, to write his Address to his countrymen, justifying the step which he had taken, and which we are accustomed to characterize by the ugly name of Treason, made his strong anti-Catholic feeling justify his course. He had entered the movement as a thorough Protestant; but, when Congress began to favor Popery, he foresaw the ruin of his country; and, as a true Protestant, made his peace with England. Strong as the anti-Catholic feeling had been in the hearts of the Colonists, we do not find that this appeal of Arnold to their prejudices induced a single man to desert the American ranks: it is far more likely that it may have sent some Irish soldiers from the British ranks, to swell Washington's Regiments.

We are apt to associate our Republic with the idea of unbounded religious toleration. As we have shown, hostility to Catholics was a potent element in arousing the people to declare against Great Britain; and the State Governments, as originally framed, bear deeply impressed the traces of that common feeling which once, in Lyons, proclaimed, in one line, free toleration in matters of religion, and, in the next, prohibited the Mass. under terrible penalties. If freedom was dreamed of, it was to be one *we* were not to enjoy.

The anti-Catholic feeling that characterized the first National movement was displayed in the Convention which, in 1777, formed a Constitution for the State of New York. There, no less a personage than John Jay, subsequently Minister to

England and Chief-justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, was the ardent, fiery advocate of intolerance. Catholics of New York owe a debt of gratitude to Gouverneur Morris and Philip Livingston, for the manliness with which, in that Convention, they fought the battle of human freedom and sought to check the onslaught of intolerance. But they failed. Under that Constitution, no Catholic could be naturalized; and the liberty of worship granted was couched in such terms as to justify the Legislature, at any time, in crushing Catholicity; and, in point of fact, they at once adopted an iron-clad oath that effectually prevented any Catholic from holding office.

The *Brief Sketch* gives the debates on the interesting questions before the Convention; and it notes how, in that curious system of language, so common with our public speakers and writers, this Constitution found an advocate in the late polished Benjamin F. Butler, of New York, who praised it, in an Address before the New York Historical Society, for its liberality in containing no provision repugnant to civil and religious toleration, as though laws excluding Catholics from citizenship and office were, not slightly, so repugnant.

In point of fact, however, the hostile feeling of the earlier days was soon neutralized; and, at the close of the War, New York was virtually free to receive a Catholic-church.

### III.—PALMER, MASSACHUSETTS.\*

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE TOWN OF PALMER, AND MINUTES OF THE HISTORY OF THE TOWN.

PALMER was originally called the Elbow Tract. By an Act of the Legislature, passed on the twentieth of June, and approved by Governor Belcher, in 1733, the land was granted to certain Proprietors, who were invested with privileges sufficient to transact the business of their concerns. The Grant was for seventeen thousand and fourteen acres, called a Township, of five miles square. Its boundaries are described as follows, viz.: "Easterly, in part, upon the West line of Brookfield township, from the N. W. corner tree, the said line runs South 2 deg. W. to the river called Quabog; thence, bounding on the Brimfield Township, as the river runs, Easterly, in part, and Southerly, and in part Westerly, so far down said river as

\* We are indebted to Professor E. D. Rockwell, of Statesville, N. C., for this paper. It was copied from the manuscripts of Rev. Simeon Cotton, a native of Long Meadow, Mass., who was Pastor of the Church at Palmer, from 1811 to 1820, and died at Ashboro', N. C., in December, 1868.

The date of the paper may be reasonably supposed to be during the pastorate, at Palmer, of its author.



"to where the South end line of a tract of equivalent land, called Cold Spring Township, crosses or strikes said river. Thence, bounding Northerly on the said line, as it runs East by the needle of the surveyor's compass, to the South-east corner of the said tract or township, which is the mouth of Swift-river. Thence, bounding Westerly in part on the said tract of equivalent land, as the river runs, to where the South side line of another tract of equivalent land (containing 10,000 acres belonging to John Reed, Esq.,) strikes or runs from the said River. Thence, bounding northerly (in part) upon said line as it runs, E. and by N., to the So. E. corner of said John [Reed], being a heap of stones by the root of a great red oak tree, fallen close by, and on the West side of a small run of water, about 18 rods southerly of a River, called Ware. Thence bounding westerly, on the East side line of said tract, as it runs North by the needle, until an East line therefrom will strike the N. W. corner-tree of Brookfield mentioned, as by a plan herewith presented appears."

This Grant was made to certain Proprietors, who were to share equally in all unlocated lands, and to certain Grantees, who were to be confined to the particular lots as described in the Grants. The names of the Proprietors were, Samuel Doolittle, John Thompson, James McElwaine, James Brackenridge, John King, William Scott, John Kilborn, James McQueston, Daniel Fuller, Samuel Shaw, Samuel Frost, Ebenezer Merrick, John Scott, James Dorchester, Barnard McNitt, Joseph Wright, Jr., Benjamin Parsons, William Sloan, James Dorchester, Jr., John Patterson, John Moore, Isaac Magoon, Jr., Duncan Quintin, Jethro Ames, Andrea Mackee, Thomas Jennings, Stewart Southgate, William Shaw, Robert Farrel, Elijah Hall, Andrew Baily, Thomas Farrand, John Brooks, Joseph Brooks, Abel Curtin, Nathaniel Dewey, John Combs, Nicholas Blanchard, Joseph Chadwick, Obadiah Cooly, Timothy McElwaine, Obadiah Cooly, Jr., and Jonathan Chapin, Jr. The names of the Grantees are: John King, Jr., David Spear, Benjamin Kilborn, Elijah Vose, Peter Backus, James Lambertson, Samuel Nevins, Robert Nevins, David Nevins, James Shearer, John Henderson, John Beaman, Samuel Kilborn, Rev. John Harvey, Alexander Tackels, Joseph Fleming, Thomas McClonathan, Andrew Farrand, Humphrey Gardner, James Moore, William Crawford, Mathew Brown, William Paterson, Isaac Magoon, Sr., George Booth, Patrick Smith, Daniel Kilborn, Robert Thompson, Thomas Little, James Lamont, Thomas Hill, Andrew Rutherford, James Stevens, Thomas Chapin, Robert Dunlap, Robert Stanford, and Jabez Olmsted.

This Grant was made on the report of a Com-

mittee sent out by the General Court, to view the premises, consisting of Colonel Alden, Mr. Bradford, and Ebenezer Burrill. The people were to pay five hundred pounds for the land, and sixty-seven pounds, eleven shillings, and nine pence, the expense of the Committee. The Committee reported that they found on the land, eighty persons, most of whom had families; and that they had had a Minister or Preacher more than three years. This Minister appears to have been Mr. Harvey; and he had the one hundred acre lot given to the first Minister. There was directed to be laid out a School-lot, of one hundred acres, and a Ministry of one hundred acres.\*

The earliest date of the laying out of any lot of land is the eleventh of June, 1728. This was Obadiah Cooly's lot, now within the limits of Weston. There are many lots laid out in 1728, most of which were laid out in December. Andrew Farrand's, (No. 2,) was laid out on the fifteenth of December, 1728. My farm was laid out on the thirtieth of December, 1728, and is recorded in the *Grantees' Book*, page 48. Ebenezer Merrick's lot was laid out to him on the twenty-first of January, 1734. This lot is that on which Rev. Moses Baldwin afterwards lived; and was originally laid out to James Dorchester, who probably abandoned his right to said Merrick.

This Dorchester, it is said, built the first house in Palmer; and I suppose it stood on a piece of land that Captain J. Cooly purchased of Moses Baldwin, where there is the appearance of a cellar. This lot was originally called No. 9. I suppose the numbers began at Scott's-bridge, and continued on through the row. I find that in [17]33 the Court granted a lot to Dorchester, on the East of Dimplin. I judge that Merrick at the same time had his house in the Row. It is probable, therefore, that the house in Cooley's field was forsaken; and from this *probable circumstance*, I conclude that a settlement must have been made previous to the year 1727.

The farm on which Mr. Knight lives was laid out on the fifteenth of December, 1728. James McElwaine's lot was laid out on the first of December, 1728.

The first Proprietors' Meeting was held on the seventh of August, 1734, by a Warrant from William Pyncheon of Springfield.

The first Meeting-house was raised in the month of May or June, 1735. I find that on the thirtieth of April, a Committee was appointed to provide *Cakes*, etc., for the raising; and, at another meeting, June 12, their bill was allowed. The Meeting-house seems not to have been finished this year, but to have been so far covered as to be used: on Monday, the twelfth of

\* By "Ministry," I suppose is meant a parsonage.—E.F.R.

May, they met in public meeting, for business, at a private house; and on the twenty-fifth of December, of the same year, they met at the Meeting-house. But the day being cold, and the house open, they adjourned the meeting to William Scott's. Previous to the erection of the Meeting-house, they met for worship in different places—at James Shearer's, Thompson's, and William Crawfoots.

COPY OF A VOTE RESPECTING THE PAY FOR MR. KNIBLOW'S PREACHING—*Grantees' Book*: 112.

"PALMER, Aug. 23, 1754. On the Third Article on the Warrant, *Voted*, that Mr. Kniblow be allowed four Pounds, sixteen Shillings, which is eight Shillings, lawful money, for each Sermon he preached on Sabbath Days in this District, *except 3 Sermons which we can prove he preached other men's works.*"

This Mr. Kniblow, it is said, was employed as a candidate after the dismission of Mr. Harvey; was accused of plagiarisms; and, denying it, the fact was proved; and he was taken in a falsehood; made a public confession; and left the place.

THE MEETING-HOUSE.

It appears by the record that there was a good deal of difficulty about fixing upon a spot for a Meeting-house.

"At a meeting, held Feb. 10, 1734-5, a Vote was passed that every Proprietor or Grantee should bring in his Vote to the Clerk, naming a spot to set the Meeting-house upon; and that the two spots that should be highest in nomination, should be put to a lot for a final determination. The votes being entered with the Clerk, it appeared that a spot on the knoll, near Crawford's house, and a spot on the East side of Cedar-swamp brook, on the North side of the road, near where W<sup>m</sup>. Nelson's haystack stood, were the two spots highest in nomination.

"Then, the lots being made by the Clerk, and folded, the Rev. Mr. Harvey was sent for, and then, *Voted*, that the Rev. Mr. Harvey should draw the lot, and the spot which is entered on the lot or paper which he shall draw, shall be the determinate spot whereon to set the Meeting-house.

"After solemn prayer, Mr. Harvey drew the lot whereon the spot on the knoll, near Crawford's house, was entered." *Grantees' Book*, 73.

THE GRIST-MILL.

"At a meeting, Nov. 13, 1736, on the Fourth

"Article, voted that the Grist-mill built by Robert Ferral and Thomas Harmon, be accepted as a good and sufficient Mill for our service, and in full satisfaction of the condition enjoined on Steward Southgate, by the Act of the Gen. Court."

This, I suppose, was the first Grist-mill in town, because Steward Southgate had a Grant of land, on condition he would set up such a mill; and, by a memorandum, in his own hand-writing, it appears that he did not get up his mill on Potaquatick-brook, till 1737. It was raised on the twenty-sixth of October, and first went, on the second of January, 1737. The lot granted for this Mill was a one hundred acre lot, on Ware-river, part on each side, first laid out to Moses Olds, where Captain Moore now lives; and the rest on the West side of the River. This lot was first laid out to said Southgate. By comparing these things together, I judge there was a difficulty about the business. Ferral probably claimed the Grant as having built the first mill. Southgate claimed it as a special Grant to him; and, to make sure of it, probably, went on, the next season, and built his Grist-mill. I find the following Minute on the Town-book respecting a Saw-mill:

"On Tuesday, the 3<sup>d</sup> day of Sept, 1730, the foundation of the dam, on the N. E. corner of Potaquatick, was laid; on the 14<sup>th</sup> of Oct., 1730, Potaquatick Saw-mill was raised; and on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of March, next after, the Saw-mill first went; on the 13<sup>th</sup> day of Dec., 1732, the said mill was burnt down. It stood *after it was raised*, 2 years and 2 months wanting one day; after it *first went*, it stood but one year, 9 months, and 8 days.

"The 2<sup>d</sup> Saw-mill at Potaquatick-pond, rebuilt on the same spot, viz. it was raised on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of Oct., 1733, and first went on the 6<sup>th</sup> day of Nov., 1734, and on 26<sup>th</sup> day of April, 1736, it was undermined by the water, and broken down after it had stood 2½ years; and after it first went, one year and five months. The 3<sup>d</sup> Saw-mill, built on a new spot, was raised the 20<sup>th</sup> of Sept., 1736, and first went on the 5<sup>th</sup> of May, 1737."

The first mills probably stood at the North-eastern corner of the pond, near Nat. Ward's. In consideration of erecting these mills, said Southgate had a Grant of seventy acres of land—ten acres including his Saw-mill and building, and sixty on the East side of the Pond, now McRenne's land.

By a particular survey of the Grant, it seems he took the sixty acres, as above mentioned, nine acres and a half, about his Saw-mill, and one acre and a half, to make up the quantity, at the North-east corner, where Nat. Ward lives. This



probably was done to secure the outlet of the pond, at that place.

I suspect that the mill always stood at the West end of the pond; and that the "new place" refers merely to a new spot, in that quarter.

#### INCORPORATION, AS A TOWN.

In the year 1735, the inhabitants attempted to get set off into a Town, but failed.—*Grantees' Book*, 83. They made several other attempts, among themselves, but either could not agree or were thrown out. In 1743, leave was given to bring in a Bill, on Petition; but, for some reason, it was not brought in or failed.

In the early part of the town, the place was called THE ELBOWS, ELBOW TRACT, etc.

In January, 1752, the Plantation was incorporated as a Town. The Act is as follows: "WHEREAS it hath been represented to the Court that the inhabitants of the Plantation in the County of Hampshire, called the Elbows, labor under difficulties by reason of their not being incorporated into a District; BE IT ENACTED by the Lt. Governor, Council, and House of Representatives, That the Plantation aforesaid is hereby erected into a District, by the name of Palmer; bounding as follows, viz: Easterly on the Town of Western; Northerly, partly on the Plantation called the Cold-Spring, and partly on Ware-river Precinct, called Reed's-farm; Southerly and Westerly on the Town of Brimfield; and that the inhabitants thereof be and hereby are invested with all the powers, privileges and immunities that the inhabitants of Towns within this Province are or by law ought to be invested with, saving only the choice of Representatives, which, it is represented, said inhabitants are not, at present, desirous of. BE IT FURTHER ENACTED, That all rates and taxes heretofore assessed, or ordered to be assessed, pursuant to the Laws and Orders of this Court, upon the Inhabitants of said Elbow Plantation, shall be levied, collected, and fully completed agreeable to the Laws and Orders by which they were assessed. Jan. 1752, Act copied by Daniel Shaw, Clerk, July 2, 1752."

On the third of June, 1752, a Special Resolve was passed in the General Court, providing for a deficiency in this Act, for the calling of the first Town-meeting. John Sherman, a Justice of Brimfield, was empowered, on an application of five of the inhabitants, to issue his Warrant for a Town-meeting. The first Town-meeting was held under his Warrant, on the thirtieth of June, 1752.

#### THE TOWN RECORDS.

The Records of the Town are preserved in a

regular manner, in the *Grantees' Book*, down to the fifteenth day of November, 1753. There are also some scattering Records of Meetings in 1754. The next Record that I find is on the Town-book, of a Meeting held on the twenty-fifth of January, 1757. So that there is a chasm in the Records of the Town, from the twenty-third of August, 1754, (*Grantee's Book*, 112) to January, 1757, a term of two years or more.

#### THE MINISTRY AND SCHOOL-LOTS, AND WHAT BECAME OF THEM.

There was laid out to Mr. Harvey, as being the first ordained Minister settled in the place, a lot of one hundred acres, according to the conditions of the Grant. This lot he took up where Solomon Shaw now lives.

There was also laid out a one hundred acre lot for a Ministry according to the conditions of the Grant. This lot is described as follows: "Lying on each side of Ware-river and bounded Northerly on the line of Esqr. Reed's farm. Beginning at a stake on the East bank of the river, thence running East 11 degrees and 15 minutes, N. 100 rods, against John Beaman's Grant, to a pine tree marked; thence N. 11 degrees 15 minutes W. 54 and a half [rods] to a stake in the meadow, standing in said Reed's line, against Thomas Chapin's house, being the N. E. corner; thence in said line, W. 11 degrees, 15 minutes, S. 187 rods, to a pine-tree marked, in said line, and stones at the root, near a little run of water, the N. W. corner; thence S. 11 degrees 15 minutes, E. 130 rods to a stake standing in the meadow, the S. W. corner; thence E. 9 degrees, N. 68 rods, to the River, to a stake on the bank; thence bounding on the river as it runs, about 80 rods, till we come over against the stake where we began. Laid out and approved, March 17, 1734-5  
"STEWART SOUTHGATE Surveyor and Clerk."

The School lot is thus described: "Lying at the East end of the lot granted to James Dorchester. Beginning at his N. E. corner, being a heap of stones on the E. side of Dumplin-brook; thence running E. 10 deg. S. 160 rods, to stones set about a rock; thence, Secondly, S. 15 deg. W. 101 rods, to stones on a small rock; thence, Thirdly, W. 10 deg. N. 160 rods, to stones on a small rock; thence, fourthly, N. 15 deg. E. 7 rods, to Dorchester's, S. E. corner, a heap of stone; thence extending the same course, in the said line of said lot, to the corner where we began. Laid out May 28, 1735."

There were several attempts made afterwards to get the consent of the people to petition to have these lots disposed of, by order of the Gen-

eral Court, particularly just previous to the settlement of Mr. Burns, that the money might be appropriated to helping them about a Minister. But I cannot find that the Town ever petitioned the Legislature, nor is there any Minute on the *Grantees' Book*, that the Town passed any Vote to do anything with the land by way of disposing of it.

On the twenty-fourth of October, 1757, a Vote was passed in Town-meeting to petition the Legislature for liberty to sell the Ministry-lot. I suppose the people did not think it best to petition the Legislature, for there is no account of such petitioning, nor any reference to it; but, on the twenty-eighth day of December, 1757, they voted to choose a Committee to sell the Ministry and School-lots, and to purchase another that would suit better.

On the twenty-first of September, 1758, this Committee made a Report, which was accepted, that they had sold the Minister and School lots, and purchased Mr. Burns' farm. They sold the School-lot, as the Report says, for one hundred and six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence; and the School-lot for thirty pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence; and that they purchased Mr. Burns' farm for one hundred and forty-one pounds, six shillings, and eight pence, obliging themselves to support Jane Hill's child, of whom Mr. Burns was father. The Committee signing this Report, were James Brackenridge, Robert Rogers, Noah Cooly, Samuel Shaw, Jr., and Thomas King.

For some reason, not known, I suppose the sale of the School-lot failed, for I find a Vote passed on the fifth of March, 1765, to lease out the School-lot for nine hundred and ninety-nine years—the annual income to be appropriated to schooling. This was never done, and the School-lot was owned by the Town for a great many years. [*As will appear afterwards in the Record.*]

The Grant of my farm is as follows: (*Grantees' Book*, 48.) "Surveyed and laid out to John "Dorchester, 100 acres of land lying and situated about a mile from the country-road, and "upon the head of a little brook, called King's-brook; beginning at the S. E. corner, a small "birch saddle, standing in the said brook, "marked; thence running E. 9 deg. N. 50 rods, "to a stake. Thence N. 34 deg. E. 110 rods, to "a black oak-tree, marked, being the N. E. "corner. Thence, W. 34 deg. N. 167 rods, to a "stake and stones, the N. W. corner. Then, "returning to where we began, at the birch in "the brook; and run N. 9 deg. W. 30 rods, to "a white oak-tree, marked; thence W. 33 deg. "N. 21 rods, to a pine stump, marked; thence "N. 64 rods, to a pine-tree, marked; thence N. "31 deg. W. 62 rods, to a heap of stones, in a "bunch of bushes; thence N. 34 deg. E., about

"38 rods, to the N. W. corner, where we left. "Laid out Dec. 30, 1738. March 16, 1734, "entered on record from the Plot and Minutes "of the original survey.

"STEWART SOUTHGATE, Clerk."

Frequent attempts were made to sell the [School] lot—the people trespassed, it is said, in cutting the timber; it being considered common property. Committees were chosen to take care of the lot and prosecute if they thought best. At one time, the Town gave liberty to Mr. Baldwin to cut two thousand rails on the lot; and the people drew them gratis.

FEBRUARY 4, 1793. A Vote was passed to choose a Committee to sell the lot at public auction; and, accordingly, Aaron Merrick, Colonel David Shaw, and Lieutenant Urijah Ward were chosen. The lot was put up at Vendue and was sold to Lieutenant John Hamilton, who gave his Note for the same.

At a Town-meeting, on the nineteenth of January, 1796, a Vote was passed to appropriate the proceeds of the School-lot and other money in the treasury, in securities, towards building the new Meeting-house; binding themselves to refund the same when it should be necessary.—*Town Records*, ii. 265.

The Note the Town held against Mr. Hamilton, that was thus appropriated, amounted, as appears by the Records, to one hundred and twenty-one pounds. There were some other Notes in the treasury, which, probably, were the avails of the Ministry-lot.

This lot, purchased of Mr. Burns, was sold to Mr. Baldwin. He gave his Note for the same, for one hundred and fifty pounds, on a five years credit. This time was extended for part; and the Town several times voted to give him the interest. The money was at length all paid, and was loaned from the treasury, by the direction of the Town, on one year's credit, with good security. The interest that accrued was appropriated, from time to time, to defray the incidental expenses of the Town. About the year 1775, a considerable sum was taken, both of principal and interest, to purchase a quantity of powder and lead for the use of the Town. Some was lost in Continental-money; and the remainder was finally appropriated to the building of the Meeting-house.

The reason of this is said to be, that when the plan for building the Meeting-house was determined upon, by the sale of the pews, it was objected that it would thus be individual property, and the Town would have no right to it. A proposal was made to vest the public funds in the building, so that the Town, as such, might have a right therein. When it was finished, it was found that, with the public funds appropriated, there had been more money raised than was needed.



The Town then voted that the Notes given by the pew-owners, for the third instalment, should be given up to them, without payment.—*Town Book.*

Thus the public funds were all swept away.

[TO BE CONTINUED.\*]

#### IV.—SELECTIONS FROM THE WHEELOCK PAPERS.†

NOW FIRST PRINTED, FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS.

COMMUNICATED BY REV. DOCTOR GILLET.

##### 1.—*Hugh Wallace to Rev. Eleazar Wheelock.*

NEW YORK, May 10, 1770.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

Not having the pleasure of hearing from you, since I wrote you last March, in answer to yours of 26th January, I fear my letter has never got to your hands. I therein advised you how agreeable to me the account of your success with Gov. Wentworth was, as it was also to Mr. Smith, to whom, as you desired, I communicated that part of your letter. I hope the same success does and will attend your good design, and that your health will permit you to see it completed. I sent your letter to William Peartree Smith, Esq., of Elizabeth town to forward to Mr. Eckley, who lives in that part of Jersey—and have no doubt he received it, as Mr. Smith I am told is his friend and acquaintance.

I have endeavored all in my power to get you Mr. Brainard's Journal, and my friend, Mr. Garrett Noel, a worthy bookseller here, has assured me that he has endeavored by every method in his power to get it for me, but without success, it's not in any Bookseller's shop here or in Philadelphia.

The situation of public affairs is such that there is no writing anything to you with certainty about politics; never was the Nation so disunited, and no King was ever more to be pitied than George the Third. Never was anything like the scurrility and licentiousness of our public papers—all regard to majesty and even common decorum and good manners seems to be forgot. Some stop must be put to it, and that soon, or worse will follow.

Mrs. Wallace, (who, thank God, enjoys very good health) desires to be affectionately remembered to you and Miss Polly, and though she has

no wish to visit the Log House at the Springs, will always be glad to see you in any place, particularly here, and I think you gave me some hopes of seeing you here this summer, and I should be sorry your health obliged you to go to the Springs, as it would prevent your coming here, where you may be assured of a hearty welcome, and more so if you bring Miss Polly with you, who is a great favorite of Mrs. Wallace's, but health must be minded, and as you have received benefit by that excellent salutary Spring, I would have you, if necessary, go again and complete the cure. I shall always be happy to hear from you and of your welfare, and I beg that you'll believe that I am, with very sincere regard, Rev. and dear Sir, your most obed humble servant,

HUGH WALLACE.

I had, last month, the melancholy account of the death of my father, last January, of the gout & gravel.

THE REV. ELEAZAR WHEELOCK.

##### 2.—*Governor Wentworth to Mr. Wheelock.*

PORTSMOUTH, Dec. 18, 1772.

MY DEAR AND REV. SIR,

I have only a moment, amidst the hurry of dispatching my private Secretary, Thomas Macdonough, Esq., to London, this day: just to thank you for your kind letter by Lieut. Porter. Mr. Livins has preferred a Memorial against me, which I've now sent a full and fair refutation of, attested by oath I believe of 40 of the first characters in this part of the Province—which must undeniably prove my adversary has charged me falsely in every part. Indeed most of the cases he *misrepresents* have already had the Royal approbation. The others are groundless & of no importance—yet I've refuted them, only for my honor's sake, which being unimpeachable I cannot submit to have wounded with impunity. As to the reported surmise of my removal, it is as groundless as Mr. Livins calumny, and cannot be so easily effected. I have not the least suspicion of it at present, neither have my friends in England—but the contrary very far, which will soon be made public. Mr. Livins sums up his malevolence against me thus: "Upon considering the whole of the Governor's conduct there appears to be a deep laid & connected system of injustice." As you are so kind to suggest, and my bosom rejoices in the candid testimony of good and understanding men; I shall be much oblig'd you'll as soon as may be; write your friends in England, what is your opinion of the principles and effect of my administration in this Government, so far as you know; Whither I have at any time or manner corrupted the streams of justice—influenced Judges or Justices, prefer'd my own family to the public or private detriment—Have been haughty, imperi-

\* A portion of this article having miscarried, we are obliged to divide it.

† Both on account of their general historical importance and as especially illustrative of the early history of Dartmouth-college, the importance of these papers will be perfectly apparent; and we shall present other portions of the Collection, from time to time, as opportunities shall be afforded to us. EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

ous, oppressive and cruel. In all things Mr. Livins accuses me: and not content—He says the Gov<sup>r</sup>, Council, Judges—principal members of Assembly and all the wealthy Merchants are linked together in an alliance & bond of blood. The Post waits and I must conclude—but first only say that Capt Francis Smith, (and he only at present) shall be appointed a Justice of the Peace; inclosed is the petition returned. I think it will be best for the meeting of Trustees to be in this town any time before the 10th February, because until that time I suppose our Assembly will be together, and much good for Dartmouth may be expected by the Trustees being here at such a season. You proposed publishing an annual narrative of the College affairs. I should [*like*] to see that paragraph relating to my giving produce of sundry seizures—before it is printed—I wish to you and your family every blessing, with the sincerity of a friend who participates with you affectionately, and is with real truth, Dear Sir,

your much devoted &  
faithful friend,

J. WENTWORTH.

REV. ELEAZAR WHELOCK, D.D.

3.—*Rev. Eleazar Wheelock to Governor Trumbull.*

DART. COLLEGE, 16 March, 1775.

MUCH HON<sup>d</sup> SIR,

I think that a concern for my own and my country's safety may be esteemed sufficient excuse for my acting so much out of character as I may seem to do by intermeddling in our present public and distressing affairs. And relying upon your candor and friendship to accept this for excuse, and to suppress whatever you may think may disserve me or that cause which has been and still is my object, I shall freely hint some things which I don't know but may be useful, and consequently would be criminal to withhold.

You are not insensible, Sir, how calamitous and distressing the case of these new and defenceless settlements will likely be, if such a northern army of Savages, &c., as we have been threatened with should be prevailed upon to join European forces against these Colonies, and how much of the strength of the country below us must necessarily be diverted from the sea coast to defend and secure us if such an event should take place. For this, among other reasons, I have this Spring sent Mr. James Dean, who (among other excellent qualifications) is a great master of the language of the Indians at Caghnawaga, as a Missionary to itinerate, for a short time, among the tribes in Canada, to keep the fire burning and brighten the chain of friendship (as they speak) lately commenced between those tribes and this Seminary, which at

present seems to be high in the esteem of many of them, as their conduct fully testified, by receiving Missionaries and treating them with respect—sending their children from time to time, with cheerfulness to school. We have ten of their sons now with us, eight of whom are descendants from English captives, and one, a son of the chief Sachem at St. Francis, and another is brother to the youth who was lately elected and crowned Sachem at Caghnawaga—which young Sachem I expect also will come hither to receive an education, as his father, who was here with him, promised to send him to me as soon as certain rites, customary among them, to ratify and publish his election to and investiture in said office, should be performed. A number who have been at school here have returned, on one occasion, and made favorable reports of the treatment they met with among the English, and an honorable representation of the kind design of this school. I expect a number from those tribes soon—and likely may have more than I can at present find means to support.

This connection, Sir, I esteem, under God, our strongest bulwark, if such invasion from the Northward should be made.

I would also further inform you that Mr. Dean was brought up & naturalized among the Six Nations—is a great master of their language, and much esteemed as an orator among them. And his influence among them I apprehend to be greater than any other man's, unless it be their present Superintendent—and is esteemed by the best Indians to be a man of genius, learning, piety, and great prudence. He was of opinion (though he thought nothing of any mention being made of it) that if there should be occasion, and he should be properly authorized for it, he could influence all the Six Nations to join these Colonies against any invasion that should be made or attempted against them; and I don't think he did at all overrate his ability or influence for that purpose. Mr. Dean designed to return as soon as the lake should be clear of ice, and the streams and roads should favor it, which will likely be in May.

If what I have hinted shall suggest the least advantage to the cause, I am well repaid for writing, and if none at all, yet you have a testimonial of the good wishes and desires of him who is, with much esteem and respect, your Honor's most obedient and most humble servant,

ELEAZAR WHELOCK.

GOV. TRUMBULL.

4.—*Rev. Eleazar Wheelock to Governor Trumbull.*

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, June 19, 1775.

HON<sup>d</sup> SIR,

I have only a minute to inform you, while the



Bearer is delayed, that Mr. Dean is not returned, nor can I hear a word from him since the 11th of May, when Thomas Wolcott, who was then with him at Montreal, by a line informed us that he had been waiting some days for money he expected to receive, but expected to set out for home in a few days.

I conjecture he may be stopped by the King's troops.

Some Indians from Canada have lately been in, on a trade with the English at the Upper Cowes, and appear very friendly, and say their tribes will not join with the King's army, but with the Colonies, if on either side. But they chuse neither; that only two of the remote tribes sent their war belts to Gov. Charlton—the other, they say, will not join with him. Their Boys remain quietly with me, and I have no fear of an attack from any Indians, unless the design should be secreted in that quarter, without a seasonable advice of it as they can give me of it.

Last Saturday and Sabbath we heard the noise of cannon, we suppose, at Boston, and are now impatient to be informed of the occasion and event.

My hope is in the God of Jacob—religion flourishes greatly in this place and three neighboring towns.

Please accept sincere respects, &c., from  
your Honor's most obedient humble serv<sup>t</sup>

ELEAZAR WHELOCK.

GOVERNOR TRUMBULL.

5.—*Rev. Eleazar Wheelock to Silas Deane.*

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, June 25, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR,

Yesterday, Mr. James Dean returned from his Northern Mission, whither I sent him last March, with a view to strengthen & perpetuate the friendship lately commenced between this Seminary and the Northern tribes of Indians, attach them to these Colonies, and prevent an invasion of Savages, &c., from that quarter; and, upon hearing his narrative, I was of opinion that the intelligence is so interesting, and the authority so good, that it was best he should proceed immediately to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Continental Congress. And as they may have the whole from his mouth, I need not trouble them with any account of the matter, but would just hint to you, and you may communicate as you shall think proper, that his late Mission has been, and his present journey now is, wholly at my expense, and that resources from Europe for my assistance, under the great weight of charge for the support of the Seminary, are now wholly cut off by the present public dispute, for which reason it would be quite agreeable to me that

some method should be thought of to refund this expense for Mr. Dean.

And also I would inform the Honorable Congress, that this College and the neighboring towns are almost wholly unarmed and defenceless, and that notwithstanding much pains have been used, no door is yet opened for supply of that necessity. And we now hear that a large number of fire arms have lately been brought to Philadelphia, & don't know of any to be had nearer. We want about a hundred to supply my family, that is the College, School, and those in connection with it. I have upwards of thirty on charity or so indigent that they are not able to purchase them, and few or none who have money to command. And this is the common calamity of all these frontier settlements, and they must remain very defenceless unless provision be charitably made for them by others.

Mr. Dean is well acquainted with the state of this country, and is a faithful, honest man; and I humbly pray that we may be the attention and charitable care of the Honorable Congress, or others whom God has honored with ability and an heart to relieve us. And I need say nothing to urge the necessity, importance, and distress of our case, more than you shall see and know when Mr. Dean has given you a faithful account of it.

I hope it may be in the power of the Hon. Congress to make a present to this College and School, of a sufficient number of the fire arms and ammunition which Maj. Shune has imported to their hand, to supply our necessity. And I trust my not addressing the Honorable Congress in a formal manner, will not be considered as any objection against such liberality, since the only reasons of my neglect, are that I would not delay Mr. Dean a minute longer than was absolutely necessary, and also the apprehension I have that the Gentlemen are continually crowded with business, and therefore will desire nothing more than to hear matters in the plainest and most concise manner.

I have confidence in your ability, friendship, fidelity, and zeal in the cause, and am, with much respect & esteem,

My dear Sir,

Your most obedient and very

Humble Servant,

ELEAZAR WHELOCK.

MR. SILAS DEAN.

6.—*Rev. Eleazar Wheelock to Governor Trumbull.*

DARTMO. COLLEGE, DEC. 1775.

HON<sup>ble</sup>! & MUCH RESPECTED SIR,

On the 13th inst. the famous Major Rogers came to my house from a tavern in the neighbor-

hood where he called for refreshment. I had never before seen him—he was in very ordinary habit for one of his character—he treated me with very great respect; said he came from London, in July, and had spent 20 days at the Congress in Philadelphia, and I forget how many at New York—had been offered and urged to take a commission in favor of the Colonies, but as he was now in half-pay from the Crown, he thought proper not to accept it—that he had fought two battles in Algiers, under the Dey—that he was now on a design to secure or take care of some large grants of land made to him—that he was designed to visit his sister at Moorstown and then return by Merimac river to visit his wife whom he had not yet seen since his return from England—that he had got a Pass or License to travel from the Continental Congress—that he came in to offer his service to procure a large interest for the College—that the reputation of it was great in England—that Lord Dartmouth and many other noblemen had spoken of it, in his hearing, with highest esteem and respect—that Capt. Holland, Surveyor General, now at New York, was a great friend to me and the College, and would assist me in the affair—and that now was the most favorable time to apply for a large grant of lands for it.—I thanked him for expressions of his kindness, but after I had shown some coldness in accepting it, he proposed to write me in his journey and let me know when I might write him, and he should be ready to perform any friendly office in the affair. He said he was in haste to pursue his journey, that evening, and when he took up his hat, (which was but an ordinary one) to leave me, he observed that his Cockade was lost off by some accident. He went to the aforesaid tavern and there tarried all night and went on his proposed way to Lyme the next morning. Since which I have heard nothing from him. But this day two soldiers viz Canada of Haverhill and Palmer of Orford, on their return from Montreal, informed me that our officers were assured by a Frenchman, a Captain of the Artillery whom they had taken captive, that Major Rogers was 2d in command under General Carleton, and that he had lately been in Indian habit through our encampments and had given a plan of them to the General—and suppose he made his escape with the Indians who were at St. Johns. This account is according to the best of my remembrance. If it shall prove of any service to detect such an enemy I am glad—if not, my intention, I trust will apologize for what I've written.

I am, Hon'd Sir, with much esteem and respect,  
your obedient and very humble servant,

ELEAZAR WHELOCK.

P. S. This Province is at present in a melancholy situation, indeed we are in a state of na-

ture—the Constitution thrown out of doors, and that without any necessity or justifiable reason that I know of, and a door opened to a flood of evils. We have some here who are not of the greatest abilities. I wish the Continental Congress could have a true representation of our calamitous state. I never loved dear Connecticut as I now do—nor did I ever long to see and converse with your Honor so much as now. Pray help us if you can.

THE HON. GOV. TRUMBULL.

N.B. Nearly the same I wrote Gen. Washington omitting what I here say of his hat & cockade—That Palmer is said to be Lieut. under Col. Beadle—and added that he had not money to pay his reckoning for three shillings, and expected to return in about three months and pay it. Also omitting the postscript.

7.—*Beza Woodward to Mr. Wheelock.*

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, Sabbath  
Evening, May 26, 1776.

REVEREND & HONR SIR :

Yesterday Mr. Smith arrived by whom we have the pleasure to be assured you are much more comfortable than when you left home, for which I desire to bless God. Your family are in usual health, and affairs of the College with respect to husbandry wear an agreeable aspect. I wrote you in my last that the Presbytery did not see cause to ordain Mr. Kendal, with the reasons. Mr. Smith informs me he is now gone to Dr. Langdon to see if he cannot have it effected by *his* influence. Does not this look like thrusting himself uncalled into the Vineyard of the Lord?

I this day saw some soldiers (belonging to Lebanon) who came last Sabbath from St. John, by whom I am informed that Mrs. Wheelock is recovering of the small pox, and designs to return soon with Mr. James—also that Mr. Ripley was going soon to Albany, and then designed to come home. Dr. Crane set out last Monday for Montreal to take the small pox. We hear that Gid. Bridgman and Mr. Haye's son are among the missing in the retreat from before Quebec.—I fear Canada will be a scene of bloodshed this Summer.—People seem so senseless of the hand of God in the present controversy, that I think we have reason to expect to be brought to great straits before we have deliverance.

Your daughter joins me in humble duty—also love to the Major & Mrs. Eleazar, and due respects to all inquirers.

I am, Reverend and honored Sir,  
Your dutiful Son and  
humble Servant,  
BEZA WOODWARD.

REV<sup>d</sup> DR. WHELOCK,  
President of Dartmouth College,  
now in Connecticut.





William Bentley, D. D., distinguished not only for his great learning and his enlarged and liberal theology and practical Christianity, but for his interest in and knowledge of everything that concerned the welfare of Salem; and some of the preparatory meetings were held in his study, and he took part in drawing up the Articles of organization.

The chief objects of the institution were declared to be, *First*, "To assist the widows and 'children of deceased members who may need 'it, out of the funds of the Society;" *Second*, "To collect such facts and observations as tend 'to the improvement and security of navigation;" *Third*, "to form a Museum of natural and artificial curiosities, particularly such as 'are to be found beyond the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn." The first Article of the By-laws provided that "any person shall be eligible as a member of this Society, who shall 'actually have navigated the seas near the 'Cape of Good Hope' or 'Cape Horn,' either 'as Master or Commander, as Factor or Supercargo, of any vessel belonging to Salem, or, if 'resident in Salem, of any vessel belonging to 'any port of the United States." These conditions in membership have always been observed; and, under them, three hundred and forty-eight have joined the Society and two hundred and seventy-eight have deceased, leaving seventy surviving members.

As to the first object of organization—"assistance to indigent members and their families"—the Society has always contributed to the extent of its funds; and has helped to make comfortable the declining years of many of its members, and to alleviate the wants of their widows and children.

As to the second object of the organization—"improvement in navigation"—the records of the Society show a continued interest in this subject; and the large collection of journals (upwards of ninety in number) kept by many prominent members, and in the early days of the Society, when navigation as compared with the present time was in its infancy, prove that this important object was not overlooked. The earliest journal on our Catalogue, written previous to the formation of the Society, was kept by Nathaniel Bowditch, a name known and honored throughout the world, then Supercargo of the ship *Astrea*, on a voyage to Lisbon, Madeira, Manilla, and back, in 1796-97. Many may not be aware that this remarkable man, distinguished not only for his vast acquirements but for the purity of his life, was for some years Master or Supercargo, on voyages from Salem to the East Indies. Another journal on our Catalogue was kept by him, when Master of the ship *Putnam*, on a voyage from Salem to Sumatra, the

Isle of France, and back, in 1802 and 1803. Mr. Bowditch joined the Society in the Autumn of 1800, and continued an active member, till he left Salem, in 1823. He was its Secretary, one year; Inspector of Journals, sixteen years; and its honored President, three years. Who can doubt that, with such a leading spirit among its active members, one of the main objects of the Society should receive its due care and attention.

At a meeting of the Society, in May, 1801, a Committee of six members was appointed to examine a work, called the *New American Practical Navigator*, by Nathaniel Bowditch. The Committee subsequently reported in the most favorable terms of the excellence of the work; "that 'he has corrected the many thousand errors existing in the best European works of the kind; 'that he has, in many instances, greatly improved 'the methods of calculation and added new 'ones of his own; and that, in their opinion, it 'is highly deserving of the approbation and 'encouragement of the Society." The opinion of these pioneers in navigation has been confirmed by the unanimous verdict of their successors; and *Bowditch's Practical Navigator* has, for very many years, been the standard work on the subject.

Dr. Bowditch resigned as President of the Society, in July, 1823; and they voted "that they 'accept his resignation with much regret; and 'that their thanks be presented to him for his 'assiduous and distinguished services for so 'many years, as shown by the prosperous condition of the Society."

As to the third object, the collection which now belongs to your Society, Mr. President, will testify as to the faithfulness of the members, in this particular. The large majority of the articles were contributed by members, brought home by them on their different voyages. Some were obtained by purchase and exchange; and some have been voluntary contributions from others, not members, whose donations were always gratefully acknowledged by the Society. The Museum of our Society has always been open to the public, the only restriction being that the visitors must be admitted by a member. No fee has ever been charged or allowed. Attempts have been made to make a change in this respect, when the funds of the Society were low; but the majority would not deviate from the broad and liberal ground taken by its founders; and for nearly seventy years, during the Summer season, our hall has been open to visitors from all parts of the country. I congratulate you, Mr. President, that your Society starts on the same liberal plan; and that the public are to receive pleasure and instruction from the inspection of your collection.

The hall first occupied by our Society was in



the building, now standing, on the corner of Essex and Washington-streets. In 1804, they removed to a then new building in the rear of the present Downing Block, occupied, for many years, by the Salem Bank and the Savings Bank. In 1824, finding their accommodation still too confined for their large and increasing Museum, measures were taken for the erection of a new building. As the Society had not funds sufficient for this purpose, a new Corporation was formed, called "The East India Marine Hall Corporation," of which our Society held the largest amount of stock; and the stone and brick building, which, for more than one generation, has been known as the "East India Marine Museum," and which is now owned and occupied by your Society, Mr. President, was erected in 1824-25. The occupancy and opening of the new hall, in October of the latter year, was celebrated by a procession and dinner, at which were present, among other distinguished men, Mr. Adams, then President of the United States, Mr. Quincy, then Mayor of Boston, Mr. Justice Story, of the United States Supreme Court, and Rev. Doctor Kirkland, President of Harvard College.

The social element had a somewhat prominent place in our Society, in its earlier days; and, for many years after its formation, a dinner was held at the hall, at the period of the annual meeting, to which many of the prominent gentlemen of Salem were invited, including not only merchants, but distinguished members of the liberal professions. A procession was generally escorted through the principal streets, with military and music, the officers being dressed in Oriental costume. In those early days of the Society, a deep interest in its welfare was felt by the citizens at large. They were proud of its Museum, and justly held in high esteem, its officers and members. In the latter part of the past century and the earlier years of this, there were, of course, not so many avenues to wealth and advancement as at the present time. Commerce seemed the only field in which the enterprising and active young man could hope for distinction and eminence. Manufacturing, as an occupation, was then unknown. The Arts and Sciences and liberal professions offered but little inducement, the way to success in them seeming slow and difficult. But in commerce, in trade, in the idea of visiting foreign lands, with the expectation of rising rapidly to high position and wealth, there was something to excite the ambition and encourage the natural spirit of enterprise of young men; and the result was, that the best and most intelligent among them sought positions in our then young and small mercantile marine, readily taking the humblest places, feeling sure of a rapid rise to the highest positions if they but showed themselves worthy of

them. It was of this class of men, that the "East India Marine Society" was formed—self-made men, who had started early in life and carried their country's flag and transacted business in almost every part of the world. In those days, these men not only commanded their ships, but were also factors, doing business to a large amount, and frequently intrusted with great discretionary powers. It is not to be wondered that such men were looked up to with respect; and that, when they gave up their sea-life, they were called, as many were, to fill important places in the Town, and State, and Nation.

Our good old City, Mr. President, was the pioneer in the East India trade; and, for many years, more vessels arrived here and more goods were landed, than at any port in the United States; and it may safely be asserted, that, during the early part of this century, a large majority of the vessels that sailed from this country, beyond the Cape of Good Hope or Cape Horn, were Salem ships, commanded by Salem men, most of whom were members of our Society. But now all is changed. These men have passed away, and the commerce of Salem has departed. Other avenues to success in life have been opened; and most of our young men seek other professions than that of the sea. The time may come when the "East India Marine Society" shall be extinct; but it cannot soon be forgotten among the descendants of its founders. And its Museum, watched over and taken care of, as it will be by your Society, will help to keep fresh the memory of those active, and enterprising, and able ship-masters, whose canvas was spread to the breeze on almost every sea, and of whom we, their children, may justly feel proud.—*Salem Gazette.*

C. S. RAFINESQUE, the celebrated Botanist, resided, at one time, on the south side of Vine-street, above Fifth, Philadelphia, in a house that is still standing, and which is peculiar upon account of the entrance by high steps. Rafinesque was a scientific man; and in Botany, he was one of the most accomplished Professors of his time. He wrote many botanical works. He was, about the year 1837, a little, dried up, "muffy"-looking old man, resembling an antiquated Frenchman. According to his birth-place, he might have been called a Turk, for he was born in Constantinople. His father, however, was a French merchant, trading between Marseilles and the Levant; and the son was born in Turkey, while the parent was there on business, together with his family. The young philosopher was taken to Marseilles, when seven years old, and afterward to Italy. He came to America in

1802; collected a large number of botanical specimens; and, in 1805, went back to Italy, where he remained ten years; returning to the United States in 1815. He was wrecked upon the coast of Long Island, and lost his fortune, his interest in the cargo, his collections—the results of his labors, for twenty years—and his drawings, books, manuscripts, and clothes. In fact, he was placed on shore without a penny and without friends, here or elsewhere. But for this misfortune, Rafinesque might, by his means and his talent, have commanded, in this country, a position of esteem and influence. As it was, he became one of the most neglected among God's creatures—a poor philosopher.—*Ibid.*

**A MARKED CHANGE.**—As a marked illustration of the change the “whirligig of time” has brought about, in the views of good men, concerning certain practices, a New Haven paper publishes the following curious extract from the Diary of the Rev. Samuel Seabury, of Ledyard, father of Bishop Seabury. He says: “The ticket ‘No. 5,866, in the Lighthouse and Public Lottery of New York, drew in my favor, by the blessing of Almighty God, 500 pounds sterling, of which I received 425 pounds, there being a deduction of fifteen per cent.; for which I now record to my posterity my thanks and praise to Almighty God, the giver of all good gifts.’”

In the light of our more correct appreciation of the immoral tendency of lotteries and all other forms of gambling, the above pious thanksgiving reads strangely enough.—*New York Examiner and Chronicle.*

**THE JEWS IN PHILADELPHIA.**—Very little is known about the history of the Jews in Philadelphia. There was a congregation here before the Revolution; and the old burying-ground on Spruce-street, below Ninth, was used by the sect. In December, 1783, George Seixas, the Rabbi of the Jewish Synagogue, in Philadelphia, Simon Nathan, the Parnass or President, Asher Myers, Bernard Gratz, and Haym Solomon, the Mohammed or associates of the Council, protested, to the Council of Censors of the State, against an expression in the Test Declaration of Members of Assembly: “that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by divine inspiration.” We should be glad to receive any particulars of the early history of this sect. Mease says, in *The Picture of Philadelphia*, in 1810: “There are two Jewish Synagogues, but the sect is declining. The lot in Cherry-street, above Third, was first used for a Synagogue, in 1782. The building there, which most of us remember, was

“erected about 1819. There was formerly a German Synagogue in Church-alley; and, thirty years ago, there was one in Pear-street, above ‘Dock, on the North side.’”—*Philadelphia Sunday Despatch.*

**THE CHESHIRE CHEESE.**—Littell's *Living Age* contains an interesting article of Elihu Burritt's, from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, on the great cheese which the people of Cheshire, Massachusetts, made for Thomas Jefferson.

Elder John Leland was a great pulpit politician in those days, and preached to the people of Cheshire such stirring Jeffersonian Democracy, that, for generations, they never voted anything but the straight Democratic ticket. When Jefferson was elected President, after a contest of tremendous excitement, Elder John Leland proposed that his flock should celebrate the victory, by making for the new Chief Magistrate the biggest cheese the world had ever seen. Every man and woman who owned a cow was to give for this cheese all the milk yielded on a certain day—only no Federal cow must contribute a drop. A huge cider-press was fitted up to make it in; and, on the appointed day, the whole country turned out with pails and tubs of curd, the girls and women in their best gowns and ribbons, and the men in their Sunday coats and clean shirt-collars. The cheese was put to press with prayer, and hymn-singing, and great solemnity. When it was well dried, it weighed one thousand, six hundred pounds; and as it could not be trusted on wheels, it waited until mid-winter, when it was placed on a sleigh; and Elder John Leland drove with it all the way to Washington. (There was more snow, you see, in these times, than there is now.) It was a journey of three weeks. All the country had heard of the big cheese; and came out to look at it, as the Elder drove along. When he got to Washington, Mr. Jefferson received him in state; made a speech; and, in the presence of the heads of Departments, foreign Ministers, and other distinguished persons, cut the cheese and served some of it around, with bread. Then he sent a wedge of it home to the makers; and, when it arrived, they also ate it in state. We are further informed that the cheese was very good.

**THE MASSACHUSETTS AND RHODE ISLAND BOUNDARY LINE.**—The boundary-line between Massachusetts and Rhode Island has not yet been determined; and, after years of contest, the two States seem to be as remote as ever from a settlement. After many Commissions and Suits, a Joint Commission was appointed, some years



ago, which agreed upon a compromise line, from Connecticut to the sea, the Rhode Island Commissioners yielding something on the North line, and the Massachusetts Commissioners something on the Eastern line. Massachusetts, however, refused to ratify any part of the compromise but that which enlarged her own Territory; and the question was no nearer a settlement than before. Rhode Island has recently had the entire Northern line surveyed, and the result, it is asserted, proves that the line fixed by the ancient Colonial Charter extended North of that to which Rhode Island now exercises jurisdiction, and would bring into that State the entire villages of Blackstone and Waterford, now governed by Massachusetts. A renewal of negotiations, with a view to an agreement upon the charter-line, is, therefore, recommended.

**THE IPSWICH FRIGHT.**—On the twenty-first of April, two days after the Battle of Lexington, a scene of terror and confusion was witnessed in this town, which extended itself to several of the neighboring towns, and has since been called "The Great Ipswich Fright."

The news of the great Lexington fight, in all its exaggerated details, had just been received; terrible stories of the atrocities committed by the "Regulars" had been related; and it was believed that nothing short of a general extermination of the patriots—men, women, and children—was contemplated by the British commander. Under this excitement, a rumor, which no one attempted to trace out or authenticate, was spread from house to house, that the British had landed and were marching upon the town. The terror was indescribable. What should they do? Defence was out of the question, as all the young and able-bodied men of the town and of the entire region had marched to Cambridge. No relief was left to them but in flight. All that could, left their houses and fled from the town.

Almost simultaneously, the people of Beverly were smitten with the same terror. How the rumor was communicated, no one could tell. It was then believed that the enemy had fallen upon Ipswich and massacred the inhabitants, without regard to age or sex. As our people ran northerly, for safety, they found that the people of Rowley had run to Newbury, and the people of Newbury to Salisbury; and the fright extended up the river as far as Haverhill, whose inhabitants fled across the river, in boats, to Bradford.

It was not till the next morning, that the fugitives were undeceived. Such of our townspeople as could not or would not leave their

homes, became convinced that the terrible rumor was wholly unfounded. A young man from Exeter, who happened to be in town, mounted his horse and followed the flying multitude, undeceiving all whom he overtook; and thus, before the night, they were all quietly lodged in their homes.—*Salem Gazette.*

**ORIGIN OF AMERICAN BAPTISTS.**—In a lecture on the Planting of the Churches in America, delivered at Newark, the Rev. Dr. Moffat, of Princeton Theological Seminary, is reported to have said:—"The Baptists first came over with the Puritans, but, expelled from Massachusetts, they took refuge in Rhode Island, and spread rapidly toward the West and South."

Dr. Moffat knows very little of Baptist history, or his reporter has done him injustice.

The great Middle States and Southwestern Baptist movement had none but the slightest possible connection with the Baptists of Rhode Island. The Baptists of Rhode Island received from that movement far more than they imparted to it. The Baptists of the United States proceeded from two centres—one in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the other in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. These centres were remarkably distinct and independent, until about one hundred years ago; and the lines which issued from them have borne, from first to last, the marks of their respective origins. Even where these lines have met, as in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, you can trace out, distinctly, what came from Philadelphia and what came from New-England.

The doctrinal debt of New-England to Philadelphia was incalculable. In 1729, when the Philadelphia Association had become a numerous and flourishing body, in happy concord and standing firmly by the Confession of 1689, there were but three Baptist-churches in Massachusetts deemed sound in doctrine; and, in Rhode Island, scarcely more—the whole number of Baptist-churches, in New-England, being less than twenty, including Six Principle, Seventh Day, and all sorts and kinds. They had learned the blessed art of dividing on all questions which could be raised to the dignity of seriousness.

The dawn of their better days may be dated from the correspondence and visits of the admirable young Comer, of Newport, with the Baptists of Philadelphia and vicinity, this happy influence being followed by the Great Awakening and the earnest religious life of the Separates, who in large numbers became Baptists. The extraordinary growth of the New-England Baptists commenced a little later than

the middle of the eighteenth century. But, at about the same time, the extraordinary Baptist movement in the Southern Colonies occurred. There were slight connections of the two movements; but, generally, they were distinct. The great debt of American Baptists to Massachusetts, and especially to Rhode Island, was for announcing and maintaining true doctrines of religious liberty: their great debt to the Baptists of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey, was for soundness of doctrine and orderliness of church-life. The higher average intelligence of New-England gave, ultimately, to New England Baptists, a compacter organization and a paramount influence in the Baptist family.—*Examiner and Chronicle*.

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF DOCTOR FRANKLIN TO MISS E. HUBBARD.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 12, 1776.

DEAR CHILD:—I condole with you. We have lost a most dear and valuable relation, but it is the will of God and nature that these mortal bodies be laid aside when the soul is to enter into real life. Existence here on earth is hardly to be called life. 'Tis rather an embryo state, a preparation to living—a man is not completely born until he is dead. Why, then, should we grieve that a new child is born among the immortals—a new member added to their society.

We are spirits. That bodies should be lent to us while they can afford us pleasure, assist us in acquiring knowledge, or in doing good to our fellow creatures, is a kind and benevolent act of God. When they become unfit for their purposes, and afford us pain instead of pleasure, instead of an aid become an incumbrance, and answer none of the intentions for which they were given, it is equally kind and benevolent that a way is provided by which we may get rid of them. That way is Death.

We, ourselves, prudently, in some cases, choose a partial death. A mangled, painful limb, which cannot be restored, we willingly cut off. He that plucks out a tooth parts with it freely, since the pain goes with it; and he that quits the whole body, parts with all the pains and possibility of pains and disease it was liable to, or capable of making him suffer.

Our friend and we are invited abroad on a party of pleasure, that is to last forever. His chair\* was first ready and has gone before us. We could not conveniently all start together; and why should you and I be grieved at this, since we are soon to follow; and we know where to find him?

Adieu, my dear, good child, and believe that I shall be, in every state,

Your affectionate papa,

BENJ. FRANKLIN.

INDIAN BELT FOUND AT MERRICONEAG, (HARPSWELL.)—Mr. Henry Barnes, of Harpswell, recently found a series of copper tubes, attached to each other with slender, soft leather thongs, and arranged in the form of a belt. He informed us that they were brought to the surface of his field by the plow, in November last, about thirty rods North-east of the place, where, in 1861, several skeletons were exhumed by the same means, with about sixty beads of wampum and several large copper tubes, with ornaments of the same metal, apparently for the nose and ears.

The place where these aboriginal relics were found, is on or near the line of the ancient carrying-place, between the water of Merriconeag Sound and Casco Bay; and being short and the most feasible on all the long peninsula, it received the name of "Merriconeag," meaning the "Quick Portage;" and thus gave the ancient name to all that part of the present township.

The foundation of this belt was made of soft, prepared deer or moose-skin, with a thin padding made of small bulrushes, fastened together, side by side, with a tough grass thread passing through, at intervals, about an inch apart; though some of them are woven together. Over this cushion were placed the several rows of the copper tubes, ranged perpendicularly across the belt, which was about eight inches wide, and probably wider. Several pieces of flat thin copper were found imbedded with the other materials; but so much corroded and broken, as to leave no means of deciding what relation they had to the belt, or what other use they could supply.

These tubes are of different lengths and diameters, and are formed of thin copper, accurately rolled into form, with one edge lapping over the other where they meet, and all preserving great uniformity in their respective rows. The shortest are about a fourth of an inch in length, and are about fifty in number. The next in length are about three-fourths of an inch in measurement; and were about one hundred and fifty in number. The next are two and a half inches, and number more than one hundred; and a few are two and a half or three inches long. There are many vacant places in the rows, where others have been lost by corrosion, as the indications of the fastenings show. The diameters are generally three-sixteenths, and some are one-fourth of an inch. The whole

\* Alluding to the sedan chairs, then in fashionable use.



number was probably not less than four hundred.

They were secured above the padding and brought close together, in the rows, by strings passing through them, and fastened to a cross cord or thong at each end, secured to the foundation. These strings were in part made of prepared deer or moose-skin, so cut in strips as to be square; and the other part by a two-twined cord, made of flax, as is shown by the fibre and odor when burnt.

A fringe of the soft leather, having one of the shorter of the tubes on each of the straps, with a knot below each tube, to prevent it from slipping off, formed the ends of the belt; and the whole, when the copper was kept bright and the colors were fresh, made a jaunty addition to the dress of the skin-clad native. Similar bright copper ornaments of Indian use, in other parts of the country, were, in early times, taken for gold by Europeans.

Pieces of sole-leather, hard and thick, were also found in the same cavity. From the angular bend on the side, of one of these fragments, a suggestion is derived that this material formed a box or case for the deposit of the belt, when not in use. The largest piece is about fifteen inches long and seven or eight wide, with an appearance, at the edges, of having been still larger.

The soft leather and also the rushes, when burned, give off a greenish flame, showing how much they are impregnated with the rust of the wasted copper.

One small piece of leather is of a different character, having the hair of the animal adhering to the surface, but easily rubbed off. A few bones of birds and an arrow-head of stone were also found with the rest of these articles.

Similar tubes have been found on our coast, in recent times, bearing marks of great antiquity, some which have been deposited in the Cabinet of the Historical Society; and also on an Indian belt, near the celebrated Dighton Rock, near Fall-river, in Massachusetts, with a breast-plate of brass and brass arrows, in a sort of quiver. Mention is also made in Weymouth's voyage to our coast, in 1605, of "girdles, deck-ed round about with little round pieces of red copper." Earlier still, Verrazzano, in 1497, found copper among the aborigines of the East coast of the present United States; and tubes of the same metal, corresponding precisely in description to these found at Harpswell, have been exhumed from the mounds, in the valley of the Ohio.

The question arises, whence did the natives procure this metal? The fact that sole-leather and flaxen twine were found with these tribes, is a sufficient indication that they may have

come from European countries. The navigators to the coast, in 1602 and 1607, found several articles of transatlantic manufacture; and why may not these copper ornaments have been derived from the same sources? Or did they come from the mines of Lake Superior?

SCRAPS.—In the town of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, there is a fire-engine, built during the reign of William and Mary, A. D. 1698. This engine was shipped from London, with the Colonists, in 1742, and yet exists, just as it was received; with the exception of some common blue paint, put on recently. It is about eight feet long, and is constructed much on the same plan as the New York engines of the present day.

— The peach stones cast aside by the armies at Petersburg have shot up into a grove of trees, forty-five miles long, which is now loaded with fruit.

— On Agamenticus-hill, in York, lies buried the Indian Apostle, Saint Aspinquid. He was ninety-four years old, when he died, May 1, 1662. At the age of forty-two or forty-three, he was converted to Christianity, and spent fifty years of his life preaching to the sixty-six different nations or tribes of Indians, in the country. His funeral was conducted with great pomp and ceremony. The Indians sacrificed the following wild animals to the departed spirit: twenty-five bucks, sixty-seven does, three ermines, thirty-two buffaloes, one hundred and ten ferrets, eight hundred and thirty-two martens, two hundred and forty wolves, eighty-two wildcats, four hundred and eighty-two foxes, six hundred and twenty beavers, five hundred fishes, ninety-nine bears, thirty-six moose, fifty weasels, four hundred otters, five hundred and twenty raccoons, one hundred and twelve rattlesnakes, three catamounts, nine hundred musquashes, sixty-nine woodchucks, one thousand, five hundred minks, thirty-eight porcupines. On his tombstone, was placed the following inscription:

"Present, useful; absent, wanted;

"Lived desired; dead, lamented."

— It is a remarkable fact, that the eminent historian, Bancroft, while representing the United States, at the Court of St. James, having been allowed access to several public offices in London, for the purpose of historic research, found the original manuscript of an official Dispatch of Arthur Dobbs, Governor of North Carolina, dated December, 1757. In this Dispatch to the Home Government, is a curious record, the language of Governor Dobbs: "Mr. Starky, the Treasurer, who governs many in the Assembly, by loaning them money." Thus it appears

that bribing members by loans, either *quasi* loans or genuine, is not of recent origin in North Carolina.

—It is proposed, in Philadelphia, to bring the remains of William Penn from England to Pennsylvania, and to erect a splendid monument over them. They were buried in a leaden coffin; and their transportation to America will not be difficult.

—The largest man on record was Miles Darden, a native of North Carolina, who was born in 1786, and who died in Tennessee, in 1867. He was seven feet, six inches high; and, in 1845, weighed eight hundred and seventy-one pounds. At his death, he weighed a little over one thousand pounds.

—The skeleton of an immense Mastodon was found, a month ago, near Petaluma, California. The head only has been exhumed as yet; but it appears to be attached to an entire skeleton. A tusk measures twenty-two inches in circumference; and the skull is nearly three feet broad.

—A French archæologist claims that the mythology of the old Mexican race is the origin of those of China, India, Egypt, Persia, Greece, and Rome; and that the New World is not only the oldest, geologically, but is, in every sense, the cradle of the human race.

—The building of the Bank of Pennsylvania, on Second-street, above Walnut, was commenced in April, 1799, and finished in 1801. The architect was B. H. Latrobe.

—Four Governors of Massachusetts died in office: John Hancock, 1793; Increase Sumner, 1799; James Sullivan, 1808; William Eustis, 1825.

—The brick wall around the Old South, was erected to deaden the noise in the street.

—In *Lippincott's Magazine*, for August, it is stated that, for the first hundred years of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, there appeared on its title-page, a wood-cut, representing a hand holding a nosegay, with the motto—afterwards adopted by the United States—“*E Pluribus Unum*.” This motto was originally taken from an obscure poem of Virgil.

## VI.—NOTES.

BOARDING SCHOOL EXPENSES, 1783.—The following receipted bills were found among some old accounts which are now in the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society. They show what it cost to educate a young gentleman, at a private school, under the best moral influences, eighty-six years ago. Mr. John Schuyler, a son of Major-general Philip

Schuyler, of the Revolution, received “Schooling,” to the amount of £1. 4s, per quarter, from the Rev. Dr. Nathan Strong, of Hartford; and he appears to have diligently studied, at the cost of £3. 13s. 9d. at David Bull’s famous Tavern, some branches which the good Doctor perhaps had not time to teach.

HARTFORD, CONN.

J. H. T.

Mr. JOHN SCHUYLER,	
To Nathan Strong,	Dr.
To Schooling, 1 Quarter,	£1. 4.
	Rec'd Payment,
Oct. 21, 1783.	NATHAN STRONG.

Mr. JOHN SCHUYLER,	
1783. To David Bull,	Dr.
To Reckoning, at a Dance,	£0. 8. 0
To Ditto.....	1. 0. 0
To Clubb.....	0. 2. 0
To Ditto.....	0. 4. 0
To Clubb Punch.....	0. 2. 0
To Grog.....	0. 0. 9
To 1 pint Wine.....	0. 3. 0
To Punch.....	0. 1. 0
To Ditto.....	0. 1. 0
To Bottle Beer.....	0. 2. 0
To Reckoning at Dance.....	0. 8. 0
To Ditto.....	0. 9. 0
To Ditto.....	0. 10. 0
To 1 pint Wine.....	0. 3. 0
	£3. 13. 9

Rec'd Oct'r 22d, 1783, of Peter Colt Esq. Three pounds, thirteen shillings, and nine pence, L. Money, in full of the above Accto't.

DAVID BULL.

[The following scraps may interest your readers. W. K.]

## I.

NEW YORK, *December 23, 1785*.—The copper coinage, current in this city, is a reflection on the police, and must in the end, be a general loss to the citizens, as the intrinsic value of most of the coppers in circulation, is not half what they pass for. Scarce a British vessel arrives but what brings very considerable quantities of rap half-pence; and yet, shameful as it is, this inundation of base metal is passed with impunity and indifference.—*New Jersey Gazette*, January 9, 1786.

## II.

*Extract of a Letter from Adam Bainfair, Master of the Fell Transport Ship, to his Owner, in Whitby, dated Quebec, May 15, 1776.*

“We have got the troubles of this winter over, and have kept the town of Quebec in spite of all our enemies. I am now fitting out



"the *Fell* as fast as possible, to go up the river. "The rebels who run from the place on the 6th inst. at the first approach of a frigate, were "4000 strong, and we have within the walls "1500. We have had a hard winter; beef was "1s. per pound, and pork 1s. 3d. Before this "comes to hand you will hear of our having "been attacked on the 31st of December, when "I had the honour to command at that post "where the grand attack was made, and had "the fortune of killing the General and his "Aid de Camp, by the very first two guns I "fired, which was a great means of saving the "garrison; so you may find I am become an "expert warrior. They made several attempts "afterwards, and raised four batteries against "different parts of the town: One was against "the shipping; which has done great damage "to several of them, but most to the *Fell*; "they knew the ship, as she lay between two "men of war: one boy on board has lost his "leg, and one more is wounded. All our ship's "company are well, only John Hays wounded "in the hand."—*The Middlesex Journal*, London, June 22, 1776.

## III.

The celebrated Mr. Benedict Arnold, (formerly in the service of the United States, but now a British General on half-pay) lately paid a visit, in company with an English officer, to the eastern flank of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and in a friendly manner waited on Col. Allen, [Col. John Allan] at Dudley Island, [now called *Treat's Island, Maine*,] but tarried only a few hours, judging it more expedient to sojourn in Nova-Scotia, than in a country ever inimical to patri-cides.—*New York Packet*, August 10, 1786.

## NEW YORK PRIVATEERS, IN 1757.

The following, from *The American Country Almanack for the Year of Christian Account, 1758*, published in New York, by Parker and Weyman, will indicate to your readers, where some portion of the fortunes of Old New York originally came from.

## NEW YORK CITY.

J. A. R.

"A List of Privateers fitted and fitting out of "New York, since the commencement of the pres- "ent War, to the 10th of October, 1757.

"SHIPS,	CAPTAINS,	GUNS,	MEN.
" <i>King William 3d</i> ,	Amory,	24,	200.
" <i>Sturdy Beggar</i> ,	Troup,	24,	200.
" <i>Hercules</i> ,	Miller,	18,	150.
" <i>King of Prussia</i> ,	Seamour,	18,	150.
" <i>D. of Cumberland</i> ,	Lush,	18,	150.
" <i>Oliver Cromwell</i> ,	Nicoll,	16,	140.
" <i>Defiance</i> ,	Koffler,	16,	140.
" <i>Royal Hunter</i> ,	Jauncey,	16,	140.

"SNOWS,	CAPTAINS,	GUNS,	MEN.
" <i>Royal Hester</i> ,	Davis,	14,	120.
" <i>Dreadnought</i> ,	Taylor,	14,	120.
" <i>Mary Ann</i> ,	Shoals,	14,	120.
" <i>Neptune</i> ,	Thomson,	14,	120.
" <i>Hornet</i> ,	Spelling,	14,	120.
" <i>Cicero</i> ,	Smith,	14,	120.
" <i>Revenge</i> ,	Griffith,	14,	120.
" <i>Dogger Decoy</i> ,	Knights,	6,	50.
" <i>Schooner Peggy</i> ,	Haddon,	10,	90.
" <i>Schooner Hardy</i> ,	Fry,	10,	90.
" <i>Schooner Albany</i> ,	King,	6,	50.

"BRIGANTINES,	CAPTAINS,	GUNS,	MEN.
" <i>King George</i> ,	Waynman,	12,	110.
" <i>Pr. of Orange</i> ,	Dixon,	12,	110.
" <i>True Briton</i> ,	Miller,	12,	110.
" <i>Hawke</i> ,	Alexander,	12,	110.
" <i>De Lancey</i> ,	Randle,	12,	110.
" <i>Johnson</i> ,	Gelston,	12,	110.
" <i>Hope</i> ,	M'Daniel,	12,	110.
" <i>Pliny</i> ,	Stoddard,	12,	110.

"SLOOPS.	CAPTAINS,	GUNS,	MEN.
" <i>Goldfinch</i> ,	Dobbs,	12,	100.
" <i>Squirrel</i> ,	Law,	12,	100.
" <i>Weazle</i> ,	Fenton,	12,	100.
" <i>Fox</i> ,	Crew,	12,	100.
" <i>George</i> ,	Haley,	12,	100.
" <i>Charming Sally</i> ,	Dwight,	10,	100.
" <i>Wheel of Fortune</i> ,	Collins,	10,	100.
" <i>Harlequin</i> ,	Lane,	6,	50.
" <i>Catherine</i> ,	Sears,	10,	90.
" <i>Pr. Edward</i> ,	Hickey,	6,	50.
" <i>Tyger</i> ,	M'Dougal,	6,	50.

"Also, Ship *Blakeney*, White, 18 Guns, 120 "Men, supposed lost.  
 "Snow *Earl of Loudon*, Valentine, 14 Guns, "120 Men, taken, & retaken. And now made a "Brig, and fitted out again, Wallace.  
 "Brig *Mary*, Pell, 12 Guns, 110 Men, taken, "and carried to France.  
 "Brig *Prince George*, Murray, 12 Guns, 110 "Men, lost on the *Caicoses*.  
 "Sloop *Hardy*, Grantham, 12 Guns, 110 Men, "lost, & never heard of.  
 "Sloop *Bradstreet*, Bickers, 6 Guns, 50 Men, "lost.

"The following Prizes have been taken and "brought into New York, viz:

"1756, September. A snow by the *Goldfinch*; "a schooner by the *Harlequin*; two ships and a "snow by the *Prince George*; a ship by the *Earl "of Loudon*; and a snow retaken by the *Mary*.  
 "October. A schooner by the *Johnson*; a sloop "by the *Goldfinch*, and a dogger by the *Briton*.  
 "December. A snow by the *Harlequin*; and a "ship by the *King George*.

"1757, *January*. A privateer-sloop by the *Goldfinch* and *Charming Sally*.

"*March*. A ship by the *Peggy*, and a snow by the *Prince of Orange*.

"*April*. A snow by the *Neptune*.

"*May*. Two ships and a privateer-sloop by the *Hercules*; a snow retaken by the *Neptune*; three ships, a snow and a brig, by the *Hawke*, *John-son*, and *Charming Sally*.

"*June*. A brig retaken by the *Harlequin*, and a small privateer-sloop by the *Hornet*.

"*July*. A large ship and a schooner by the *Hornet*, and a ship by the *Revenge* and *Hornet*.

"*September*. A ship by the *Harlequin*; a ship and a snow by the *Royal Hester*; and a brig by the *Goldfinch*; which is the last we have account of.

"Besides these, several other prizes have been taken by some of the above privateers, which they were obliged to carry into other ports.

"There has also been brought in here a prize-ship by his Majesty's ship the *Nightingale*, and a snow by two Merchantmen, and a ship retaken by a Letter of Marque."

#### CAPTAIN CARDEN AND THE MACEDONIAN.—

While the *Macedonian* was building in the river Thames, a short time previous to the War of 1812, General Williams, of Norwich, Conn., was in England, and was invited, among other Americans then there, to go and see the *Macedonian* launched. He attended in company with Captain Carden, who had already been selected as commander of the new frigate. At that time, much was said by Captain Carden to the Americans, concerning the excellent construction of the ship, and the superior state in which he intended she should be finished.

About a year afterwards, it happened that General Williams was at Lisbon, while the *Macedonian* was there, and was invited by Captain Carden to go on board his frigate, which he said was in complete order and had the finest crew in the British Navy. While on board, the Commander took occasion to speak in the highest terms of his ship; and made some comparisons between the *Macedonian* and the frigates of the United States, very unfavorable to our Navy, and turning to the General—"Such a ship as this, Sir," said he, "never was built in the United States. Yours' have *calico sides* when compared to this!" "I am not the best judge of ship-building," said the General, "but I am induced to believe there are few better built ships than those which compose the American Navy." "Poor calico things," replied Carden, "I was out a few months since to America, where I saw your boasted frigate,

"the *United States*: why, she is not to be compared, Sir, with the *Macedonian*." "That may be," replied the General, "but, as the relations between the two countries are very much unsettled, some of your frigates may have an opportunity of comparing themselves, side and side, with the *United States*."

Immediately on receiving news of the capture and arrival of the *Macedonian*, General Williams hastened to New London, to pay his compliments to Captain Carden, then a prisoner on board the same ship he affected to despise. The meeting was such as might have been expected—Captain Carden was much more disposed to talk of the flavor of the wine, the hospitality of the Americans, etc., than to compare the British and American frigates.—*Niles's Register*.

#### VII.—QUERIES.

WORDENS IN WEST CHESTER-COUNTY, N. Y. —I have traced the family of Captain John Lorimer Worden, of the *Monitor*, to his grandfather, George Worden, who bought, in 1791, of Sylvanus Merritt and wife, in West Chester-county. I have consulted the County Clerk and Surrogate's Records, in White Plains, and Bolton's local History. Can any one give me a further clue to the anterior history of said George, or other Wordens, in West Chester-county and vicinity?  
O. N. WORDEN.

DOCTOR SHEA'S SERIES.—I have been endeavoring to make up complete series of the *Relations*, the *American Linguistics*, and the *Southern Series*, issued by your predecessor in the editorial chair of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, but am puzzled in my efforts to learn what constitute complete sets of either. Can you inform me what are the titles, sizes, and order of publication of each?

If we can be favored, also, with a Bibliography of the minor issues of the several Historical Societies, I am sure many beside myself will be thankful for the information.  
DICK.

BRONXVILLE, N. Y.

#### VIII.—REPLY.

ALBANY INSTITUTE SERIES. (*H. M. II. v. 336.*) In reply to "DICK," I beg to state that Doctor Hough did not get encouragement enough to make a sure thing of it; and, as he takes no risks, the project of issuing the works referred to was abandoned.  
J. M.

ALBANY, N. Y.



## IX.—BOOKS.

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

## A.—PUBLICATIONS BY SOCIETIES.

1.—J. M. J. V. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the Seminary of Our Lady of Angels, Suspension Bridge, N. Y.* For the Scholastic Year. 1863-69. [Buffalo.] Sine anno. Octavo, pp. 42.

This neatly-printed pamphlet contains the Catalogue of Instructors and Students and Course of Studies in the Catholic Seminary of Our Lady of Angels,—an institution which originated in the zealous labors of Father Lynch, now Bishop of Toronto, a few years since.

The course of studies seems to be very complete; and the long lists of students indicate that the institution is well supported.

2.—*Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Yale College, with a statement of the Course of Instruction in the various Departments.* 1869-70. New Haven: 1869. Octavo, pp. 74.

The extended pamphlet before us contains the annual Catalogue of Old Yale, exhibiting her powerful corps of Instructors, her long lists of Students, her varied Courses of Studies, her extensive means for Instruction, etc.; and we are not surprised that all who have known her, as their *Alma mater*, are earnestly proud of her.

3.—*Historical Sketches of The Presbyterian Churches, (O. S.) in Licking County, Ohio*, read before the Licking County Pioneer Association, by Rev. Henry Hervey. Newark, Ohio: 1869. Octavo, pp. 21.

*History of the Welsh Settlements in Licking County, Ohio*; the characteristics of our Welsh Pioneers—their Church History, with Biographical Sketches of our leading Welshmen, read at the Licking County Pioneer Meeting, April 7th, 1869. By Isaac Smucker, Secretary Licking County Pioneer Society. Newark, Ohio. [1869.] Octavo, pp. 22.

*Pioneer Pamphlets No. 3. Published by the Licking Co. Pioneer Society.* An Account of the Celebration of American Independence, at Clay Lick, by the Licking-county Pioneers: together with an Address, by Dr. Coulter, on early times in the Clay Lick Settlement. Also, historical Sketches of the townships of Licking, Bowling Green, Franklin, Hopewell, &c.; being Pioneer Papers Nos. 47, 48, 49, 50 and 61. By Isaac Smucker. Newark, Ohio: Clark & West. 1869. Octavo, pp. 35.

This young Society—"The Licking County Pioneer Society"—was organized on the first of May, 1867, in Newark, Licking-county, Ohio. It was organized for the purpose of "preserving accurate and full descriptions of the antiquities or ancient works of the mound builders in our country, and to collect and preserve all the leading facts and incidents connected with the

"early settlement of the different sections of the country, by neighborhoods and townships; also, to procure the names and ages of the first settlers, the places whence they came, *when* and *how* they came, and whatever incidents of an interesting character attended their journey and pioneer life; and, also, the manners, customs, habits and characteristics, in the pioneer times, as well as the diseases most prevalent and the mode of their treatment, the character of the soil and timber, also natural productions in the forest, the animals and game, with hunting incidents in pioneer life, and to gather all reliable facts as to Indian history and the mound-builders."

With this very extended plan, Hon. William Stanbery was elected President; Doctor J. N. Wilson, Thomas J. Anderson, and Daniel Forry, Vice-presidents; Enoch Wilson, Treasurer; Colonel W. Spencer, Corresponding Secretary; and Isaac Smucker, Recording Secretary; and these have been annually re-elected and still hold the several offices. Committees on Memoirs—whose duty it is to report the deaths and characters of pioneers and of those who are members of the Society—on Antiquities, and on Pioneer History, are also appointed annually; and one hundred and eighteen members are enrolled in the Pioneer branch of the Society and ten in the Antiquarian. Thirty-eight Honorary Members have been elected.

The Society has issued three "Pioneer Tracts"—those named at the head of this article—and fifty-one "Pioneer Papers," in the local newspapers; has collected a small Cabinet of Relics, petrifications, crania, and contents of the mounds—the latter including beads, arrow-heads, spears, axes, hatchets, bones, teeth, etc.; has gathered a small Library, "mostly of old-time books"; sustains a Course of Lectures, mainly on subjects of Scientific, Historical, and Antiquarian interest; and, withal, is prosperous and harmonious.

A taste for historical and antiquarian pursuits is not a very common trait, in the character of our people: we suppose, therefore, that this young organization has been effected through the efforts of two or three—possibly of *one*—zealous lovers of "the olden time:" that they (if there are more than *one*) do all the *work*, raise all the money, and inspire all who engage in it, either as actors or spectators. We suppose that this body meets and enjoys itself, by a revival of old recollections, a reviewal of fading acquaintanceship, and a display of homely but honorable heirlooms. We suppose that Addresses, concerning old men, old women, and old times, follow; and that all then repair to their happy homes, satisfied in having honored and in having been honored.

The homely pamphlets before us seem to contain the record of such assemblages; and as they

present the recollections of the early settlers of Licking-county, Ohio, concerning that settlement, their want of beauty does not diminish their importance, as exceedingly valuable material for the future historian of Ohio and of the West.

There are no unnecessary words in these little tracts; but the directness of the style indicates the earnestness of those who were engaged in the work which they had undertaken to perform. They appropriately commemorate the virtues and the sacrifices of the founders of the community from which these have come to us; and we take pleasure in thus calling the attention of our readers to them.

#### B.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

4.—*Report of the Minister of Public Instruction of the Province of Quebec, for the year 1867, and in part for the year 1868.* Printed by order of the Legislative Assembly. Quebec: Printed by Augustin Côté. 1869. Royal octavo, pp. xv, 327.

This very elaborate Report of the Department of Public Instruction indicates that there were, in Lower Canada, in 1867, three thousand, seven hundred, and twelve institutions devoted to that purpose; that two hundred and eight thousand, and thirty scholars attended them; and that the contributions, by taxation, for their support, amounted to seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand, four hundred, and ninety-four dollars. Besides, there were one hundred and forty six Dissident Protestant Schools, attended by a very large number of children and forty-four Catholic Dissident Schools, attended by one thousand four hundred and sixty-three children.

The whole Report exhibits a very satisfactory state of affairs; and we are sure that the result will compare favorably with that of many of the systems which are in vogue, hereabouts.

5.—*Laws of the State of New Hampshire, passed June Session, 1869.* Manchester: John B. Clarke, State Printer. 1869. Octavo, pp. 263-390.

This very handsome pamphlet forms one portion of a volume of the Session Laws of the State; and, although it is more particularly interesting to the inhabitants of that State, it is not without interest to those who are not of New Hampshire.

6.—*Ninth Annual Report of the Brooklyn Park Commissioners.* January, 1869. Brooklyn: 1869. Octavo, pp. 75.

The city of Brooklyn is no longer a child in the sisterhood of municipalities; and she asserts her maturity with all the spirit, and love of display, and servile imitation of the leaders of the fashions, which characterize the greater

number of the youthful, in other parts of the world.

She has her Nassau Water-works, as New York has her Croton: she has her Mercantile Library and Historical Society, as her elder sister has her's: she follows the bad example of her neighbor in having her "rings" to control her affairs: she follows what many consider a good example, in establishing a Park, which promises to possess rare beauties and to become one of the most notable of the series, in America.

The very beautiful volume before us is the ninth of the series of Reports which have been published concerning this Park; and we have gone over it with surprise at the extraordinary results which have been already secured—a Park has been made which "is worthy of the name, and, in some degree, commensurate with the magnitude and the requirements of a great city; where the eye may be refreshed by resting upon something else than mere interminable rows of brick and mortar; and where refining meditative influences will ever teach that trade is not the whole end and aim of life."

7.—*Thirteenth Annual Report of the Vermont Board of Education, with the Report of the Secretary made to the Board, September, 1869.* Montpelier: 1869. Octavo, pp. 142, 80.

*First Annual Report of the Insurance Commissioners of the State of Vermont, for 1868-9.* Montpelier: 1869. Octavo, pp. 104.

*Report of the Fish Commissioners of the State of Vermont.* By Albert D. Hager and Charles Barrett. For the Year 1869. Montpelier: 1869. Octavo, pp. 16.

*Vermont Annual Reports of State Officers for 1869:* comprising the Reports of the Auditor of Accounts, Adjutant and Inspector General, Quarter-master General, Railroad Commissioner, Commissioner of the Insane, Trustees and Superintendent of the Vermont Asylum for the Insane, Directors and Chaplain of the State Prison, Trustees of the Vermont Reform School, Sergeant at Arms, and Trustees of the University of Vermont and State Agricultural College. Published by authority. Montpelier: 1869. Octavo, pp. 159, 60, 59, 61, 23, 27, 32, 13, 10.

*State of Vermont. Annual Directory for the use of the General Assembly:* containing the Rules and Orders of the Senate and House, together with the Constitution of the State and that of the United States; and a List of the Executive, Legislative, and Judicial Departments of the State; State Institutions, their locality and officers; and other historical and statistical information. Prepared, pursuant to an Act of the General Assembly, by Geo. Nichols, Secretary of State. Manual of Parliamentary Practice by Henry Clark, Secretary of the Senate. Montpelier: 1869. 16mo. pp. 253.

In the above series of volumes, we have the record of Vermont, for 1869. It embraces the detailed narratives of her several State officers, concerning their respective stewardships; and the record is highly creditable to each of them and creditable, too, to the rural Commonwealth of which they are, respectively, the agents.

The *Annual Directory* is a very useful work for reference, on all matters pertaining to the



Government of Vermont, past and present; and it is evidently the work of a master-hand, in historical pursuits, concerning Vermont and her successive Governments.

#### C.—TRADE PUBLICATIONS.

8.—*The Architect and Monetarian*; a brief memoir of Thomas Alexander Tefft, including his labors in Europe to establish a universal currency. By Edwin Martin Stone. Providence: Sidney S. Rider & Brother. 1869. Octavo, pp. 64, with a *carton* of two pages.

The subject of this memoir was born in Richmond, Rhode Island, on the third of August, 1826; received a good common-school education; taught a country school; engaged in the study of architecture; entered Brown University and took a Degree in Philosophy; and became one of the leading Architects in Providence, if not in New England. He was patronized, luckily for himself, by liberal and enlightened men; was enabled to visit Europe; and was as widely as he was justly respected. He was, also, a successful student of the science of Finance; and he became widely and honorably known from his efforts to secure an "universal currency"—an identity of coinage between all the nations of the world. He died in Florence, Italy, on the twelfth of December, 1859; aged thirty-three years.

The pamphlet before us is a well-written memoir of this useful man, by our friend, Rev. E. M. Stone, of Providence; and it will very well serve to perpetuate his memory, among those unto whom he was so well and favorably known.

9.—*The History of Pendennis: His fortunes and misfortunes, his friends and his greatest enemy*. By William M. Thackeray. With illustrations by the author. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 349. Price 75 cents.

*Peg Woffington, Christie Jostone, and other stories*. By Charles Reade. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 212. Price 50 cents.

*The Cloister and the Hearth; or, Maid, Wife, and Widow. A Matter-of-fact Romance*. By Charles Reade. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 255. Price 50 cents.

*In Silk Attire*. A Novel. By William Black. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 126. Price 50 cents.

*Found Dead*. By the author of *A Beggar on horseback*, etc. Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 110. Price 50 cents.

*Wrecked in Port*. A Novel. By Edmund Yates. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 142. Price 50 cents.

*The Minister's Wife*. By Mrs. Olyphant. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 199. Price 75 cents.

*A Beggar on horseback; or, a Country Family*. By the author of *Carlyon's Year*. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. Octavo, pp. 124. Price 35 cents.

This body of light literature is from the prolific Press of Harper & Brothers; and as it is

from the pens of the most accomplished authors, and is a marvel of cheapness, to say nothing of its typographical neatness, it will unquestionably find an extended sale.

10.—*Phocylidis poema admonitorium*. Recognovi brevibusque notis instruxit J. B. Feuling, Ph. D., A. O. S. S., etc. Editio prima Americana. Audoverii: in Republica Massachusettensi, Sumptibus et typis W. F. Draper, i. 1869. Small octavo, pp. 32.

A beautiful little book, prepared in a truly scholarly way. The fragments which we have of Theoguis and Phocylides are admirably adapted for school use on account of their high morality, as well as their pure language. Although much doubt hangs over the genuineness of the *poema admonitorium*, such lines as the forty-third showing a post-christian origin, yet there may be much of Phocylides in the poem; and its Ionic Greek is unquestionably perfect.

Dr. Feuling (who is Professor in the Wisconsin University) has done a good thing in putting out this first American edition. C.

11.—*The Intelligence of Animals*, with illustrative anecdotes. From the French of Ernest Menault. With illustrations. [New York.] Charles Scribner & Co. 1869. Duodecimo, pp. xvi, 370.

In our number for June, we referred to three illustrated volumes, part of a series, which the enterprising and excellent house of Charles Scribner & Co. had issued; and the volume before us is the fourth of this *Library of Wonders*.

It relates, as will be seen, to the intelligence of animals—a fruitful theme—and we must say that some very wonderful instances of that intelligence are therein related.

Like the earlier volumes of the series, this new issue is well printed and carefully illustrated.

12.—*In Heaven we know our own*: or, Solace for the Suffering. Translated from the French, with the permission and approval of the author, Rev. Father Blot, S. J. By a Lady. New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1869. 16mo. pp. 166.

This little volume has arrested the attention of many who have been in distress, in consequence of the loss, by Death, of members of their families; and because of its peculiar fitness to afford consolation to those who are thus afflicted, it has been put into an English dress, with the approval of its author.

Because of its peculiar characteristics, as a Roman Catholic production, this volume will not be as fully acceptable, in all cases, as among those who are members of that Church; yet there is very much in it which may be profitably and acceptably read by those who are not of that faith.

It is a very pretty little volume; and will be widely acceptable.

13.—*The Parser and Analyzer for beginners.* With Diagrams and suggestive Pictures. By Francis A. March. New York: Harper & Bros. 1869. 16mo., pp. vi, 86.

This pretty little school-book claims to "task memory as little as possible, perception and judgment as much as possible," in the dry occupation of parsing and analyzing sentences; and, although the system is a new one to us, we incline to the opinion that it is a good one. At any rate, the pupil *must* study and become acquainted with the rules or, at once and constantly, display his ignorance to his teacher and his class; and, if for no other reason than this, we incline to favor this, to us, new system of teaching.

14.—*The Patriot's History of Ireland.* By M. F. Cusack. Ireland: National Publication Office, Kenmar, County Kerry. 1869. 16mo. pp. 320.

We have received through the Catholic Publication Society, this very pretty little hand-book of the History of Ireland—a volume which presents, from the *Irish* stand-point, a carefully-prepared and exceedingly useful synopsis of that very interesting subject.

It is well-printed, neatly illustrated, and of convenient form; and we have no doubt that it will be acceptable as it will be useful to the thousands of our fellow-citizens, who are deeply and properly interested in the subject on which it treats.

#### X.—MISCELLANY.

WILLIAM A. WHITEHEAD AND THE NEW JERSEY BOUNDARY DISCUSSION.—During 1865 and 1866, while we edited *The Gazette*, published at Yonkers, in this County, a discussion of the vexed question of the North-eastern boundary of New Jersey, on the line of "Hudson's River," was opened in the columns of that paper, by General John Cochrane, the Attorney-general of New York, who was followed, on the same side, by J. Romeyn Brodhead, LL.D., the Domestic Corresponding Secretary of the New York Historical Society. The positions assumed by these gentlemen, were promptly attacked by William A. Whitehead, the Corresponding Secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, and a widely-known historical writer of Newark, in that State.

The arguments in support of the rival States having thus been presented, by their respective representatives, than whom none were more widely known or justly distinguished, we were called on to decide, editorially, between the two; and, after much persuasion, we consented to do so.

In our editorial announcement of this forthcoming article from our own pen, we stated that it would be written by "a well-known member of the New York Historical Society;" but it appeared, when it was published,

over our own signature, and without any concealment whatever, either of the sources of our information or of the hand which really used it.

To this article, Mr. Whitehead responded in an extended and labored reply, which we printed, with all its deformities, in our paper—as we had printed all the preceding articles—without the least alteration or abridgment, and without any charge to the writer for our outlay.

The character of Mr. Whitehead's reply to our finding was such that we considered it to be our duty to follow with a careful exposition of his corruption of the authorities to which he had appealed; and, in the course of that discussion—as the correspondence is not now before us, we cannot state positively in which of our two articles it occurred,—we were constrained to point out and condemn, in severe terms, an addition, BY HIM, without notice of such addition, of certain lines, in a copy of an important map, which, in the original, contained, in that place, no such lines, nor any other—a mode of writing history which we had previously exposed, in the practice of the same gentlemen, in an earlier stage of the discussion, where he saw fit to omit from a copy of the van der Donck map, which he published, certain words, fixing the locality of the mouth of Hudson's River, which tended to overthrow the argument in favor of the pretence of New Jersey, which he was attempting to smuggle into an undue importance.

All this discussion was carried on, by the several parties, in their individual characters, and without the least pretence of official action. It was, also, as we have said, published over the personal signatures of each, and without the least expense, in any particular, to the several writers. Yet Mr. Whitehead was pleased to report his own portion of the correspondence, omitting all other portions, to the New Jersey Historical Society, as a part of his official labors, as its Secretary; and to cause that particular portion of it, and that only, to be printed in its *Proceedings* for 1865-6; and he was pleased, also, at a subsequent date, to add an addendum, which is as obnoxious to the pretensions to personal respectability which Mr. Whitehead is accustomed to display as it is offensive to his other pretensions, to be considered the authoritative exponent of the real history of New Jersey, both as a Colony and a Commonwealth.

This last attempt at writing history, which Mr. Whitehead has made, escaped our notice until within a few days; and it has consequently become a portion of the published records of that notable discussion—if the timid, half-concealed attempt of the New Jersey Historical Society, to tell only one-half of the narrative may reasonably be considered such a record—



without our previous knowledge of its existence, anywhere.

We are not surprised at this trick. We are prepared for anything which William A. Whitehead shall conceive to be best adapted to promote his present purpose, no matter how unusual or how disreputable it may be; and our experience among his mutilated maps and those of his own manufacture, each bearing, on its face, what purports to be other authority than his own and other pretensions to authorship, warrants us in the belief that, really, "like pro-duces like."

We offer these remarks as an explanation of the promise which we now make, that as soon as our existing engagements shall permit, we shall take proper notice of the pretentious "W. A. W." of The New Jersey Historical Society and of some of his manipulations of the history of that unfortunate State. H. B. D.

THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY has made an earnest appeal for aid in restoring its prestige and resources. It is one of the oldest Historical Societies of the Continent, and has been favorably situated for the collection of records and authentic traditions of the greatest value. But it never made the best use of its opportunities; and stores of rare and valuable historical papers, which ought to have been securely treasured in its archives, were swept away and lost, during the War. With these, the whole endowment of the Society was also lost; and now, without assistance, it has no alternative but to abandon the field and leave the care of the annals, which have so long been in its keeping, to other hands. The appeal is addressed to the people of the other States, who still look upon the history of Virginia, in its earlier, if not in its latter, days, as too valuable a part of our common history to be left to take care of itself.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA also sets forth the dangers to which its collections are exposed for want of facilities for proper arrangement and protection against fire. The Society is in possession of fifteen thousand volumes and eighty-five thousand pamphlets and manuscripts, together with portraits and memorial articles of interest and value; but *The Press* declares reproachfully that in "the second city of this vast empire," where "money can be obtained for party or political purposes with great facility," this Society is confined to the third floor of a building unsuitable in itself, and liable at any moment to destruction by fire. The citizens are asked to contribute to a fire-proof building.

THE SCOTCH.—The Editor of the *Fayetteville Eagle* attended the "Scotch Fair" in Rich-

mond-county, and gives some of the names of his friends, which we copy as a curiosity to those who are not familiar with the Scotch settlements of North Carolina.

"We were at the Scotch Fair, in good health, eating pies, eggs and stewed-chicken, at John McLauchlin's tent, and occasionally taking sugar and water, &c., with our cousins, Neill McNeill, Dugald McDugald, Daniel McDaniel, Roderic McGeachy, Lauchlin McLaughlin, Duncan McPhatter, Archy McCrainy, Murdoch McEachern, Norman McCaskill, Hugh McCollum, Baldy Finlayson, Malcom McIntyre, John Knox McLeod, and Martin Luther McGugan."

The Scotch Fair began on the eleventh of May, near Laurel Hill, in Richmond-county, North Carolina, and continued the balance of the week. All classes of men congregate there, on these occasions, in immense numbers, from that and the adjoining Counties. The business is an active promiscuous trade in horses, mules, wagons, tobacco, liquors, dry-goods, leather, flour, bacon, notions, &c. Traders locate there for the week, in shanties made of boards, tents &c. A large portion of the peddlers, wagoners, mule-drovers, gamblers and traveling traders of two or three States, gather at these Fairs. The institution was established some seventy years ago, by the early Scotch settlers; is chartered by the Legislature; and, is similar to the great European Fairs. Friday and Saturday are the most crowded days.—*Fayetteville Eagle*.

THE SALISBURY FAMILY.—Mr. Charles Curtis, who had undertaken the task of writing up the Genealogy of the Salisbury family, died some five years ago, and his papers having fallen into the hands of Doctor J. H. Salisbury, of Cleveland, Ohio, at the solicitation of many members of the family, that gentleman has undertaken the laborious and tedious task of collecting the material for the completion of the above work. He is anxious to obtain all the information he can, concerning the origin and history of the name and family, both in Europe and this country. If any of our readers shall fall upon anything that will aid in the labor, he will confer a special favor by letting the Doctor know it.

THE DAWSON FAMILY.—Our friend and namesake, CHARLES CARROLL DAWSON, Esq., is engaged on a history of that branch of the family which sprang from East Haven, Conn. His address is 94 Chambers-street, New York City; and he will thank any one for material which will serve him.

THE

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

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NOVEMBER, 1869.

[No. 5.

## I.—THE THATCHER PAPERS.

SELECTED FROM THE PAPERS OF HON. GEORGE THATCHER, AND COMMUNICATED BY CAPTAIN WILLIAM F. GOODWIN, U. S. A.

### 1.—From "*David Sewall Esq.*" \*

YORK, Oct' 16. 1786 Monday

SIR

Yours of Saturday Eve last has come to hand, am gratified to find that the County of York retains its quiet and peaceable charackter amid the commotions in other parts of the *Government*†—I heartily Wish that your predictions of the present Commotions may speedily be accomplished—But I am really apprehensive that a Serene Sky in the Political hemisphere (*inter nos*) will not be fully restored until some Viens have been opened; Were I to put the Guess upon the matter they take their rise from some members of the G. C. When a measure has been there agitated that has been disagreeable to Individual members—They will *rise* and for lack of argument, say Mr Speaker this measure will never do the *People* Sir, will never bear it. The particular measure is determined against their Opinion, these small Politicians returned home misrepresent the doings of the Legislature, tell their Constituents such & such measures are taking place altho' I did my utmost to prevent it—The People must take care of themselves or they are undone. Stir up a County Convention and by Trumpeting lies from Town to Town get one collected and Consisting of Persons of small Abilities—of little or no property, embarass'd in their Circumstances—and of no great Integrity—and these Geniouses vainly conceiving they are competent to regulate the affair of the State—make some hasty inchoerant Resolves, and these end in Sedition Riot & Rebellion.

The Common People finding Burthens, as the Weight of Taxes and the Call of their creditors for the payment of their honest Debts—are ready

to lay hold of any thing whereon to lay their Complaints—If a general View be taken of the Insurgents, I conceive they will be found to be Persons, who are in arrear for Taxes for Several years & who have got property of other persons, that they are loth to part with to the right owner—The printed Resolves of the County of Hampshire are too bare covered to need any great Comments—Some of them, if complied with, must end in an abolition of all public & private debts and then an equal distribution of Property may be demanded. The Constitution is not democratick enough in the Opinions of these Geniouses—The Salarys of the Governor, Judges &c & grants swallus up all the Money that is paid into the Treasury, this some Simple Silly persons pretend to believe never Calculating that all the Expenc of Civil Government Forts & Garrisons with the grants to the Colledge officers,—and—Including the expenc of the members of y<sup>e</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Court, which by the by, far exceeds all the rest—will not exceed an assessment of a shilling or a Pistareen on y<sup>e</sup> Poll annually & a proportional sum on y<sup>e</sup> Estates—Gov<sup>r</sup> Salary they suppose cannot be Constitutionally lessend without Calling a State Convention—The Kings Governors always had £ 1300—and fees of office, and shows in seizure usually made up as much more & some times twice as much—and the Governor for the time being was always exemptd from every Species of Taxation into Bargain—The present Gov<sup>r</sup> has £1100—and no fees or perquisites of any kind, & is Taxed as other folks are—this year I am told his Tax amounts £ 400—I am not without Suspicions that the Convention of Worcester will make an attempt to call a State Convention—I wish I may be mistaken in my Suspicions—These Conventions of Counties are Seeds of Sedition, unknown to the Constitution, and in some measure arise from a misapplication or misconstruction of the 19<sup>th</sup> Article of the Declaration of the Bill of Rights—This Article will undoubtedly Justify Towns in meeting and Instructing their Representatives—and perhaps any *Number* of Individuals in Meeting and as *Individuals*, to Petition Remonstrate &c.—But that a Number of Towns should do it by their agents I cannot Sup-

\* Probably of the Class of 1753, of Harvard College. W. F. G.

† Probably referring to the rebellion, in Massachusetts, under Daniel Shays. Ed. HIST. MAG.



pose was the Intention of the powers of the Constitution—a County Convention is a Body of Persons unknown in the Law or Constitution, and ought always to be Opposed—With Respect to the Court of Common pleas it has from the time the Constitution was in making been considered by Speculative Persons, as a useless Court, and a Serious talk was had of abolishing it by the Frame of Government but it was so ancient a Court—that an Innovation of that kind was then thot too hazardous an Experiment—and that as it was a matter of mere legislation it was determined best to leave it with them—and notwithstanding the present clamour ag<sup>t</sup> this Court I verily Suppose that a demolition of it 18 months ago would have caused great Convulsions in the State—But such are the present prejudices ag<sup>t</sup> that and the Sessions, that I think it probable they will both die or undergo some material change. Whether the present Parliam<sup>t</sup> without external Aid can Suitably arrange & modify a Substitute, Satisfactorily may be a question. \* \*

Your Friend & Ser<sup>t</sup>

D. SEWALL.

[Addressed :]

GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Biddeford

2.—From William Frost.

YORK, 30<sup>th</sup> October, 1787.

D<sup>r</sup> SIR

I saw in the Pap<sup>r</sup> you were moving on to join the Hon<sup>ble</sup> Congress, wish you great success and every thing that is agreeable & that you & I may soon see the happy Day when the Federal Head &c may be Established that once more we may be Augonized together that Plain Simple Justice may once more take place among mankind upon the Face of the Earth in a Quite Easy & Peacable manner, which is I am very sensible the only foundation for it and think Seriously that August Assembly the Hon<sup>ble</sup> the Federal Convention has exactly Pointed it out Right.

\* \* \* \* \*

I Remain Your Most obe<sup>d</sup> Servant  
W<sup>m</sup> FROST.

[Addressed :]

HON<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER, Esq.  
Att Congress  
New York

3.—From Thomas B. Wait.

PORTLAND, NOV<sup>r</sup> 22, 1787.  
12 o'Clock mid-night.

MY DEAR FRIEND

Your Letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> received yesterday

Agreeably to your request I have enclos'd the Cumberland Gazettes.—You will observe I have commenced hostilities against the proposed National Constitution—not because I condemn it “*by the lump*”—but only in part—Perhaps most of the evils I see, or think I see, might be remedied by a *Bill of Rights*.—Now do not answer this as your Brother Wilson did the seceding members of Pennsylvania—some of his observations were very good—and some, in my opinion, were very good for nothing.

You will tell me, perhaps, that the rights of each individual are secured in the Bill prefixed to the several State Constitutions—so they are: But this is not what I am contending for—it is the might of sovereignty in the States (or so much of sovereignty as shall be thought best for them to retain) that I am anxious to preserve:—this will secure them from the encroachments of *Almighty* President and Congress.

I consider the several States to stand in a similar relation to the Nation, and its Constitution—as do individuals to a State and its Constitution—the former have certain rights, as well as the latter that ought to be secured to them—otherwise State sovereignty will be but a name—the whole will be “*melted down*” into one nation; and then God have mercy on us—our liberties are lost—The vast Continent of America cannot be long subjected to a Democracy, if consolidated into one Government—you might as well attempt to rule Hell by Prayer.

Mr Adams makes mention of a Republic of thirty miles square, that on account of a difference of interest, & to preserve its liberties, was obliged to divide itself into two sovereign and independent States;—He also mentions another of but seventeen miles square, that, for the same reasons, was obliged to divide itself in the same manner.—Now, allow this to be true, and then paint to yourself the precious figure that America with its millions of square miles, would make under a democracy.

But let us not trouble ourselves on this head, for, should State sovereignty disappear, my word for it there is no danger of a Democracy—no, no—King *George*, and the Convention over which he lately presided, has prepar'd something quite as different from this as one would have wished for, or reasonably expected.

For God's write—I wish to have your opinion of the new Constitution—of New York—of Congress and of the *great men* of which it is composed—your friend forever

THO<sup>s</sup> B. WAIT.

HON. GEO. THATCHER, Esq

Promote me, if possible, from *Frinter* to *Post Rider*.

## 4.—From Christopher Gore.

BOSTON, Nov<sup>r</sup> 25, 1787.

MY DEAR FRIEND

\* \* \* \*

The few elections already made in this Commonwealth, for convention look well to the Constitution—but our Government, as the atty general observes, is a tide mill, and it is impossible to determine which way the current will set—tho<sup>b</sup> appearances, at present, are in favor of its adoption—

\* \* \* \* \*

Your friend  
C. GORE.

[Addressed:]

BOSTON 25 No

The Honble GEORGE THATCHER  
New York.

## 5.—From Robert Southgate.

PORTLAND, Dec<sup>r</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> 1787.

DEAR SIR

Yesterday Mr Lee was at my House. Mr<sup>s</sup> Thatcher is well—would pray you to Deliver the Inclosed Letter of Guardianship to Mr King have nothing Interesting to Communicate Except that the New Federal Constitution from Present appearances will this way have a General Voice for its acceptance, Scarborough have Chosen W<sup>m</sup> Thompson Esq<sup>r</sup> for their Delegate in Convention, Gorham Stephen Longfellow Jun<sup>r</sup> Falmouth, Cap<sup>t</sup> Small & Daniel Ilsley, Portland Jn<sup>r</sup> Fox & Peleg Wadsworth, the other towns this way have not chosen Farewell.

ROBERT SOUTHGATE.

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq.

[Addressed:]

PORTLAND Dec 6

FREE

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq  
New York

## 6.—From Jeremiah Hill.

DEAR SIR,

\* \* \* \*

Now for Convention news, that is the nearest my heart as well as yours, I believe the County of York will make a tolerable appearance in a political View Kittery I hear has Mr Chauncey in nomination York has chosen Mr Nat Barrell & Capt Preble Berwick has forgot their first Love Wells has chosen parson Hemenway & Judge Wells Arundel are picking a Bone of Contention Sandford has voted not to send Pepperrellbor<sup>e</sup> has chosen Col<sup>o</sup> Cutts Buxton has chosen Jacob Bradbury Esq<sup>r</sup> \* Biddeford has backsliden &

fallen from a state of Grace to a state of nature, met yesterday & a dumb Devil seized a Majority & they voted not to send, & when called on for a Reason they were dumb, *mirabile dictu!* A—S—th appeared by their Motion to be Belzabub B—S—e & his Brother J—n and A—s G—n were high in rank in his infernal Majesty's Club, but I hear to day that there is a party making head for pititioning the Select Men to call another Meeting if thought legal—I have an anxious desire to know how you go on at the Southward, and how the new Constitution is received in that part of the United States, my earnest desire & prayer to God is that the United States may be saved from the wrath of Intestine Broils and mortal Jars, the Disciples of this Constitution are in the same Dilemma that the Disciples of old were *ergo* they must be wise as Serpents & harmless as Doves and by their good works manifest that they are the Friends of mankind in General & of America in particular, & I have faith to believe that they will by persevering in the ways of well doing arrive to that glorious Aera when Peace and good Order shall be established on a firm unshaken Basis as firm and unshaken as the everlasting Hills.

\* \* \* \*

I am, dear Sir,

Your Friend &amp;

Very hum<sup>l</sup> servant

JERE HILL.

BIDDEFORD

Wednesday Dec<sup>r</sup> 12, 1787.

bury, Massachusetts; who was a son of Jacob; who was a son of William; who was a son of Captain Thomas Bradbury and his wife, Mary Perkins, of Salisbury. (See *Records of Salem Witchcraft*, ii., 160-174.—Woodward's Historical Series, No. II.)

Captain Thomas Bradbury was born at Wicken, England, in 1610. He was a son of Wymond; who was a son of William, who died in 1<sup>st</sup> 22: who was a son of Matthew, Lord of Wicken, who died on the twenty-sixth of February, 1587; who was a son of Robert of Littlebury, born at Braughing; who was a son of William, of Braughing; who was a son of Robert, of Derbyshire.

Jacob Bradbury, Esq., settled in Narragansett No. 1, now Buxton, York-county, Maine; and married Mary Goodwin, on the eighth of May, 1766. Their children were Moses, born on the twelfth of April, 1767; Martha, born on the eighth of March, 1769; Jacob, born on the sixth of January, 1771; Edmund, born on the thirty-first of January, 1773; Simeon, baptised on the twenty eighth of April, 1776; Andrew, born on the eighth of December, 1778; Simeon Goodwin, born on the twenty first of August, 1781; Molly, born on the twenty-seventh of July, 1782. In 1789, Jacob Bradbury, Esq., married Mrs. Catharine Morris, *nee* Simon-ton, of Cape Elizabeth, Maine. They had only one child, William Flint, born on the third of June, 1791; who studied Medicine, and settled in New Orleans, where he died, while in the practice of his profession.

Jacob Bradbury, Esq., was the first Representative the Town of Buxton sent to the Legislature of Massachusetts. He was elected in 1781, and several years subsequent. He was one of the seven original members and founders of the Congregational Church, in Narragansett, No. 1, on the sixteenth of March, 1763; and continued a member of it till his death, on the thirtieth of October, 1811, aged sixty-eight. He was the great-grand-father, of Captain W. F. Goodwin, U. S. A.

\* JACOB BRADBURY WAS A SON OF JACOB BRADBURY OF SALIS-



[Addressed:]

PORTSMOUTH  
December 18.Hon. GEORGE THATCHER, Esq  
Member of Congress.  
New York.7.—*From Christopher Gore.\**

BOSTON, Decr 30 1787.

MY DEAR FRIEND

I congratulate you on the adoption of the plan of Gov<sup>t</sup> by New Jersey—The Connecticut Convention will be the next—and I believe there can be no doubt but that body will ratify it, from what I can know of the elections in this State, there is a fair probability Massachusetts will adopt it, this done we may look forward to a firm & lasting peace—to an honorable & efficient Govt. equal to the support of our national dignity—& capable of protecting the property of our citizens. \* \* \*

Your friend

C. GORE.

[Addressed:]

BOSTON De 30

Hon GEORGE THATCHER  
New York.8.—*From E. Bangs.†*WORCESTER Jan'y 1<sup>st</sup> 1788.

MY DEAR SIR

\* \* \* \* \*

You would know the general political sentiments of the delegates to our convention—Were I to speak only of those within the circle of my personal knowledge; I could give you but a very disagreeable account: The most of them entertain such a dread of arbitrary power, that they are afraid even of limited authority—Why is it that modern politicians commonly commence with such sentiments—I think it a fact, perhaps, because I used to feel them, till late years have convinced me that the only way to avoid arbitrary power is to delegate proper authority to prevent it—but of upwards of 50 members for this county not more than 7 or 8 delegates are of my present sentiments, & yet some of them are good men—Not all insurgents I assure you—When I speak of other counties—I speak, as you do, from information; & your information, must certainly be as good as mine. We generally expect that the lower counties will have a large majority in favor of the Constitution—and they say that the upper counties are better than this.

\* Mr. Gore was a member of the same Class, in Harvard, with Mr. Thatcher—that of 1776. W. F. G.  
† Probably EDWARD, of the Class of 1777, in Harvard College. W. F. G.

I hope we are the worst; & have expectations that there will be a decided majority in favor; If so I doubt not; but that in a little time it will set very well upon the people even in this county—For I assure you we have a considerable powerful minority here—and it is with pleasure I think I may assure you that the people are more thoughtful, & less passionate every day—All is at present tending to a calm—The cursed spirit of reproach in our news papers seems to give way—If it should continue, & any man of good abilities should be found to take up on the side of the anti-federalists, which I hope there will, to open a fair debate, that all may not be risked on a silent vote—I have sober expectations that we may prove ourselves at least as good as Pennsylvania—

Your Friend

E. BANGS

[Addressed:]

FREE.

Hon GEORGE THATCHER  
NEW YORK9.—*From Jeremiah Hill.*

Tuesday Jan'y 1. 1788.

DEAR SIR,

In my last I told you the fate of Biddeford respecting our sending a Delegate to the Convention and that a number had Petitioned the Selectmen to call another Meeting, the meeting was call'd, when the parties appeared in full armour, and with difficulty a vote was obtained to send: 25 for it & 23 against it The two parties pitched on their Man, the Federalists for Mr Nason, the anti's for A Smith, the votes were 30 for Mr Smith & 18 for Mr Nason *horribile dictu!!!* how are the mighty fallen! Shaysism appears to me to operate the same in the Body politic, as epidemic's do in the human body; it is said by Physicians that there is more skill in finding out a disorder than in affecting the cure, and that after having investigating the Disorder, if common Medicins won't work out a cure, others more forceable must be apply'd—they say, Mr King was asked, what we should do if 4 States should not accept of the new Constitution? answered, we have a *standing Army*, this, perhaps, may be a necessary Medicin to even Shaysism, when reason & common Law wont effect it, but it must be said to be the denier Resort, but there is one Comfort yet left, if Shaysism is an epidemic disorder we shall not catch it a second time, and I think it has almost got thro' the Commonwealth but it rages high at this Time here and in general in this County, three Towns only excepted, that I hear of, Wells has chosen Dr. Hemenway & Judge Wells, Pepperellbor<sup>o</sup> Col<sup>o</sup> Cutts & Buxton J Bradbury Esq<sup>r</sup> but as we are very cal-

vinistic, I have hopes the preaching of the Righteous will convent many from the Errors of their way—Mr Wait has been here lately, he is against it, and brother Lee has *broke out*, but is like to do well, he has what we call the *good Sort*—the County of Cumberland has got a number of Respectable Characters chosen for the Convention, Mr Widgery is also chosen & has waged war with it, the same as a *new light* fighting the *Devil*—Mr Lee goes into the County of Lincoln this week when I expect to hear particular from that Quarter—but I think the fate of this Constitution and the political Salvation of the united States depend chiefly on the part that Virginia & this State take in the Matter but I am happy to hear that Delaware & Pennsylvania has accepted it as well as the Jeisy. a mouse once saved the life of the Lion, and skill often effects what strength can not perform—to return to Biddeford Pispocket & winter harbour have formed an Alliance and having surrounded the squad at the late Meeting, they were obliged to surrender at discretion. \* \* \* \*

I am, dear Sir, your Friend  
& hum<sup>l</sup> Servant

JERE HILL.

Hon G. THATCHER Esq.

postscript Convention matters continued

I cannot recollect the particulars of my last therefore if I should tautologize some things your candor will excuse it

Kittery has choson Mark Adams and a Mr Neal a quaker, Berwick, Doct<sup>r</sup> Low Mr Cutts and a Mr Hays, Sandford our friend Nason, Fryeburgh Mr Ames York & poor Biddeford &c, &c you know—in the county 4 pro's and 10 con's. However I think we are better represented in this Convention than we have been at the G. C. these two years past, if I recollect right we never had more than three & sometimes no more than one who were for opposing Shays *vi et armis* \* \*

J. HILL.

10.—From David Sewall.

YORK 5<sup>th</sup> January 1788

DEAR SIR

I congratulate you on your recovery from the Small Pox have had frequent intentions and inclinations of Writing you but Some how or other, they have never hitherto been Carried into Execution. The federal Constitution has been the general Topick of Conversation The choices in this County are in general made with intention to Oppose the Business. Kittery have appointed Mark Adams and friend Neal the Speaker—Berwick Doct<sup>r</sup> Low, — Cutt and one Hays. Sanford had one meeting and Voted not to Send any—But Mr S. come down full charged with Gass and Stirred up a 2<sup>nd</sup> Meeting and pro-

cured himself Elected, and I presume will go up charged like a Baloon—The Rep<sup>r</sup> for Wells found himself greatly disappointed in the appointment of Mr Wells & Doct<sup>r</sup> Hemmingway—and has Stirred up with great dilligence a 2<sup>nd</sup> meeting in order to get himself elected I hear they declined choosing a third member, but appointed him & Somebody else to draw up instructions—T. Cutts Esq<sup>r</sup> is appointed for Pepperelb<sup>o</sup> and a Smith for Biddeford the Persons appointed for York are Antifederal in an Especial manner Mr B. Whose great Zeal for the Liberties of the Country procured him an Election from the lower class of Citizens—I find you sent him a pamphlet the last mail intended to answer BRUTUS— \* \* \* \*

We have had great talk of War between France and England and indeed some W. India Vesell lately ariv'd seem to say that it has in fact begun however I am yet an Unbeliever in the Business, nothing short of absolute necessity, would induce E. with 240 millions of funded debt to make an Increase to this load, unless they were determined to make a general Spunge, as We have done by Old Continental; and the Finances of F. are probably not much better off —In Addition to this the young minister of E. appears to have a double portion of his Fathers Abilities that F. will be loth to have them bro't into full play, lest a repetition of disaster Similar to What took place in the Admin<sup>n</sup> of his Father should befall them; and besides this business of the Statholder and the Dutch seem to have been nearly, or quite Settled by Prussia

Let me upon the Rec<sup>t</sup> of this hear from you, and What you are doing at Congress, I mean such things as are not Secret, for Secrets I desire not be trusted With—How Mr A. came to Borrow in Holland a Million Guilders—and for What use it was applied, I did not know that the U. S. could get any further Credit in Europe, the Lenders do not fully know our miserable Situation, I believe, as to Collecting Money to pay our debts—however Time will unfold many things that are now dark and Misterious; and perhaps our Ability & Inclination a year or two hence may exceed our Expectations in Finance Thus much may Suffice for this Time from your humbl<sup>l</sup> Sr<sup>t</sup>

DAVID SEWALL

P. S. Remember me respectfully to Mr Otis.

GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

11.—From Thomas B. Wait.

PORTLAND Jan<sup>y</sup> 8, 1788

MY DEAR FRIEND

Your kind letter of the 23<sup>d</sup> ultimo received.

My opposition to the proposed plan of Conti-



mental Gov<sup>t</sup> does not as you suppose, arise from "*Violence of passion*."

On reception of the Report of the Convention, I perused, and admir'd it;—Or rather, like many who still *think* they admire it, I loved Geo. Washington—I venerated Benj. Franklin—and therefore concluded that I must love and venerate all the works of their hands:—This, if you please, my friend, was "*Violence of passion*"—and to this very *violence of passion* will the proposed Constitution owe its adoption i. e.—should the people ever adopt it. The honest and uninformed *freemen* of America entertain the same opinion of those two gentlemen as do European *slaves* of their Princes,—"*that they can do no wrong*"—

On the unprecedented Conduct of the Pennsylvania Legislature, I found myself Disposed to lend an ear to the arguments of the opposition—not with an expectation of being convinced that the new Constitution was defective; but because I thought the minority had been ill used; and I felt a little curious to hear the particulars.

The address of the Seceders was like the Thunder of Sinai—its lightnings were irresistible; and I was obliged to acknowledge, not only that the conduct of the majority was highly reprehensible, but that the Constitution itself might possibly be defective.—

My mind has since been open to conviction—I have read & heard every argument, on either side, with a degree of candour, of which I never, on any other occasion, felt myself possessed—And, after this cool impartial examination I am constrained—I repeat it, my dear friend—I am constrained to say, that I am dissatisfied with the proposed Constitution.

Your arguments against the necessity of a Bill of Rights are ingenious; but, pardon me, my friend, they are not convincing.—You have traced the origin of a Bill of Rights accurately;—The People of England, as you say, undoubtedly made use of Bills of Rights to obtain their liberties of their sovereigns; but is this an argument to prove that they ought not now to make use of Bills in defence of those liberties?—shall a man throw away his sword, and refuse to defend a piece of property, for no other reason than that his property was obtained by that very sword?—Bills of Rights have been the happy Enstruments of wresting the privileges and rights of the people from the hand of Despotism; and I trust God that Bill of Rights will still be made use of by the people of America to defend them against future encroachments of Despotism—Bills of Rights, in my opinion, are the grand bulwarks of freedom.

But, some say, however necessary in State Constitutions, there can be no necessity for a Bill of Rights in the Continental plan of Gov<sup>t</sup>—because

every Right is reserved that is not *expressly* given up—Or, in other words, Congress have no powers but those *expressly* given by that Constitution. This is the *doctrine* of the CELEBRATED Mr. Wilson; and as you, my friend, have declared it *orthodox*, be so good as to explain the meaning of the following Extracts from the Constitution—Art. I Sect. 9.—"The privilege of the writ of "Habeas Corpus shall *not* be suspended"—"*No* "bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be "passed."—"No money shall be drawn from "the treasury" &c,—"*No* title of nobility shall "be granted by the United States."

Now, how absurd—how grossly absurd is all this, if Congress, in reality, have no powers but those particularly specified in the Constitution!

It will not do, my friend—for God's sake let us not deny self-evident propositions—let us not sacrifice the truth, that we may establish favourite hypotheses;—in the present case, the liberties and happiness of a world may also be sacrificed.

There is a certain darkness, duplicity and studied ambiguity of expression running thro' the whole Constitution which renders a Bill of Rights peculiarly necessary.—As it now stands but very few individuals do or ever will understand it, consequently Congress will be its own interpreter—The article respecting taxation and representation is neither more or less than a *puzzling Cap*; and you, my friend, had the pleasure of *wearing* it, at my office, an hour or two—and then pulled it off, *just as wise* as when you put it on.—But you will now perhaps tell me that you can explain it entirely to my satisfaction—probably you can; but that may not happen completely to satisfy Congress—if it should not, why they will put a different one,—one that may not satisfy *either you or me*.—Some persons have guessed the meaning to be this—that *taxation and representation should be in proportion to all the free-men and slaves in each State counting five of the latter to three of the former*—If these were the ideas of the Convention, what a strange collection of words do we find in the Constitution to express them! Who, in the name of God, but the *majority* of that hon<sup>l</sup> body, would ever have tho't of expressing like ideas in like words!—But bad as may be the *mode* of expression, the *ideas*, in my opinion, are worse—By this *interpretation* the article in question is an egregious imposition on the northern States—Tell me, if you can, why a Southern *negro*, in his present debased condition, is any more intitled to representation, than a northern *Bullock*? Both are mere pieces of property—and nothing more! The latter is equally a *free agent* with the former.

O, for that social Evening you so kindly wish for! I want prodigiously to see you:—But it grieves me that we do not think alike—you will, my dear Thatcher, I know you will alter your

opinion And I charitably conclude the only reason why you had not done it when you wrote me, was, that owing to the small pox, you had not attended to the arguments of the opposition.

And now let me beseech you, not obstinately to defend your present notions of the new Constitution tho' they may be all the *ton* in the *great* world, till you have examined every argument that has been used—against it—pay particular attention to the Debates of the Pennsylvania Convention; and I am certain that you must acknowledge if the Constitution is good, that it by no means appears so from any arguments made use of by the majority of that body—they are lighter than straws.

How can you, after perusing the arguments of CRAZY JONATHAN, approve of the abolition of juries in civil causes. If the Genl Court of this State are insurgents for depriving the subject of that right in 110 actions out of 120—what shall we say to the Constitution that evidently deprives the subject of that right altogether? O, my good friend, that cursed Small pox has made a crazy Jonathan of you in good earnest. But your life is spared—and I am happy.

Last Saturday week I did myself the pleasure of visiting your dear wife and family—and tarried till Monday noon—it was a godly season—had you been present, it had been a Paradise.

Mrs Thatcher show'd me your P. S. wherein you charge all who do not think as you do with *sorcery, witchcraft &c*—It pain'd me to the soul—I wanted to shed a tear; and had no one been present, I should certainly have given vent to a dozen, I wish, said I to Mrs T. that your good husband and myself could think alike—I wish, replied she, that I had not shewn you the P. S.—or rather that you had agreed to think alike before you parted—or, added Tempy, that Uncle was now present to settle the difference. We all joined most heartily in the last wish—we almost made a prayer of it; but it was not heard—perhaps we did not ask in faith. Be this as it might Politicks, from that moment, was consigned over to the wind, and not a soul of us would even lend an ear to its whistling. \* \* \*

Your most obedient

and very huml Servant

THOMAS B. WATT.

HON<sup>l</sup> GEORGE THATCHER ESQ.

### 12.—From Christopher Gore.

BOSTON Jan'y 9, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR

The convention met this day & have already chosen a President His Ex. J Hancock and The Chf Justice Vice Pres<sup>t</sup>—this was done that we might have the advantage of the former's name,

—whether capable of attending or not—G R Minot is chosen Secretary—280 members are present and to morrow we meet in Mr Thacher's meeting house—I really cannot yet form any judgment of the weight of members, or which side the pros or cons will preponderate—the weight of abilities & integrity is unquestionably in favor of the Constitution—Mr Adams is against it the tradesmen's resolves which you see in the *Centinel* may have some weight in his mind—they undoubtedly will keep others steady—it is probable our number will be near 400—Your Eastern people are generally oppos'd pray write to them, & obviate this objection, viz that the adoption of this constitution will prevent their separation the leaders of the opposition will be—Bishop, Widgey, HolTen, Hutchison, Nason, White Doct<sup>r</sup> Tayler,—possibly S. A.; butt for reasons mentioned in former part of this letter he may possibly be cautious—farewell—if King has not yet left you, communicate this, & inform we are in great want of him

Your friend

C. GORE

### 13.—From Jeremiah Hill.

WEDNESDAY Jan'y 9<sup>th</sup> 1788.

MY DEAR GEORGE, I am happy to see you again this week, it always gives me particuar pleasure to have my friends call & see me and chat half an hour *in the old way*—I know you want to enquire how we all do at Saco. I tell you well in general. old Mr. Jn<sup>o</sup>. Gray has made his exit, he bid us *good by* Just before this cold snap—Miss Hill does not altogether like your simile, She says that the affection of Mothers towards their tender Offspring ought not to be brought into Comparison with the policy of Rulers who cannot have that natural Attachment towards the people, that women have towards their babes, because politics are very different from natural Affection; Politicks being a composition of passions, views, plans, Dispositions &c. whereas woman's Attachment to their innocent offspring is a compound of Love, Charity benevolence and other Godlike qualities, and where the principles are not the Same very different consequences may naturally follow, for Antifederalists have their views, plans &c. as well as their Opponents, but the Consequences are very different; but this I will now leave and return to Biddeford, where politics rage high yet, yet, the party who voted for Mr Smith were the same who voted the preceding meeting not to send anybody, and they say they voted in Consequence of hearing that he would no go, if he was chosen, therefore they answered their purpose the same as if the Town had adhered to their former vote, this was their *politick*—The Delegates from the



County of Cumberland are (I think) in favor of the new Constitution by a large Majority, but Lincoln (I believe) are against it. some Towns have instructed their delegates to vote for it with amendments, how they will conduct when they find amendments inadmissible I can't say—Sandwich I see by the papers has instructed their delegates to vote against it, let what reason might be offered in favor of it. this is antifederalism with a witness, this is neither policy nor natural affection—There is such a thing as overdoing in the best causes, if Soloman was right, when he tells us not to be overmuch righteous, perhaps the whigs in Sadwich in former days over did whigism, or rather the politicians in that Town over reached their politicks, which has perhaps given the people there a distaste to what we call politicks in General—Brother Widgery call'd on me as he pass'd on to Convention, he has got a new Objection against the Constitution, he says, that if the Constitution is adopted the Congress cannot lay any tax but on the polls, and consequently the Tax will be the same on the poor as on the rich, but such objections will really operate in favor of it, and are so weak and insipid that I will say no more about them some objectors the other day were hanging on to the Bill of rights yet. I told them, in answer, that seven States out of thirteen had no Bill of rights such mighty Consequence, that a Bill of Rights was no more than a Collection of Sentences from the Common Law, which sprang from the Law of nature, collected and compiled together from the experience of former Ages, and were now laid down as established Maxims and rules in all civilized nations, and that those states which had not formed a particular Bill of rights had the whole Code Common Law for their Bill of rights, and that there was no danger in my Opinion, of the rulers of a free people ever trampling on the Common Law for their Bill of rights, and that there was no danger in my Opinion, of the rulers of a free people ever trampling on the Common Law or antient usages of all civilized nations—However I feel confident that the Massachusetts will adopt it, to sum up the chief Objections at once is *Interest*, it being such a powerful motive that *frail* reason cannot oppose it. \* \* \* \*

Your Friend &c &c

JERE HILL

HON. G. THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

14.—From Samuel Phillips Savage.

WESTON Jan<sup>y</sup> 11. 1788.—

DEAR SIR,

\* \* \* \* \*

Little else, among us, is thought or talked of but the new Constitution, of which you will Doubtless know more than I can tell you, but if a

Judgment can be formed from Physiognomy, it is feared the greater part of the Convention were chosen rather for their hands than their heads.—they move but slowly, which Doubtless is owing to their Number, which last I have heard was 316.—too many to do any thing with Order or propriety.

It is said your friend N. Barrell, who is One of the two chosen for York, behaved so indecently before the Choice, as extorted a severe Reprimand from Judge Sewall, and when chosen modestly told his Constituents, he would sooner loose his Arm than put his Assent to the new proposed Constitution. it is to be feared many of his Brethren are of his mind.

\* \* \* \* \*

I am Respect<sup>ly</sup> Y<sup>rs</sup>

SAM PHIPPS SAVAGE\*

G. THATCHER ESQ<sup>r</sup>.

[Addressed :]

HON<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq.

Congress,

New York.

15.—From Nathaniel Barrell.

BOSTON Jan<sup>y</sup> 15<sup>th</sup>: 1788

I can assure my friend Thatcher, his letter of 22<sup>d</sup>: Ultimo was peculiarly flattering, and should have been answered before, but for a variety of reasons any of which I persuade myself you will be satisfied with, when you come to be informed of them, but which I have not time now to mention—I am pleased with the open freedom with which you touch political matters, and however we may differ on that point I hope we shall always view each other as friends to good Government—at present I confess to you we are not altogether agreed in sentiment respecting the federal frame which brings me to this town—the pamphlet you were pleased to enclose on that subject I think is wrote in that easy familiar stile which is ever pleasing to me, but tho it has a tendency to elucidate if not remove some objections to the federal constitution, yet I dare not say 'tis a full answer to the many objections against it, however I think with you a great part of these objections are founded on remote possibilities do realy what you so humourously define, spring from that doctrine I have heard

\* Samuel Phillips Savage, born April 27. 17 8, was a son of Arthur Savage b. March 29. 1 81, and Faith Phillips, daughter of Samuel and Hannah Phillips, and grandson of Thomas Savage and Elizabeth Scottow of Boston, and great-grand-son of Thomas Savage, of London, Linen-draper, who emigrated to this country and married, *First*, Faith Hutchinson, by whom he had Thomas, "Habibah," Ephraim, Percy Hannah, Mary, and Dinah; *Second*, He married Mary Symmes, of Charleston, by whom he had Ebenezer, Benjamin, and Sarah. This I found on an old paper among the *Thatcher Papers*. W. F. G.

you reprobate, as originating in the heart which we are told by him who made it, is as you say—but tho I give more credit to this declaration than you do yet I would by no means treat congress, or such men as my friend Thatcher, as "*Tho they were rogues*"—nay I have such an opinion of you Sir, that I would cheerfully consent to your being a leading man in the first congress, after we adopt the federal Government.—I hope you will not think me too familiar if I should say the manner in which you treat this subject is rather laughable than serious—and that it is much easier to tell the objectors to turn their representative out, than to do it—I cant but think you know how difficult it is to turn out a representatives who behaves ill, even tho chosen but for one year—think you not 'twould be more difficult to remove one chosen for two years?—I could wish to lay my objections before you in the same familiar manner you have been pleased to set me the example, but for want of your talents, I will do it in my own way, which are such as if not removed will prevent my acceding to it—because after all the Willsonian oratory—after all the learned arguments I have seen written—after all the labor'd speeches I have heard in the defence—and after the best investigation I have been able to give it—I see it pregnant with the fate of our libertys and if I should not live to feel its baneful effects, I see it entails wretchedness on my posterity—Slavery on my children—for as it now stands congress will be vested with much more extensive power than ever Great Britain exercised over us—too great to intrust with any set of men, let their talents & virtues be ever so conspicuous—even tho composed of such exalted amiable characters as the great Washington—for while we consider them as men of like passion the same spontaneous inherent thirst for power with ourselves—great & good as they may be when they enter upon this important charge, what dependance can we have on their continuing so? but were we sure they would continue the faithful guardians of our libertys, & prevent any infringments on the privileges of the people—what assurance can we have that such men will always hold the reins of Government? that their succession will be such—history tells us Rome was happy under Augustus, tho wretched under Nero, who could have no greater power than Augustus—and that this same Nero when young in power could weep at signing a death warrant, tho afterwards became so callous to the tender feelings of humanity as to behold with pleasure Rome in flames,—but Sir I am convinced such that six years is too long a term for any set of men to be at the helm of Government for in that time they will get so firmly rooted their influence will be so great as to continue them for life—because Sir I am persuaded we

are not able to support the additional charge of such a Government and that when our State Government is annihilated this will not suit our local concerns so well as what we now have—because I think 'twill not be so much for our advantage to have our taxes imposed & levied at the pleasure of Congress as the method now pursued—and because Sir I think a Continental Collector at the head of a Standing army will not be so likely to do us justice in collecting the taxes, as the mode of collecting now practiced—and to crown all Sir, because I think such a Government impracticable among men with such high notions of liberty as we americans. these are the general objections as they occur to my mind, the particulars I cant bring within the bounds of a letter, all which convince me the federal constitution as it now stands, needs much amendment before 'twill be safe for us to adopt it—therefore as wise men—as the faithful guardians of the peoples libertys—and as we wish well to posterity it becomes to reject it unless such amendments take place as will secure to us & ours that liberty without which life is a burthen.—

I am with compliments of the season

Your Sincere friend & hbl Serv't

NATH BARRELL

[Addressed :]

BOSTON

The Honorable

GEORGE THATCHER Esq

Member of Congress

New York

16.—From John Avery.

BOSTON JAN<sup>y</sup> 19, 1788

DEAR SIR

Being pretty confident that you and my old friend M<sup>r</sup> Otis will be much gratified with the debates of the Convention from day to day I will endeavour to procure you the papers and forward them by every post—The Speeches of the several Members are taken down in short hand by two Gentlemen who are admitted for that purpose—The Gentlemen you will find are warmly engaged in the Matter; however I am seriously of Opinion that if the most sanguine among them who are for adopting the proposed Constitution as it now stands would discover a conciliatory disposition and give way a little to those who are for Adopting it with Amendments I dare say they would be very united; indeed to have a small Majority for adopting the Constitution when the sentiments of the People are so variant upon the Subject would have a tendency very disagreeable in the End therefore I hope they will come into some Compromise before long—my Wishes are that they may adopt it and propose Amendments which when agreed upon, to transmit to the sev-



eral States for their Concurrence—That Amendments should be made, seems to be the prevailing Opinion and I can't but think they will be attended to provided they are not of a local nature and which would make the People's Minds perfectly satisfied; however I hope the Convention will be wisely directed and that we may have a permanent Government is my sincere prayer—Our friend major Nason spent the last Evening with me and we had considerable Conversation upon the subject of said Constitution and find that he is warmly engaged in the Matter; he was so obliging to give me the perusal of your Letter to him—I wrote you a few days ago upon the Subject of Mr<sup>s</sup>. Chase's affairs which I hope you have received—

Please to present my best Regards to Mr. Otis and tell him that a Line from him would be very acceptable—

I am dear Sir, with Sincere Esteem  
Your friend

JOHN AVERY—

HON GEORGE THATCHER ESQ<sup>r</sup>.

[Addressed:]

BOSTON

FREE

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER ESQ<sup>r</sup>

Member of Congress

New York

17.—From R. King.

BOSTON 20 Jan 1788.

DE. SIR

I thank you for your favor by the last post—Our convention continues at about 330 members, Wigery & Nason with the aid of Doct<sup>r</sup>. Taylor are the champions of our Opponents—Mr Turner from Situate is with the Opposition, and General Thompson from the County of Lincoln is as loud as any of them against the Constitution—No question has been taken which can in any measure shew the Division of the House—the Opponents say they have a large and unalterable Majority; the Friends doubt their Opponents assertions, but do not appear entirely confident of their own Strength—the Issue is conjectural—I find that my own mind, notwithstanding its Doubts, balances in favor of the Idea that the constitution will be adopted—Hancock is still confined, or rather he has not yet taken his Seat; as soon as the majority is exhibited on either Side I think his Health will suffice him to be abroad—

Farewel

R KING

G THATCHER ESQ<sup>r</sup>:

Our Brother Ben Lincoln died on Friday; his loss is important to the public, irreparable to his family—

[Addressed:]

BOSTON

The Honbl<sup>e</sup>

GEORGE THATCHER

in Congress

New York

18.—From Samuel Nason.

BOSTON Jan<sup>y</sup> 22 1788.

MY DEAR FRIEND

I acknowledge your kind favour of the Second Instant your Information Comes opportunely as we are now Looking over the new Creature (as Exprest by Gen<sup>l</sup>. Thompson) your Desires of its bearing Excepted With a or Refused by a full Majority is also my full Wish but I Confes to you unless I am better Convinced than I am at Present I Shall Vote against However I at Present think it will not be adopted by the Present Convention I Conclude that is I Guess there is against it about 192, for it 144 Some more are Return'd and have not arrived how it will Turn at Last I Cannot tell for your Friend and mine I mean m<sup>r</sup>. Otis Can tell you what Influence the Boston members has over that of the Country therefore it is impsable to Read its doom at Present time and that alone must Discover you Desire me to inform you as to the County of York I answer that I am convinced that 18 out of 20 is against it

\* \* \* \* \*

I am with Sincere

Regards and Respect

Your Very

Hum Ser<sup>vt</sup>,

SAML NASON.

[Addressed:]

BOSTON

(3 Fe)

FREE

Hon<sup>l</sup>

GEORGE THATCHER ESQ<sup>r</sup>

Member of Congress

City New York

from Massachusetts

19.—From S. Lee.

BIDDEFORD 23<sup>d</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup>. 1788

You ask, "does every body here take a side upon the federal Constitution?" I believe they do in general—some for & some against it—& I rather think, that there is a Majority of the Common people upon the latter In the County of Lincoln, from what I collected at Hallowell Court, I fancy the Majority are decidedly against the Measure and it is said Judge Rice is among the number—he is a member of our State Convention—his town Join mostly with him—At Hallowell only seven in favour of it—Vassalborough chose King Lovejoy to represent them in

State Convention—but they afterwards found out that he was in favour of its adoption, & called another Meeting, turned him out, & chose another in his room who was decidedly against it—The most reputable characters in that County are, I believe, on what *you will call the right* side of the question—but the middling & common sort are on the opposite—In Cumberland & York there are not I believe a great many that are violent on either side—Thompson Widgery & Nason, on the negative—McLellan Fox & our Friend Hill on the affirmative—but the latter as you may have been inform'd does not attend Conventions—however he is warmly engaged in the Cause—& is, I will assure you, a considerable Preacher in Israel—daily holding forth & publishing the Doctrine (some say of Mammon) (he says) of salvation—few believe in all things but fewer, I fancy, are converted—

You ask, “what are the objections I have to “the plan?”—Some, I will confess—but the want of a Bill of Rights is not one of them—that, I don't think would by any means be of any service to the people—nay I am in doubts whether such a Bill would not of itself make the Constitution far more dangerous than it now is—unless it curtailed some of the powers already proposed to be given, which would be children's play indeed—like a man's taking a note of hand, & then instantly giving a receipt not only sufficient but on purpose to cut & destroy it—a Bill of Rights (in my opinion) would give up the controlment at least of every right not particularly secured therein—& therefore unless it mentioned & particularly secured every right not expressly granted away, instead of lessening the powers of Congress such a Bill would actually enlarge them or instead of the Constitution's being the limits or boundary line of Congress, the Bill of Rights only would be the sacred barrier, or mark not to be exceeded.—To say I have any serious or fixed objections, is wrong—But that I have *very great doubts*, I will not deny. First, whether there is an EQUAL & SUFFICIENT representation of the people? Slaves have ever been & still are considered as the property of their masters, & therefore as such ought I think to be taxed, but *not represented*, any more than our oxen and horses. In the Southern States the Slaves are very numerous, & therefore I fear will increase their Representatives to an undue proportion—Secondly whether ever this representation is properly secured to the people?—The times places & manner of choosing Representatives & Senators shall be presented by each State—but Congress *may* at any time *make* or alter such regulations, except as to place &c.—pray tell me, what power have the several States in this particular? to what purpose was the place of choosing Senators excepted? I conceive the place to be very imma-

terial indeed & always wondered at the exception, but the time & manner may be of consequence—Thirdly whether Sexennial elections are not dangerous? unless guarded by a Rotation of office—something like the Confederation—but not exactly—Suppose two successive Elections in Senators, & three in Representatives—would twelve years be too short a time for an ambitious Senator—and Six for a designing Representative—fourthly—whether the powers given to Congress are not too General—i. e., whether these words “and provide for the Common Defence & *general welfare* of the united States,” may not be construed to extend to every matter of legislation? Suppose a man, with the spirit of an englishman & a Republican, should find fault with the mode of administration, & should boldly publish his sentiments upon the subject—might not Congress say that the “general welfare of “the States” required that a stop should be put to such daring publications? which, however just—however well founded, would no doubt be complimented by Congress, with the appellation of *Libels against Government*—how would this effect the liberty of the press? fifthly whether, there are not implied powers? else, why are there any negatives, or restrictions? viz why was it provided that no titles of Nobility should be Granted? Suppose that Clause was omitted, could congress constitutionally grant such a title? Sixthly, whether this constitution will not finally consolidate the States—or rather totally annihilate the State Governments? Mr Willson if I mistake not, aver'd that this Congress would not exist without the State legislatures—with deference to that Great Man's better Judgment, I differ far from him—I think that Congress have not only the power of Judging of their own Elections, but also the *Sovereign Right of Regulating* them at any time—If so, should all the States refuse to take any steps towards the choice of Senators & representatives, Congress may provide for their Election—I would not be understood to wholly disapprove of this power I think it might have been conditional for if any State should then neglect or refuse, then Congress ought to have this power.—These are the principal Causes of My doubts—I am apprehensive, from what you have wrote upon this subject, that you will say most if not all proceed from an unreasonable distrust of Our Rulers & an Idea that Congress want only an opportunity to oppress, & tyrannize over the people—experience has taught mankind that there is danger in Giving up too much power to rulers—indeed if there was not danger of their misusing their powers, there would be no need of any restraint at all, or limitation to their conduct—and if this Congress to be form'd under the new Constitution, is to consist of men, incapable of an *Idea*, or a *motive*, that does not seem



*with the Greatest interest & welfare of the people—I say, if it is impossible for them to do otherwise than right or than to make the true happiness of their Constituents, their only study & aim, there is no need of any Constitution at all—all we have to do, is to give them the power of governing us at pleasure—they will certainly do right, therefore there can be no danger—If all men were like My Dear Uncle I should be satisfied with such a plan—but I confess I have not so good an opinion of mankind as thus unlimitedly to give up all My rights—& cheerfully to submit to whatever their humor or caprice should happen to suggest—I would suggest another quere, whether the Holders of State Securities or notes will not, upon the adoption of this Constitution, for the nonpayment thereof, have a remedy, by an action with Federal Court against the State issuing the same?—You may think that all these objections are either ill-founded, or have no weight—I will not pretend to say that that is not the case. I wish only to be convinced of it. & shall instantly relinquish them—but adieu to politics for this time—*

\* \* \* \* \*

I am my Dear Uncle  
Yours most Affectionately  
S LEE

[Addressed :]  
Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esqr  
New-York

20.—From Samuel Phillips Savage.

WESTON 24<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1788

DEAR SIR,  
\* \* \* \* \*

The Affairs of Convention go on very slow, as every Inch of Ground is hotly Disputed, a day or two past Mr Bowdoin brought in a paper of Monday, when he read the following paragh “Bribery & Corruption!!!”

“The most diabolical Plan is on foot to corrupt the members of the Convention, who oppose the adoption of the new Constitution, large sums of money have been brought fm a neighboring State for that purpose, contributed by the wealthy: if so is it not probable there may be Collections for y<sup>e</sup> same purpose nearer home:  
CENTINEL.”\*

there has also been a high Dispute between Gerry & F<sup>k</sup> Dana, the Issue I have not heard.

Yrs Aff<sup>r</sup>.

SAM PHIPPS SAVAGE

\* It is very well known—indeed, the son and biographer of one of the great leaders of the Constitutionalists in New York has frankly admitted to us—that enough members of the Massachusetts Convention were bought with money from New York to secure the ratification of the new system by Massachusetts.—EDITOR OF HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

21.—From Matt. Cobb.

24<sup>th</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1788—

DEAR SIR

\* \* \* \* \*

If your Silence is Owing to your being constantly engaged in the great affairs of the union, I shall the more redily excuse it—Perhaps you conclude that I have not an ear for politicks, which appears to engross the attention of all classes of people, at this important crisis—But in that I assure you Sir you are mistaken, for I would—not be so Singular—for we are all politicians here from the well known G—n D—s to A—n S—h who is considered here as the man of the people—you no doubt have been inform’d of all the particulars relating to the choice of members for the province of main, for the convention & this Town in particular whose member is not attending, Discover as much wisdom, perhaps as in any action of his life—a Gentleman of Sense & information has Jest arived in this Town from Boston, who informs us that Thompson, Wedgery & Nason are the greatest speakers in convention, from this quarter, or rather they speak the most, & that Mr Wedgery Shew’d him a list of 222 that was Desidedly a gainst it, out of 360—from the best information that I can get, I think it not probable that it will be ratified in this State When vice prevails and impious men bear sway the post of honour is a private Station (CATO)

\* \* \* \* \*

I Subscribe Your Obedient  
Servant

MATT. COBB.

[Addressed :]

PORTSMOUTH

February. 5

Hon. GEORGE THATCHER Esqr.

Member Congress

NEW YORK

22.—From Joseph Crocker.

BOSTON Jan. 26th 1788

DEAR SIR,

\* \* \* \* \*

Convention is all the Topick. The masterly speeches of a Dana, Parsens, King, Ames, Gorham, in favor of the excellent Constitution with a number of others who would add a Lustre to any parliament in Europe, must bear down the noisy opposition of a Thompson, Wedgery, Nason &c who are as troublesome as Homer’s babbling speakers. The honest, wise & judicious are steadfast in Accepting; the Friends to anarchy & Confusion in non acceptance. But, I think, I can assure you that the Constitution will be adopted, & that the opposers will soon sink

into their primitive Nothing. I am sorry our quondam Librarian has exerted himself so much in opposition, for notwithstanding his Foibles I do esteem him, as you must remember our former Intimacy.

\* \* \* \* \*

from your sincere Friend

JOSEPH CROCKER

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>.

[Addressed:]

BOSTON

FREE

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>.

Member of Congress  
New York

23.—From R. King.

BOSTON 30 Jan 1788

DEAR SIR

Our Business approaches to a crisis and the result is still uncertain—we shall tomorrow finish our Discussion by Paragraphs and probably shall take the final Question on Saturday or Tuesday next—the Question will be to ratify, and recommend at the same time certain Amendments to be adopted agreeably to the constitution, but not as a condition of the ratification

Farewell

R KING

G THATCHER

[Addressed:]

BOSTON

FREE

The Honble

GEORGE THATCHER  
at Congress,  
New York.

24.—From Christopher Gore.

BOSTON Feby. 3. 1788

MY DEAR SIR

The convention will probably decide the fate of Massachusetts within three days from the date hereof—I think there is a fair probability of an adoption—Governor Hancock is the proponent of the plan, which you see in the *Centinel* of yesterday—this was first proposed by him—afterwards a regular motion was made by Mr Sam<sup>l</sup> Adams grounded upon the proposal of the president, this being seconded is now the subject of debate before the convention, a committee of two from each county was chosen yesterday, for the purpose of considering this proposition—they are now, notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> sacredness of the day, sitting on the business of their commission—this committee is composed Men who will be nearly divided on the great question—Integrity, abilities & patriotism seem to declare

for adopting the constitution—while vice & poverty, with few exceptions, mark the opposition—farewell

Your friend

C. GORE

25.—From William Frost.

YORK 6<sup>th</sup> February 1788

DEAR SIR

\* \* \* \* \*

my Taxes are Yet unpaid for want thereof & find pretty Tite grubing along to get Bread & to Support life with my Family. Good Heavens where are we all going to. Shall our lives and Property never be Secure to us shall it be said that the Americans has no true faith that Confidence cannot be put in them, as was and is Justly said of the Aborigines, good God let not it be so said of a Christian People it seems there is a great struggle in Boston about the New Constitution for and against it, but it is my Serious opinion about the matter that there is no man can give any Rational acco<sup>t</sup> why he is against it only these two week Reasons the one is this that it is his Stubbond Will, & the other is that he is as Blind as any Common Stone in the Wall; clear it is to me that nothing under Heavens is Wanting else to give life to the Nerves & Sinus of the World of mankind both at Home & abroad to Establish true faith Redeem our Credit that Common Justice & harmony may take Place among mankind—

\* \* \* \* \*

Dr. Sir with Sentimental Reg<sup>d</sup> yr.

Ob<sup>t</sup> Serv. W<sup>m</sup> FROST

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>.

[Addressed:]

BOSTON

HON<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esquire  
Congress

New York City

26.—From Christopher Gore.

BOSTON Feby, 6<sup>th</sup> 1788

MY DEAR SIR

This afternoon 5 OClock, the question whether this Convention will assent to & ratify y<sup>e</sup> proposed constitution, was called for—the whole number of votes was 355 Ycas 187—Nays 168—leaving a majority of 19—amendments which you see in the papers accompanied this assent—but as you perceive no ways interfering with the ratification The minority—Viz Wedgery—Cool-ey, & Taylor publicly declared they would go home & support the constitution to the utmost of their abilities & influence.

Your friend

C GORE.



27.—From John Avery, Jr.

BOSTON Feb<sup>y</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> 1788.

MY GOOD FRIEND

I have the pleasure to inform you that the proposed Constitution has been adopted this afternoon by the Convention—three hundred and fifty-five members present one hundred and Eighty-seven in favour; leaves Nineteen Majority,—I Should have much more pleased if there had been more unanimously, but I hope it will terminate to the Peace, happiness & Safety not only of this Commonwealth but the United States by a general Adoption of it Amendments have been proposed and agreed to & had I time would transmit the same.

I am with great Sentiments of Esteem

Your friend & Serv<sup>t</sup>

JOHN AVERY JUN<sup>r</sup>

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER

[Addressed:]

BOSTON 6 Fe

FREE.

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER

Member of Congress

New York.

23.—From Silas Lee.

BIDDEFORD 7 Feb<sup>y</sup> 1788.

MY DEAR UNCLE

\* \* \* \* \*

In my last I gave you a small sketch of the sentiments of the people in those Counties respecting the new Constitution—as I have never interested Myself much in the matter, I could not be very particular as to that—I also suggested a few doubts respecting, perhaps you will call them objections against the plan—I think the fourth Sect: grants a dangerous power—and a power too by no means necessary to the establishment of an energetick Government If the Clause was conditional it would serve every purpose, but a destruction of the State legislatures—the powers of the Senate are greater, if I mistake not than the Lords of England—have they a power to propose amendments to Money Bills? A Republican Government is Guaranteed to each State in the Union But may not Congress establish one republican form, such as they shall chuse, throughout the whole? also why is it a compact of Individuals, instead of a Confederacy of States? the former supposes one consolidated Government, the latter only a Combination of several independent sovereignties for particular national purpose.

These are some of the many quires that I have put to our Friend Hill—which I suppose induced him to tell you that I “had broke out”—but as they were only doubts in my mind, & I have never been possitive,—Brother Hill has sup-

posed that my antifederalism was was of “the better Sort”—indeed I have never thought that an attention to it, at the present time, was of so much consequence to me, as my profession, but as it will be of great service to me to discuss the Subject a little with you; & more especially as you have generously assured me that it, would be very agreeable to you, I propose every week to send you a few observations upon it untill, I am convinced that My fears are Groundless.

\* \* \* \* \*

I am D<sup>r</sup> Uncle Yours with  
every mark of esteem &  
affection

SILAS LEE

P. S. I hope you will not forget send me the Marrow of the Constitution that you mentioned.

29.—From William Widgery.

BOSTON February 8<sup>th</sup> 1788.

DEAR SIR. You Will Excuse my neglect in answering yours of January the 9<sup>th</sup> When you Come to hear that My anxiety for preventing the New Constitution being adopted, has engaged my time and attention for this four weeks but I am at Last overcome by a majority of 19, including the president whose very Name is an Honour to the State, for by his coming in and offering Som Amendments which furnished many with Excuses to their Constituants, it was adopted to the great Joy of all Boston, & after Taking a parting Glass at the Expençe of the Trades men in Boston we Disolved.

one thing I mus menchen the Gallerys was very much Crowded, yet on the Desition of so emportant a Question as the present you might have heard a Copper fall on the Gallery floor, their was Sush a profound Silance; on thirs Day we got throw all our Business and on Fry Day, there was a federal Ship Rigid and fix<sup>d</sup> on a Slead, hald by 13 Horses, and all Orders, of Men Turn<sup>d</sup> out and formed a procession in the following order Viz first the Farmers with the plow and Harrow Sowing grain, and Harrowing it in as they went Som in a Cart Brakeing and Swingling Flax, they were followed by the Tradesmen of all sorts, Each sort in their own Division, every Sort had with them the Badge of their office, and the Bakers their Bread peal. after these pass-ed Come the Federal Ship ful Rigid Commanded by Capt John Foster Williams; after which Come the Merchants of the Town. then Come a nother Slead, Halled by 13 Horses on which was a Ship yard, and a Number of smaull Ships &c on that. in this order thay march<sup>d</sup> to the House of Each of their Delegates in the Town of Boston, and returned to Fannels Aall where the Merchants gave them 3 or 4 Hogsheads of Punch,

and as much wine cake & cheese as they could make way with When thay Come against the State House thay fired 13 guns. one thing more Notwithstanding my opposition to the Constitution, and the anxiety of Boston for its adoption I most Tel you I was never Treated with So much politeness in my Life as I was afterwards by the Treadsmen of Boston Merchants & every other Gentleman. Your old friend Thompson says he will oppose it as Long as he has a Hand to move unless 13 States Comes in to the Measure. the Voters on on the Constitution were 167. & 186. Sir your good Disposition is Such that I think you will Pardon my neglect and answer me by a Letter if inquire of you how matters are conducted at New York and Philadelphia, with respect to the New Constitution. I have heard that at New York the House of Representatives pass'd an Act to Call a Convention, and the cen-net nonconcured them. your friend Rynes lost his case with Buckman & paid 150 Dollars cost.

I am Sir with all Due respect your Humble Servant.

WILLIAM WIDGERY

To the Honorable  
GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

[Addressed:]

Hono<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Member of Congress at New York  
for the State of Massachusetts.

BOSTON, 10 Fe

30.—From David Sewall.

YORK Feb<sup>r</sup> 11 1788 [Monday A. M.

DEAR SIR

\* \* \* \* \*

I can acquaint you with no News respecting the federal Constitution, as I conclude the News Papers & Letters from Boston, have by this arived in plenty on that head—how quick Important Intelligence Circulates, last friday a little after noon We had the Thursdays Paper containing the Intelligence with the Yeas & Nays—your Letter and other matters made a Proselite of m<sup>r</sup> B. Who at the time of his Election was a flaming Antifederalite, how his *particular Electors* will relish it I cannot say, But inter nos, they were such as it would degrade a man of Sensibility and Integrity, if it was known and realized that he was a *genuine* Representative of them—I am grateful that Ursa major has been fully mistaken in his predictions of the Sentiments of the Eastern Territory, and that there was a majority to the Eastward of Piscatiqua River in favour of the Constitution altho' York County was deficient Yet Cumberland and Lincoln Supplied its deficiencies—altho' so small a majority as 19

upon the whole Yet When we look into the *Yeas* and *Nays*, it appears to me there is 8-10 of every thing Valuable—and as a Gent. from N Hamp<sup>r</sup> who called upon me on Saturday very Judiciously observed that the antifed<sup>ls</sup> in M<sup>a</sup> would generally come under one or other of these heads—1 such as were for Paper money.—2<sup>d</sup> others who were for cancelling the State debt at a depreciad Value of 4—5 or 6/ in the lb; or Thirdly those who were for Erecting a New State to the Eastward of Piscatay Many of whom reside in Worcester County—for they Suppose if we are disunited—*Worcester* will be the Seat of Government But to these 3 Causes might be possibly added a 4<sup>th</sup> Class Who are Shazites in principle & practice, who are averse to any Government Some say there were 20 or 30 of his officers in the Convention, several of the Names are such, as stood at our Bar, amd owe their present liberty and perhaps their Lives to the Clemency of Government Who having been Worsted by Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln last Winter in the field are & have been endeavouring to make better Campaign in the Cabinet

— N. H. Convention sits this Week at Exeter, and I cannot Conceive there is a doubt But they will ratify the federal Constitution—

It is said that Ursa Major Threatens to spend the time between this & the Sitting of our Gen<sup>l</sup> Court y<sup>e</sup> 27. Instant in Spreading Antifed<sup>l</sup> Sentiments in N. H., should he make himself busy in that Business—I should not greatly grieve, if he met with a simular Fate to that which overtook a Vermont Justice at N. Hampton the last S. J. C. for exciting Sedition in Hampshire County.

I Want to hear if there is a Sufficient representation of the States as to make a Quorum for the great Purposes of the Union—for I do not Recollect to have seen any Account of Your appointing a President.

\* \* \* \* \*

Believe me to be your Ffriend  
and hum<sup>l</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

DAVID SEWALL.

[Addressed:]

PORTSMOUTH  
February 12  
Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

p<sup>r</sup> Post

New York.

## II.—THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, ON THE ISLAND OF NEW YORK.—CONTINUED.

[From *The Catholic World*, x, 515—525.]

The history of Catholicity, in colonial days, with its romance, its terrors, and the last important struggles of fanatical opposition has, we trust, not been without interest. The Peace



opened New York to Catholic immigration; and the influence of the French officers, of both Army and Navy, had done much to dispel prejudice. The Church to which Rochambeau, La Fayette, de Kalb, Pulaski, de Grasse, and Vandreuil belonged was socially and politically respectable—nay, it was not antagonistic to American freedom.

The founder of the Catholic congregation had looked anxiously forward to this moment.

The venerable Father Farmer came on to resume his labors and gather such Catholics as the seven years' War had left ungathered. His visits and pastoral care, then resumed, were continued till the arrival of the Rev. Charles Whelan, an Irish Franciscan, who had been Chaplain on one of the vessels belonging to the fleet of the Count de Grasse. He was the first regularly settled Priest in the city of New York. Catholicity thus had a Priest, but as yet no Church. Mass was said near Mr. Stoughton's house, on Water-street; in the house of Don Diego de Gardoqui, the Spanish Ambassador; in a building in Vauxhall Garden, between Chambers and Warren-streets; and in a loft, over a carpenter's shop, on Barclay-street. An Italian nobleman, Count Castiglioni, mentions his attending Mass in a room any thing but becoming so solemn an act of religious worship. The use of a Court-room, in the Exchange, was solicited from the City authorities, but refused. Then the little band of Catholics took heart, and resolved to rear an edifice that would lift its cross-crowned spire in the land. It is a sign of the good feeling that had to some extent obtained, that Trinity Church sold the Catholic body the five lots of ground they desired for the erection of their Church. Here, at the corner of Barclay and Church-streets, the corner-stone of St. Peter's Church was laid, on the fourth of November, 1786, by Don Diego de Gardoqui, as representative of Charles III., King of Spain, whose aid to the work entitles him to be regarded as its chief benefactor.

This pioneer Catholic Church was a modest structure, forty-eight feet in front by eighty-one in depth. Its progress was slow; and Divine Worship was performed in it for some years before the vestry, portico, pews, gallery, and steeple were at last completed, in 1792.

The congregation, living so long amid a Protestant population, whose system Halleck describes so truly,

"They reverence their Priest; but disagreeing  
"In price or creed, dismiss him without fear,"

had adopted some of their ideas; and forgetting that the Mass was a sacrifice and the peculiar and only worship of God, thought that an eloquent sermon was every thing. A vehement and impassioned preacher it was their great ambition

to secure; and as the Trustees controlled matters almost absolutely, the earlier Priests had to endure much humiliation and actual suffering.

The reader will find this period of struggle well described in Bishop Bayley's pages, with the culmination of the evils of trusteeism in the bankruptcy of St. Peter's.

A pastor was at last found who filled the difficult position. This was the Rev. William O'Brien, assisted after a time by Doctor Matthew O'Brien, whose reputation as a preacher was such that a volume of his sermons had been printed in Ireland. Under their care the difficulties began to diminish; the congregation took a regular form; the young were trained to their Christian duties; and the devotion of the Catholic Clergy, during the visits of that dreadful scourge, the yellow fever, gave them an additional claim to the reverence and respect of their flock.

Beside the Church soon sprang up the School. The Catholics of New York signaled the opening of the nineteenth century, by establishing a Free-school, at St. Peter's, which, before many years, could report an average attendance of five hundred pupils.

This progress of Catholicity naturally aroused some of the old bitterness of prejudice.

The sermons of the Protestant pulpits, at this period, exulting over the captivity and death of Pius VI., produced their natural result in awakening the evil passions of the low and ignorant. The old prejudices revived against Catholics with all their wonted hostility. The first anti-Catholic riot occurred in 1806, as a result. On Christmas-eve, some ruffians attempted to force their way into St. Peter's Church, during the midnight mass, in order to see the Infant rocked in the cradle which, they were taught to believe, Catholics then worshipped. *The Brief Sketch*, by Bishop Bayley, details the unfortunate event, from the papers of the day.

From that time, anti-Catholic excitements have been pretty regular in their appearance; for a time, indeed, eleven years was as sure to bring one, under some new name, as fourteen years did the pestilent locusts. Yet mob violence has been less frequently and less terribly shown in New York than in some other cities with higher claims to order and dignity.

We remember how a mob, flushed with the sacking of a Protestant Church, where a negro and a white had been married, once resolved to close their useful labors by demolishing St. Patrick's Cathedral. They marched valorously almost to the junction of the Bowery and Prince-street; but halted, on the suggestion of a tradesman there, that a reconnaissance would be a wise movement. A few were detached to examine the road. The look up Prince-street was not

encouraging. The paving-stones had actually been carried up in baskets, to the upper stories of the houses, ready to be hurled on the assailants; and the wall around the Churchyard was pierced for musketry. The mob retreated with creditable celerity; but all that night, a feverish anxiety prevailed around St. Patrick's Cathedral; men stood ready to meet any new advance; and the Mayor, suddenly riding up, was in some danger, but was fortunately recognized.

What might have been the scenes in New York, in 1844, when murder ran riot in Philadelphia! The Natives had just elected a Mayor; the City would in a few days be in their hands; a public meeting was called in the Park; and all seemed to promise a repetition of the scenes in the sister City. A bold, stern Extra issued from the office of *The Freeman's Journal* that actually sent terror into the hearts of the would-be rioters. It was known at once that the Catholics would defend their Churches to the last gasp. The firm character of the Archbishop was well known; and with that to animate the people, the struggle would not be a trifling one.

The call for the meeting was countermanded, and New York was saved—few knew from what.

To return to the earlier days of the century. If attacks were made, inquiry was stimulated. Conversions to the truth were neither few nor unimportant. Bishop Bayley mentions, briefly, the reception into the Church of one nearly related to himself, Mrs. Eliza Ann Seton, daughter of the celebrated Doctor Bayley, and widow of William Seton, a distinguished New York merchant. Born on Staten Island, and long resident in New York, gracing a high social position by her charming and noble character, she made her first communion, in St. Peter's Church, on the twenty-fifth of March, 1805; and, in a few years, giving herself wholly to God, she became, under him, the foundress in the United States of the Sisters of Charity, whose quiet labors of love, and charity, and devotedness in the cause of humanity and education, in every city in the land, seek no herald here below, but are written deep in the hearts of grateful millions.

Several Protestant Clergymen, in those days, returned to the bosom of unity, such as the Rev. Mr. Kewley, of St. George's Church, New York; Rev. Calvin White, ancestor of the Shakespeare scholar, Richard Grant White; and Mr. Ironsides. Strange, too, was the conversion of the Rev. Mr. Richards, sent from New York as a Methodist preacher, to Western New York and Canada. We follow him, by his Diary, through the sparse settlements which then dotted that region, whence he extended his labors to Montreal. There, good man, in the zeal of his heart, he thought to conquer Canadian Catholicity by

storming the Sulpitian Seminary at Montreal, converting all there, and so triumphantly closing the campaign. His Diary of travel goes no further. Mr. Richards died, a few years since, a zealous and devoted Sulpitian Priest of the Seminary at Montreal.

New York was too far from Baltimore to be easily superintended by the Bishop of that See. His vast Diocese was now to be divided; and this City was erected into an Episcopal See, in 1808, by Pope Pius VII. The choice for the Bishop, who was to give form to the new Diocese, fell upon the Rev. Luke Concanen, a learned and zealous Dominican, long connected with the affairs of his Order at Rome. Bishop Bayley gives a characteristic letter of his. He had persistently declined a See in Ireland, with its comparative comforts and consolations, among a zealous people; but the call to a position of toil, the establishment of a new Diocese in a new land, where all was to be created, was not an appeal that he could disregard. He submitted to the charge imposed upon him; and, after receiving episcopal consecration at Rome, prepared to reach his See, wholly ignorant of what he should find, on his arrival in New York. It was, however, no easy matter then to secure passage. Failing to find a ship at Leghorn, he proceeded to Naples; but the French, who had overrun Italy, detained him as a British subject; and while thus thwarted and harassed, he suddenly fell sick and died. Thus New York never beheld its first Bishop.

Then followed a long vacancy, highly prejudicial to the progress of the Church, but a vacancy that European affairs caused. The successor of St. Peter was torn from Rome, and held a prisoner in France. The Catholic world knew not under what influence acts might be issued as his, that were really the inventions of his enemies. The Bishops in Ireland addressed a letter to the Bishops of the United States, to propose some settled line of action in all cases where there was not evidence that the Pope was a free agent. The reply of the Bishops in the United States is given in Bishop Bayley's *Brief Sketch*.

Meanwhile, the Archbishop of Baltimore extended his care to the Diocese of New York. When Father O'Brien at last sank under his increasing years, New York would have seen its Catholic population in a manner destitute, had not the Jesuit Fathers of Maryland come to their assistance. Rev. Anthony Kohlmann, a man of sound theological learning and great zeal, who died many years after, at Rome, honored by the Sovereign Pontiffs, was the Administrator of the Diocese. With him were Rev. Benedict Fenwick, subsequently Bishop of Boston, and Rev. Peter Malou, whose romantic life would form an interesting volume; for few who recollect this



venerable Priest, in his day such a favorite with the young, knew that he had figured in great political events and, in the struggle of Belgium for freedom, had led her armies.

Under the impulse of these Fathers, a Collegiate Institution was opened, and continued for some years, on the spot where the new magnificent Cathedral is rising; and old New York Catholics smiled, when a recent scribbler asserted that the site of that noble edifice was a gift from the City. Trinity, the Old Brick Church, and some other Churches we could name, were built on land given by the ruling powers; but no Catholic Church figures in the list. The College was finally closed, from the fact that difficulties in Maryland prevented the Order from supplying necessary Professors to maintain its high position.

To secure to young ladies similar advantages for superior education, some Ursuline nuns were induced to cross the Atlantic. They were hailed with joy; and their Academy was wonderfully successful. The Superior was a lady whose appearance was remarkably striking, and whose cultivation and ability impressed all. Unfortunately they came under restrictions which soon deprived New York of them. Unless novices joined them within a certain number of years, they were to return to Ireland. In a new country, vocations could be only a matter of time; and as the Ursuline Order required a dowry, the vocations of all but wealthy young ladies were excluded, and even of these when subject to a Guardian.

As the Catholic body had increased, a new Church was begun in a spot then far out of the city, described as between Broadway and the Bowery-road. This was old St. Patrick's, of which the corner-stone was laid on the eighth of June, 1809. This was to be the Cathedral of the future Bishop; and the Orphan Asylum, now thriving under the care of an incorporated Society, was ere long to be placed near the new Church.

During this period, a strange case occurred in a New York Court, that settled, for that State, at least, a question of importance to Catholics. It settled, as a principle of law, that the Confession of a Catholic to a Priest was a privileged communication, which the Priest could not be called upon or permitted to reveal.

"Restitution had been made to a man named James Keating, through the Rev. Father Kohlmann, of certain goods which had been stolen from him. Keating had previously made a complaint against one Philips and his wife, as having received the goods thus stolen; and they were indicted for a Misdemeanor before the Justices of the Peace. Keating having afterward stated that the goods had been restored to him through the instrumentality of

"Father Kohlmann, the latter was cited before the Court, and required to give evidence in regard to the person or persons from whom he had received them. This he refused to do, on the ground that no Court could require a Priest to give evidence in regard to matters known to him only under the seal of Confession. Upon the case being sent to the Grand Jury, Father Kohlmann was subpoenaed to attend before them, and appeared in obedience to the process, but, in respectful terms, he again declined answering. On the trial which ensued, Father Kohlmann was again cited to appear as a witness in the case. Having been asked certain questions, he entreated that he might be excused, and offered his reasons to the Court. With consent of Counsel, the question was put off for some time, and finally brought on for argument, on Tuesday, the eighth of June, 1813, before a Court composed of the Hon. De Witt Clinton, Mayor of the City; the Hon. Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Recorder; and Isaac S. Douglass and Richard Cunningham, Esqrs., sitting Aldermen. The Hon. Richard Riker, afterward, for so many years, Recorder of the City, and Counsellor Sampson, volunteered their services in behalf of Father Kohlman.

"The decision was given by De Witt Clinton, at some length. Having shown that, according to the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church, a Priest who should reveal what he had heard in the Confessional would become infamous and degraded in the eyes of Catholics, and as no one could be called upon to give evidence which would expose him to infamy, he declared that the only way was to excuse a Priest from answering in such cases."

This decision, by the influence of De Witt Clinton, when Governor of the State, was incorporated into the Revised Statutes, as part of the *lex scripta* of the State.

With this period, too, began the publication of Catholic works in New York, which has since attained such a wonderful development. Bernard Dornin stands as the patriarch of the Catholic book-trade of New York, of which an interesting sketch will be found in the appendix to Bishop Bayley's work. He also gives a list of subscribers to some of the earliest works, which will possess no little interest to older Catholic families, who can here claim ancestors as not only Catholic, but devoted to their faith, and anxious to spread its literature. We have looked over the list, and, amid familiar names, have endeavored to find the oldest now living. If we do not err greatly, it is the distinguished lawyer, Charles O'Connor, Esq.

When Pope Pius VII. was restored to Rome,

another son of St. Dominic was chosen; and the Rev. John Connolly was consecrated the second Bishop of New York. After making such arrangements as he could, in Ireland, for the good of his Diocese, he set sail from Dublin, but experienced a long and dangerous passage. From the absence of all notice, of any kind, except the mere fact of his name among the passengers, his reception was apparently a most private one. He was utterly a stranger in a strange land, called from the studies of the cloister to form and rule a Diocese of considerable extent, without any previous knowledge of the wants of his flock, and utterly without resources.

His Diocese, which embraced the State of New York and part of New Jersey, contained but four Priests, three belonging to the Jesuits in Maryland, and liable to be called away at any moment, as two were, almost immediately after his arrival. The College and Convent had disappeared; and the Church seemed to have lost in all but numbers. Thirteen thousand Catholics were to be supplied with Pastors; and yet the Trustee system stood a fearful barrier in his way. As Bishop Bayley well observes: "The Trustee system had not been behind its early promise, and Trustees of Churches had become so accustomed to have every thing their own way, that they were not disposed to allow even the interference of a Bishop.

"In such a state of things, he was obliged to assume the office of a Missionary Priest, rather than a Bishop; and many, still living, remember the humility and earnest zeal with which he discharged the laborious duties of the confessional, and traversed the City, on foot, to attend upon the poor and sick.

"Bishop Connolly was not lacking in firmness; but the great wants of his new Diocese made it necessary for him to fall in, to a certain extent, with the established order of things, and this exposed him, afterward, to much difficulty and many humiliations."

Yet he secured some good Priests and ecclesiastical students from Kilkenny College, whom he gradually raised to the Priesthood, his first Ordination and the first conferring of the sacrament of Holy Orders in the City being that of the Rev. Michael O'Gorman, in 1815. One only of the Priests ordained by this first Bishop occupying the See of New York, still survives, the Rev. John Shanahan, now at St. Peter's Church, Barclay-street.

Under the care of Bishop Connolly, the Sisters of Charity began their labors in the City so long the home of Mother Seton; and, so far as his means permitted him to yield to his zeal, he increased the number of Churches and congregations in his Diocese.

After an Episcopate of nearly ten years, the

Bishop was taken ill, on his return from the funeral of his first ordained Priest, and soon followed him to the grave. He died at No. 512 Broadway, on the fifth of February, 1825, and was buried under the Cathedral, after having been exposed, for two days, in St. Peter's church. The ceremonial was imposing and attracted general attention; and the remarks of the papers of the day show the respect entertained for him by all classes of citizens.

The next Bishop of New York was one well known in the country by his labors, especially by his successful exertions in giving the Church in our Republic a College and Theological Seminary suited to its wants—Mount St. Mary's College, at Emmettsburg, Maryland. The life of the Rev. John Du Bois had been varied. Born in Paris, he was in college a fellow-student of Robespierre and Camille Desmoulins; but, actuated by far different thoughts from those which filled the brains of such men, he devoted himself to the service of God. The Revolution found him a laborious Priest, at Paris. Escaping in disguise from France, during the Reign of Terror, through the connivance of his fellow-collegian, Robespierre, he came to America, bearing letters of introduction from La Fayette to eminent personages in the United States.

"Having received faculties from Bishop Carroll, he exercised the holy ministry in various parts of Virginia and Maryland. He lived for some time with Mr. Monroe, afterward President of the United States, and in the family of Governor Lee, of Maryland. After the death of Father Frambach, he took charge of the Mission of Frederick, in Maryland, of which Mission he may be said in reality to have been the founder. When he arrived there, he celebrated Mass in a large room which served as a Chapel, and afterward built the first Church. But, though Frederick was his headquarters, he did not confine himself to it, but made stations throughout all the surrounding country, at Montgomery, Winchester, Hagerstown, and Emmettsburg, everywhere manifesting the same earnest zeal and indomitable perseverance. Bishop Bruté relates, as an instance of his activity and zeal, that once, after hearing confessions on Saturday evening, he rode during the night to near Montgomery, a distance of thirty-five to forty miles, to administer the last sacraments to a dying woman, and was back, hearing confessions, in the morning, at the Mountain, singing Mass and preaching, without scarcely any one knowing that he had been absent at all.

"In 1808, the Rev. Mr. DuBois, having previously become a member of the Society of St. Sulpice, in Baltimore, went to reside at Em-



"mettsburg, and laid the foundation of Mount St. Mary's College, which was afterward destined to be the means of so much usefulness to the Catholic Church in America. From this point, now surrounded by so many hal-  
 "lowed associations in the minds of American Catholics, by the sound religious education imparted to so many young men from various parts of the United States, 'by the many fervent and holy Priests, trained under his direction,' and by the prudent care with which he cherished the rising institute of the Sisters of Charity at St. Joseph's, he became the benefactor, not of any particular locality, but of the whole Catholic body throughout the United States."

On coming to his Diocese, after his consecration in Baltimore, in October, 1826, he found three Churches and four or six Priests in New York City; a Church and one Priest at Brooklyn, Albany, and a few stations elsewhere. But the Trustee system fettered the progress of Catholicity.

Long devoted to the cause of education for secular life or the service of the altar, Bishop Du Bois's fondest desire was to endow his Diocese with another Mount St. Mary's; but all his efforts failed. A Hospital was also one of his early projects; but these and other good works could spring up only when the way had been prepared by his trials, struggles, and sufferings.

During his administration, the number of Catholics increased greatly; and new Churches sprung up in the City and other parts of the Diocese. Of these various foundations and the zealous Priests of that day, many interesting details might be given, to which we can but refer—the erection of St. Mary's, Christ-church, Transfiguration, St. Joseph's, St. Nicholas's, St. Paul's, at Harlem. The services of the Very Rev. Doctor Power, of Rev. Felix Varela, of Rev. Messrs. Levins and Schueller, and other Clergymen of that day are not yet forgotten.

The excitement caused by the Act of Catholic Emancipation in England had its counterpart here, stimulated too by jealousy at the influx of foreign labor. The Church had had her day of penal laws and wild excitement: now war was to be made through the Press. About 1835, it began in New York. The use of falsehood against Catholicity seems to be considered, by some, one of the higher virtues. Certainly there is a strange perversion of conscience on the point. The anti-Catholic literature of that period is a curiosity that must cause some cheeks to tingle if there is any manhood left. They took up Fulkes's *Confutation of the Rhemish Testament*; reprinted the text from it; and affixed to it a certificate of several Clergymen that it was a reprint from the origi-

nal, published at Rheims. It was not. They caught up a poor creature from a Magdalen Asylum in Montreal, and concocted a book, laying the scene in the Hôtel Dieu, commonly called the Convent of the Black Nuns, at Montreal. The book was so infamous that the Harpers issued it under the name of Howe & Bates. It was published daily in *The Sun* newspaper; and had an immense circulation. Colonel William L. Stone, a zealous Protestant, went to the spot, and, there convinced of the fraud, published an exposure of the vile slanders. He was assailed in a satire called *The Vision of Rubeta*; and the pious Protestant community swallowed the filthy details. At last, there arose a quarrel over the spoils. A triangular lawsuit between the Harpers, the Rev. Mr. Slocum, and Maria Monk, in the Court of Chancery, gave some strange disclosures, more startling than the fictitious ones of the book. Vice-chancellor McCoun, in disgust, turned them out of his Court, and told them to go before a jury; but none of them dared to face twelve honest men. A paper, called *The Downfall of Babylon*, flourished for a time on this anti-Catholic feeling, reeking with lewdness and impurity. At last, their heroine and tool, Maria Monk, cast off and scouted, ended her days on Blackwell's Island.

Among the curiosities of this period was a work of S. F. B. Morse, (we used in our younger days to think the initials stood for Savage Furious Bigot,) entitled *Brutus, or a Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States*. The Queen of France had given the Bishop of St. Louis some altar-paintings, and herein was the conspiracy. We saw a picture, the other day, of Mr. Morse, with the stars of several foreign Orders of Knighthood on his breast; he has received many, some from Catholic Sovereigns, and, we believe, one from the Pope. Brutus should certainly take him in hand; for some of these Orders require Knights to swear to things that would be rather awkward for a zealous Protestant to undertake. *Et tu Brute!*

The controversies of that day would furnish matter for an article in themselves. They were the topic of the day, and led to many curious scenes. Among the Catholic controversialists, the Rev. Mr. Levins was particularly incisive and effective; Rev. Mr. Varela dealt gentler but heavy blows, being keen in argument and sound in learning. A tract on the five different Bibles of the American Bible Society was one of those occasions where, departing from the defensive, the Catholic apologist assumed the offensive. And this time it was highly offensive. At that time, the Bible Society published a Spanish Bible, and Testaments in French, Spanish, and

Portuguese, all Catholic versions, merely omitting the notes of the Catholic translators. *Appleton's Cyclopædia* asserts that "the American Bible Society, made up of materials more thoroughly Puritanic, and less Lutheran and Continental, . . . has never published any other than the canonical (Protestant) books;" but this is not so. The Spanish Bible of 1824 contains the very books which, in other editions, they reject absolutely. It is true that, in the edition of 1825, they left them out of the body of the book, but kept them in the list of books. After that, they disappeared; while the title-page still falsely professed to give the *Bible*, translated by Bishop Scio de San Miguel, without the slightest intimation that part of Bishop Scio's work was omitted. We once bought Bagster's edition of the Vulgate; and found ourselves the victim of a similar fraud.

Mr. Varela exposed the inconsistency of their publishing in one language, as inspired, what they rejected in another; of translating a passage, in one sense, in one volume, and in another, in a Bible standing beside it. The subject caused a sensation. After deliberating on the matter, it was determined to suppress all these Catholic versions: they were accordingly withdrawn. The stereotype plates were melted; and the printed copies were, as we are assured, committed to the flames, although it took some time to effect this greatest Bible-burning ever witnessed in New York.

Meanwhile, New York was not without its organs of Catholic sentiment. *The Truth-Teller* was for many years the vehicle of information and defence. The editor, William Denman, still survives to witness the progress made since that day when he battled, almost alone, among the press of the land. *The Catholic Diary*, and *The Green Banner*, and *The Freeman's Journal* followed.

While the controversy fever lasted, some curious scenes took place. Catholics, especially poor servant-girls, were annoyed at all times and in all places, in the street, at the pump—for those were not days of Croton water—and even in their kitchens. One Protestant Clergyman of New York had quite a reputation for the gross indecency that characterized his valourous attacks of this kind. The servant of a lady in Beekman-street—people in good circumstances lived there then—was a constant object of his zeal. One day, report said, after dining with the lady, he descended to the kitchen, and began twitting the girl about the Confessional, and coupling this with the grossest charges against the Catholic Clergy. The girl bore it for a time, and when ordering him out of her realm failed, she seized a poker and dealt her indecent assailant a blow on the head

that sent him staggering to the stairs. While he groped his way, bewildered, to the parlor, the girl hastened to her room, bundled up her clothes, and left the house. The Clergyman was long laid up from the consequence of his folly, and every attempt made to hush the matter; but an eccentric Catholic of that day, Joseph Trench, got up a large caricature, representing the scene, which went like wild-fire, attack being always popular, and an attack on the Protestant Clergy being quite a novelty. Trivial as the whole affair was, it proved more effective than the soundest theological arguments; and Mary Ann Wiggins, with her poker, really closed the great controversial period.

It had its good effects, nevertheless, in making Catholics earnest in their faith. Their numbers were rapidly increasing, and with them Churches and institutions. Besides the Orphan Asylum, an institution for those who had lost only one parent, the Half-orphan Asylum, was commenced and long sustained, mainly by the zeal and means of Mr. Glover, a convert, whose name should stand high in the memory of New York Catholics. This institution, now merged in the general Orphan Asylum, had in its separate existence a long career of usefulness, under the care of the Sisters of Charity.

Bishop Du Bois was unremitting in his efforts to increase the number of his Clergy and the institutions of his Diocese. The progress was marked. Besides Clergymen from abroad, he ordained, or had ordained, twenty-one who had been trained under his own supervision, and who had completed their divinity studies chiefly at the honored institution which he had founded in Maryland; among these was Gregory B. Pardow, who was, if we mistake not, the first native of the City, elevated to the Priesthood. Five of these Priests have since been promoted to the Episcopacy, as well as two others ordained in his time, by his Coadjutor.

In manners, Bishop Du Bois was the polished French gentleman, of the old régime; as a Clergyman, learned and strict in his ideas, his administrative powers were always deemed great, but in their exercise, in his Diocese, they were constantly thwarted by the Trustee system. But he was not easily intimidated; and when the Trustees of the Cathedral, in order to force him to act contrary to the dictates of his own better judgment, if not his conscience, threatened to deprive him of his salary, he made them a reply that is historical: "Well, gentlemen, you may vote the salary or not, just as seems good to you. I do not need much; I can live in the basement or in the garret; but whether I come up from the basement or down from the garret, I will still be your Bishop."



He had passed the vigor of manhood when he was appointed to the See of New York; and the constant struggle aged him prematurely. It became necessary for him to call for a younger hand to assist. The position was one that required a singularly gifted Priest. The future of Catholicity in New York depended on the selection of one who, combining the learning and zeal of the Missionary Priest with that *donum famæ* which gives a man influence over his fellow-men, and that skill in firm but almost imperceptible government which is the characteristic of a great ruler, could place Catholicity in New York on a firm, harmonious basis, instinct with the true spirit of life, that would insure its future success. Providence guided the choice. Surely no man more confessedly endowed with all these qualities could have been selected than the Rev. John Hughes, trained by Bishop Du Bois, at Mount St. Mary's, and then a Priest of the Diocese of Philadelphia, where his dialectic skill had been evinced in a long and well-maintained controversy.

The final overthrow of the Trustee system gave the Church freedom; and new institutions of every kind which had been imperatively required, sprang up. A College, at Fordam, the forerunner of the several Catholic Colleges of the State, was soon founded; a Convent of Ladies of the Sacred Heart, for the education of young ladies; Sisters of Mercy, with their various important labors, came to help the good work. But now a large German Catholic immigration began. Bishop Hughes saw the want and the means; a development of the German Churches, especially under the care of the Redemptorist Fathers, soon followed.

The position of the Catholic children, in regard to their participation in those educational advantages, next attracted his care. The prevalent spirit in those institutions, for which Catholics as well as Protestants were taxed, was essentially anti-Catholic; the books used were often vile in their character, whenever Catholicity was touched upon. Think of Huntington's Geography, with a picture, at Asia, of "Pagan Idolatry," and one, at Italy, of "Roman Catholic Idolatry." Think of an Arithmetic—Pike's, we believe—with a question like this, "If a Pope can pray a soul out of purgatory in three days, a Cardinal in four, and a Bishop in six, how long would it take all three to pray them out?" A Catholic girl, in the Rutgers Female Institute, when the Geography was given to her, happened to open to Italy; and, outraged at the wanton insult to her feelings, threw the book on the floor, burst into tears, and left the school; but Rutgers Female Institute could use such books as they chose, and Catholics could send there or elsewhere.

It was not a State creation, supported by taxes drawn from all; but did any right exist to force Catholics to the alternative of submitting to such degrading insults or keep aloof from schools which they were taxed to support? Or rather, the question was, could Catholics, in the State of New York, be compelled to support the Protestant Church and aid in its extension?

Bishop Bayley sketches briefly the other important acts of the administration of Bishop Hughes, and concludes: "But, though much has been done, much remains to be accomplished. The 'two hundred Catholics' of 1785 were better provided for than the two hundred thousand who now (1853) dwell within the boundaries of the City of New York. It is true that no exertions could have kept pace with the tide of emigration which has been pouring in upon our shores, especially during the last few years. The number of Priests, Churches, and Schools, rapidly as they have increased, are entirely inadequate to the wants of our Catholic population, and render it imperative that every exertion should be made to supply the deficiency. What has been done so far has, by God's blessing, been accomplished by the Catholics of New York themselves. Comparatively very little assistance has been received from the liberality of our brethren in other countries. And while we have done so much for ourselves, we have contributed liberally toward the erection of Churches and other works of piety, in various parts of the United States.

"Though the Catholic Church in this country has increased much more largely by conversions than is generally supposed, yet, for the most part, its rapid development has been owing to the emigration of Catholics from foreign countries; and, if we desire to make this increase permanent and to keep the children in the faith of their fathers, we must, above all things, take measures to imbue the minds of the rising generation of Catholics with sound religious principles. This can only be done by giving them a good Catholic education. In our present position, the school-house has become second in importance only to the house of God itself. We have abundant cause for thankfulness to God on account of the many blessings which he has conferred on us; but we will show ourselves unworthy of these blessings, if we do not do all that is in our power to promote every good work by which they may be increased and confirmed to those who shall come after us." And though we may now rate the number of Catholics in the City at four hundred thousand, the language is still applicable.

There are now, we may add, forty Catholic Churches on the Island, with Parish-schools educating twenty-one thousand children, of both sexes; houses of Jesuits, Redemptorists, Fathers of Mercy, Paulists, Franciscans, Capuchins, Dominicans; Convents of the Sacred Heart, houses of Sisters of Charity, Sisters of the Good Shepherd, of Notre Dame, of the Order of St. Dominic, of the Poor of St. Francis, and of the Third Order of St. Francis; several Orphan Asylums, two Hospitals, Reformatories for boys and girls, a House of Protection for Servants, a Home for Destitute Children, a Home for Aged Women, and a Foundling Hospital, just begun. Yet it is but true that all this is little for the wants of four hundred thousand Catholics.

Glancing back to the early history, we see in all the work of the many. In comparison, we have had fewer men of wealth than those around us; but it must also be added that among those few there have been still fewer, in proportion, to identify their names with the great religious works. As we look around through the country, we see great institutions—Churches, Colleges, Libraries, Asylums—each the act of a single man of wealth; but we cannot show in New York a single such Catholic work. There are monuments in our great Cemeteries, on each of which more money has been expended than would erect a Church in some neglected part of New York. Which would be the nobler monument?

### III.—THE BATTLE OF CEDAR-CREEK.

#### GENERAL WRIGHT'S REPORT.\*

NOW FIRST PRINTED, FROM THE ORIGINAL  
DRAUGHT.

HEAD-QUARTERS, Military Division of the Gulf.  
GALVESTON, TEXAS, November 27, 1865.  
BVT. BRIG.-GEN. G. A. FORSYTH,  
Chief of Staff, &c.

GENERAL: I have the honor to present the following Report of the part taken by the Sixth Corps, in the battle of Cedar-creek, on the nineteenth of October, 1864, premising, that as all the records of the Corps were turned into the office of the Adjutant-general of the Army, on the discontinuance of the Corps, in June last, I am unable to refer to any of the sub-reports, so as to transmit them herewith.

As I was the ranking officer of the forces, in the absence of Major-general Sheridan, when the battle began, it will be necessary to a clear narrative of the events of the day, to commence on the evening of the eighteenth. About nine o'clock

of that evening, I was called upon by Major-general Crook, commanding the Army of West Virginia, who reported that the reconnoissance of a Brigade sent out by him that day, to ascertain the position of the enemy, had returned to camp and reported that nothing was to be found in his old camp; and that he had doubtless retreated up the valley. It should be borne in mind, that the destruction of all supplies by our forces, between our position, at Cedar-creek and Staunton, had made it necessary for the enemy to supply his force from the latter place by wagons; and, consequently, we had been expecting, for some days, that he would either attack us or be compelled to fall back for the supplies which it was believed he could not transport in sufficient quantity by his trains.

This view of the matter, which is still believed to have been sound, lent the stamp of probability to the report of the reconnoitering party; but, anxious to place the truth of the report beyond a doubt, I at once ordered two reconnoissances to start at the first dawn of the morning, one of a Brigade of Infantry, to move out upon and follow the general direction of the pike leading up the valley; the other, also of a Brigade, to take the "back road," some three miles to the westward, and nearly parallel to the former, with instructions to move forward till the enemy was found and strongly felt, so as to clearly ascertain his intentions. The first party was to be drawn from the Nineteenth Corps; the other from the Cavalry.

At the first blush of dawn, the camps were assaulted by a considerable musketry-fire upon our extreme left and a fire of a much slighter character upon our right. A moment's hesitation convinced me that the former was the real attack; and I at once proceeded to that point—the firing, meanwhile, growing heavier. Becoming assured that I was not mistaken as to which was the attack to be resisted, in force, I sent back orders to Brevet Major-general Ricketts, commanding the Sixth Corps in my absence, to send me two Divisions of his command, at once; and, taking the Brigade of the Nineteenth Corps (before alluded to, as ordered on the reconnoissance, and which was just starting) I proceeded to place it and the troops of General Crook's second line in position, on a ridge, to the eastward of and nearly parallel to the pike, connecting them with the left of the Nineteenth Corps.

As the two Divisions of the Sixth Corps, ordered from the right of the line to the left, could reach that point within twenty minutes of the time that the line referred to was formed, and as the position taken up was a satisfactory one, there was, in my judgment, no occasion for apprehension as to the result; and I felt every con-

\* We are indebted, for the copy from which we print, to our friend, General J. Watts de Peyster, of New York.



fidence that the enemy would be promptly repulsed.

In this anticipation I was, however, sadly disappointed. Influenced by a panic which often seizes the best troops—and some of these I had seen behave admirably, under the hottest fire—the line broke before the enemy fairly came in sight; and, under a slight, scattering fire, retreated in disorder, down the pike.

Seeing that no part of the original line could be held, as the enemy was already on the left flank of the Nineteenth Corps, I at once sent orders to the Sixth Corps to fall back to some tenable position, in rear; and to General Emory, commanding the Nineteenth Corps, that, as his left was turned, he should fall back, and take position on the right of the Sixth.

I should, perhaps, have stated that upon the original line, the forces, from left to right, were posted in the order of, *First*, the Army of West Virginia, Major-general Crook commanding; *Second*, the Nineteenth Corps, Brevet Major-general Emory commanding; *Third*, the Sixth Corps, commanded by myself, and, in my absence, by Brevet Major-general Ricketts. The Cavalry, under the command of Brevet Major-general Torbert, was disposed upon the two flanks. The first lines of the Army of West Virginia and the Nineteenth Corps were intrenched; but the Sixth Corps was not, as its naturally strong position rendered any defences unnecessary. Indeed, the latter was held with a view to its acting rather as a moveable force than as a part of the line.

Returning from this digression and resuming the narrative, the Sixth Corps, of which two Divisions were on the march to the support of the left, at once moved to the rear, on receiving the instructions to that effect, as did the Nineteenth Corps, which had been slightly engaged with a portion of the Rebel force which had evidently attacked by way of a diversion.

About this time, General Ricketts was seriously wounded, and the command of the Sixth Corps devolved upon Brevet Major-general Getty, who moved steadily to the rear; and, by well-timed attacks, did much towards checking the enemy's advance, giving time thereby for the change of front which was necessary and for taking up the new position. A portion of the First Division, under Generals Wheaton and McKenzie, and a part of the Artillery of the Corps, also behaved admirably, in checking the enemy and giving time for the rest of the troops to take position. Several pieces of the Artillery were lost here, it being impossible to bring off the guns, owing to their horses being killed. Meanwhile, the Second Division had taken up the position indicated, with its left resting on the pike. The Third and First were

forming on its right; while, on the right of the Sixth Corps, the Nineteenth Corps was being formed. One or two not very persistent attacks had been repulsed. About this time, Major-general Sheridan came up and assumed command; and I returned to the command of the Sixth Corps. Soon after the lines had been fully formed, the enemy made a sharp attack upon the Sixth Corps, but was rudely repulsed, falling back several hundred yards, to a stone wall, behind which a part of his line took shelter.

The position of the troops, at this time, from left to right, was, *First*, the Second, Third and First Divisions of the Sixth Corps; *Second*, the Nineteenth Corps; the Cavalry being on both flanks.

Everything having been prepared, and the men somewhat rested from the fatigue of the morning, an advance was ordered by General Sheridan, of the entire line. The Second and First Divisions moved forward steadily, but the Third was, for a time, seriously checked by the fire from behind the stone wall before alluded to. A movement made by the Nineteenth Corps toward flanking this wall, (in which a Regiment of the Third Division, Sixth Corps, detached for the purpose, took part) shook the enemy; and a gallant charge of the line started him into full flight, pursued by our victorious forces. But little further resistance was experienced in the advance to Cedar-creek, where our Infantry was halted in its old Camp, while the pursuit was continued by the Cavalry. The enemy being entirely demoralized and his ranks completely broken, he retreated without regard to order. The battle, which in its earlier stages looked anything but favorable for our success, and occasioned a fear of defeat to many a brave-hearted soldier, resulted, through the admirable courage of our troops, the bravery and good conduct of their officers, and the persistence of the Commander of the Army, in a complete victory.

It may be proper that I should say something in the way of explanation of the causes of the comparatively easy success of the enemy in the early part of the action. To the professional soldier, it will be a subject of interest, even if it is lost to others, now that the War is over and this battle is partially forgotten, with the many others as hard-fought fields. Yet, in justice to those engaged, it may be well to explain some points of which many are of course ignorant. I have already referred to the reported result of the reconnoissance of the preceding day, which was to the effect that the enemy had retreated up the valley. That this was not true is now well known; but how the mistake was made is not easily explained. Probably the force had not advanced so far as it supposed; and had not

really reached the enemy's lines, which were some miles in advance of ours. However this may be, I have no question that the belief in the retreat of the enemy was generally entertained throughout the reconnoitering force.

Again, this force, which, as before remarked, was from the Army of West Virginia, returned to camp through its own lines, and must have made known to the troops, in camp and on the picket-line, its received belief in the enemy's retreat. Now it happens that the advance of the enemy was made upon this part of the line. The surprise was complete, for the pickets did not fire a shot; and the first indication of the enemy's presence was a volley into the main line, where the men of a part of the Regiment were at reveille roll-call, without arms. As the entire picket-line, over that part crossed by the enemy, was captured without a shot being fired, no explanation could be obtained from any of the men composing it; but it is fair to suppose that they were lulled into an unusual security by the report, of the previous evening, that the enemy had fallen back and that there was consequently no danger to be apprehended. This supposition seems to me likely enough. It certainly goes far towards explaining how an enemy in force passed and captured a strong and well-connected picket-line of old soldiers, without occasioning alarm, and gave, as a first warning of its presence, a volley of musketry into the main line of unarmed soldiers. It was reported in camp, as coming from the enemy, that he first relieved a part of our lines by his own men, dressed in our uniform; but I have never been able to confirm the rumor. The proceedings up to this point were bad enough for us, as it gave the enemy, almost without a struggle, the entire left of our line, with considerable artillery, not a gun of which had fired a shot. But the reserve of this line was posted a considerable distance in its rear, where it could be made available as a moveable force, and was well situated to operate upon any force attempting to turn our left. It was in no way involved in the disaster of the first line, which was, after all, but a small part of our whole force, being only one weak Division; and its loss was in no wise to be taken as deciding the fate of the day. With the other troops brought up, this supporting Division was in good position to offer sturdy battle, with every prospect of repulsing the enemy, and, aided, as it soon would have been, by the rest of the force, the chances were largely in our favor. Here the battle should have been fought, and won; and, long before midday, the discomfited enemy should have been driven across Cedar-creek, stripped of all the captures of his first attack. But, from some unexplainable cause, the troops forming this part of the line would not stand, but broke

under a scattered fire which should not have occasioned the slightest apprehension in raw recruits, much less in old soldiers like themselves. Most officers who have served through this War have had instances of the same kind, in their own experience, and will therefore readily understand this; though they may find themselves as much at a loss for a satisfactory explanation of its cause.

It was the breaking of this line which involved the necessity of falling back. A change of front was necessary; and this must be made to a position which would place our force between the enemy and our base. That there was no intention of retreating, the soldiers who stood fire, clearly understood; and when once brought into the new position, in the face of the enemy, they were ready to advance upon him, as was shown by their magnificent attack when ordered forward.

To the Sixth Corps, which it was my honor to command after the death of that noble soldier, Sedgwick, to its officers and its men, I desire to acknowledge the obligation which, in addition to the many others it has imposed, it laid upon the country by its steadiness, courage, and discipline, in this important battle. Without disparagement to the soldierly qualities of other organizations concerned, it is but just to claim for it a large share in the successes of the day. Being, from the nature of the attack upon our lines, somewhat in the position of a reserve force, and therefore fairly to be called upon to turn the tide of unsuccessful battle, it came up nobly to its duty, fully sustaining its former well-earned laurels.

To the Commanders, one and all, the full meed of thanks is due. That they bore themselves bravely, is evidenced by the fact that of the General officers, one was killed, five more or less seriously wounded, and all lost their horses from the enemy's bullets; while the list of casualties will show that their subordinates were in no degree behind them in gallantry and devotion to duty. In one Division, there was but one field-officer for duty when the battle was over.

Where all did so well, it may seem invidious to attempt to discriminate; but I desire to call attention to the Division Commanders, to whom so much of the success of the day was due. Brevet Major-general Ricketts was severely wounded, early in the action; Brevet Major-general Getty, subsequently in command of the Corps, till it was resumed by me, after the arrival of Major-general Sheridan, stoutly contested the enemy's advance, and gave time thereby, for the necessary formations. Brevet Major-general Wheaton, who conducted himself gallantly; and Brigadier-general Keifer, who was in



command of the Third Division, during the entire day, General Rickett being first in command of the Corps and subsequently taken wounded from the field).

To my own Staff, also, I was, as usual, under great obligations for important services rendered, often in circumstances of the greatest danger. Their names have already been submitted to the War Department; and their merits acknowledged by the Government.

[*The draught was not signed.*]

I certify the foregoing to be a true copy from the original of General Wright.

JOS. J. B. FREY.

NEW YORK, December 8, 1869.

#### IV.—PALMER, MASSACHUSETTS.\*

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE TOWN OF PALMER, AND MINUTES OF THE HISTORY OF THE TOWN.

##### OF THE MINISTERS OF PALMER.

By a remark in the Report of the Committee to the Legislature, for the Grant of the Town, it appears that the people had been supplied with preaching about three years. This Report was made in June, 1733. Probably the Committee were in the Town the Spring previous; so that, as early as the latter part of 1729, they were supplied with preaching, and from that time constantly.

On the fifth of June, 1732, a Vote was passed in town-meeting, to hire Mr. John Harvey to preach; and voted to give him six and eight-pence, quarterly, probably for each Sermon or day.

By a Vote passed at a meeting of the inhabitants, on the twenty-fifth of January, 1733, it appears that several had preached in the place, before Mr. Harvey—Mr. Benjamin Dickinson, Mr. Killpatrick, and Mr. Weld. Whether these were all that preached before Mr. Harvey, I cannot determine; nor can I tell how long they preached. But none of them, nor was any other person, ordained over the people, previous to Mr. Harvey.

On the fifth of June, 1734, Rev. John Harvey was ordained the first Minister over the Church and Congregation, in Elbow Settlement, (Palmer.) The Ordination was performed by the Londonderry Presbytery, upon a scaffold made up, under a tree, being a great white oak, standing on the plain, on the East side of a meadow called "Cedar-swamp-meadow," within Mr. Har-

vey's lot. Rev. Mr. Thompson of Londonderry, preached the Sermon; and the Rev. Mr. Moorhead gave the Charge. *Town Records*, i., 22.

On the *Grantee's Book*, there is a Vote to have the Ordination at the house of William Shearer, (MacIntosh's late residence) unless the Presbytery should otherwise determine, when they came. The place where it was attended is on the East side of Mr. Solomon Shaw's swamp.

Judging from the complexion of the records, Mr. Harvey appears to have given good satisfaction, in the first part of his ministry.

The salary, as nearly as I can ascertain, was about sixty pounds. The people also voted him, yearly, a certain sum for his fire-wood; but whether by contract, or yearly donation, I cannot learn. He also, as the first ordained Minister, had the right of taking up the one hundred acre lot, mentioned in the Grant for the first Minister. This he took up around Cedar-swamp; being the farm on which he lived, and on which Solomon Shaw now lives.

In the year 1746, there arose serious difficulties in the Church, in relation to Mr. Harvey; but from what cause I cannot learn.

Robert Hunter was appointed a Committee, on the eighth of July, 1746, to go to the Presbytery and get them to come and settle the affair; and, in December of this year, Mr. Harvey appears to have gone to Boston, where his character was investigated. A Petition was preferred to the General Court, by Steward Southgate and others, against him; but the Court decided against them, and confirmed the doings of the Presbytery, by which I conclude he was exonerated before that body.

In the Spring of 1747, reports had got into circulation respecting Mr. Harvey's conduct, on the road, coming from Boston, the Fall before.

On the twenty-second of April, 1747, the people appointed a Committee, to go to Boston, at the expense of the Town, and make inquiry on the road, respecting the conduct of Mr. Harvey. This Committee did not attend to the business; and were dismissed. They were Seth Shaw, David Shaw, and John King.

On the eleventh of June, 1747, another Committee was appointed and invested with full power to prosecute Mr. Harvey, should they see cause, and to employ one or more Attornies to assist; and a Grant of one hundred pounds was made to defray charges. To these proceedings, eight individuals entered their dissent. *Grantee's Book*, 188.

I cannot find at what time Mr. Harvey was dismissed; but I find a Vote passed on the eighth of March, 1748, to request the Presbytery to dismiss him; and, on the fifth of July, 1748, a Vote was passed to choose a Committee to supply the pulpit. I suppose therefore he was dismissed

\* We are indebted to Professor E. D. Rockwell, of Statesville, N. C. for this paper. It was copied from the manuscripts of Rev. Simeon Cotton, a native of Long Meadow, Mass., who was Pastor of the Church at Palmer, from 1811 to 1820, and died at Ashboro', N. C., in December, 1863. The date of the paper may be reasonably supposed to be during the pastorate, at Palmer, of its author.

within this space—probably on the day he was ordained, on the fifth of June, 1748.

I judge from the appearance of the Records, that there were two things brought against him: one, Intemperance, the other, criminal connection with the wife of Thomas Little. I conclude, however, that, the last charge at least, was without foundation; for I find that Thomas Little was one of the eight that protested; and, of course, we may suppose he did not believe the stories. The people seem, for some reason, to have become dissatisfied with Mr. Harvey, and were determined, at all adventures, to be rid of him. And there seems to have been a good deal of heat, as the parties ran high and a persecuting spirit was indulged. What was the state of the Church, or what sort of a preacher Mr. Harvey was, I cannot learn.

From Palmer, he went, as I am told, to Glasgow (*Blandford*) where he became blind, in which situation he used to visit Palmer. At Blandford, he died; but whether he preached after he left Palmer I do not learn. He had a daughter that was married, in Palmer, to John Pables, in 1740, so that he, most probably, must have been a man some in years, when he came to Palmer.

After Mr. Harvey's dismissal, the people were, for some time, destitute of a settled Minister. In this space, several candidates preached in the place. On the twenty-second of November, 1748, the people gave a call to Mr. Boyd, which he negatived. After him, a Mr. Kniblow preached in the place.

He it was that the Town refused to pay in full, because he did not preach his own Sermons. And it is said that he made a public confession for the sin of lying, having been charged with copying a particular Sermon, and denying, it was proved against him.

On the twenty-ninth of July, 1752, the people gave a call to a Mr. Timothy Symes, which he negatived.

The next candidate was Robert Burns. To him, the people gave a call, on the fourteenth of September, 1753, and voted him six hundred Pounds, old tenor, or eighty Pounds, lawful money, settlement, and sixty Pounds, lawful money, salary. I find that the bill for his preaching, as a candidate, was made up to the fifteenth of November, 1753; and I conclude that he was ordained about that time.

Mr. Burns purchased, probably of Mr. Harvey, the farm on which Mr. H. lived; and he resided there, a single man, during his stay in Palmer. He left a few Minutes of the Church Records; and from these, as well as from other sources, I judge him to have been a man of considerable talents and a systematic man.

I suppose he continued to be the Minister, till

about January, 1756-7. I find a receipt of his, for eight Pounds, being in full of all demands against the Town. Supposing that his year began in the middle of November, reckoning time according to proportion of salary, he continued to preach till about the first of February, 1757. He was not dismissed at that time; but from that time he left preaching, and his salary was discontinued.

This happened from the circumstance that, at this time, one, Jane Hill, daughter of Thomas Hill, declared herself to be with child by him. The Town afterwards made a settlement with him; bought his farm; and gave one hundred and forty-six Pounds, and agreed to free him from all expense in maintaining the child.

There is a chasm in the Town-Records about the time that Mr. Burns was Minister; so that little can be known of the state of affairs. Mr. Burns' farm was purchased by the Town, in the Summer of 1758. Vide *Town Book*, i., 215. The Committee's Report is on page 216.

After Mr. Burns was dismissed, several candidates preached in the place. Among others, Rev. Nat. Benedict preached to general acceptance; and people were desirous of retaining him, but failed. After him, a Mr. Curtis preached to acceptance; but I do not find that he had a call. In 1760, some people having heard of Mr. Baldwin, that he was such a man as they wanted; a Vote was passed, on the twenty-seventh of October, 1760, to send Mr. Seth Shaw to Southold, on Long Island, to invite him to Palmer, to preach on probation. On Tuesday, the third of March, 1761, the people gave him a call and made him the following proposals: he should be settled on the Presbyterian form of church-government; that he should have sixty Pounds of lawful money paid him annually, as a salary, from the time of his installation, during his continuing in the work of the ministry, in the district; that he should have the 150 acre lot, reserved for a ministry-lot, for his own proper use and estate, by paying into the treasury the sum of one hundred and fifty Pounds, lawful money, or securing the same to be paid, in a reasonable time, with the interest. *Town Book*, i., 235.

On the fourth of April, 1761, a Vote was passed, choosing a Committee of five to sell the ministry-lot and give a Deed of the same to Mr. Baldwin. This Committee consisted of James Brackenridge, Robert Rogers, Noah Cooley, Thomas King, and Samuel Shaw. Their instructions were to give him a Warranty Deed, on his giving security for the payment of one hundred and fifty Pounds, within five years, with interest. *Town Book*, i., 238. This contract was to be completed immediately after his installment, but if not installed, then not to be made. There is no mention, on the Town Records, of the time of his in-



stallation; but, from Mr. Baldwin, I learned that it was on the seventeenth of June, 1761.

The installation service was performed by the Boston Presbytery. There was some difficulty about the settlement. After the Presbytery came together they concluded to disperse without installing, and did actually disperse. The difficulty arose from the attachment of the people to the Presbyterian form and the different views of Mr. Baldwin, he being more inclined to Independency, or, as it was said, was not more than half a Presbyterian. The people were, however, loath to part with him; and having come to an agreement, sent messengers after the Ministers that had gone, and brought them back; and they proceeded to install Mr. Baldwin, as a Presbyterian Minister.

He continued to be a Minister of the place, till the nineteenth of June, 1811; when, at the time of my ordination, he was dismissed at his own request, by the Council that ordained me. He appears, from his sermons that I have seen, to have been a plain preacher. His sermons are most of them of the hortatory kind. A Minister who knew him well, remarked once to me, that the four cardinal points in his preaching were, denouncing, threatening, inviting, and beseeching.

By papers that I find among his manuscripts, it appears that he was not always satisfied with his situation; and that he did not always think the people did by him as they ought. About the years 1777 and 1783, he drew up a Memorial, stating his grievances with a view of asking a dismissal. Matters, however, were compromised, so that he continued in the Town till old age rendered him incapable of preaching. He labored under great difficulties—a small salary, poorly paid, a large family and expensive, he struggled hard for a living. When he was dismissed, though an old man, worn out in the service of the people, they appeared not to have any regard for his feelings or circumstances. There was considerable talk about withholding all his salary, under pretence that he was settled only during the supply of the pulpit. His children, however, would not suffer him to yield to this; and a Vote was finally obtained to give him one hundred dollars per annum, during his life; to which he consented. But even then the people had littleness enough to tax his property and exact the collection, because there was no specific agreement to the contrary.

During his ministry, there was no special revival. In a paper, I find he speaks with concern about the people; and laments the low state of religion. He kept no record of Church affairs; so that the state of the Church cannot be known. Among his loose papers I find the following memorandum, in his own handwriting:

"I, Moses Baldwin was born Nov. 4. A. D. 1732; two months after, my father died: and my mother about four years after him. After the death of the latter, I lived about two years with my uncle Harrison. After this, I lived with Moses Ball, my mother's uncle, till I was fifteen years of age, when God in his providence was pleased to remove him by death. After this, I put myself as an apprentice to learn a trade, which I pursued till I was nineteen years of age, when God gave me a greater sense of my lost state and of the importance of salvation than I had ever yet had. Upon this, being resolved to seek God till I found him through all."—[Here the writing ceases. E. F. R.]

#### INDIAN NAMES IN AND ABOUT PALMER.

WODDEQUODOCH, or WOODYQUADOCH, a high mountain in Brimfield. *Old Records*, p. 52. Query? Is not this a corruption of Potequadick, a name of a high mountain, in Palmer, in the North part, at the foot of which lies a pond known by the same name; and from this runs a brook distinguished by the same?

QUABOG, or QUABOAG, the name of what is now sometimes called Chickopee-river, being the South branch of the Chickopee, that runs through Palmer. It issues from a pond in Brookfield, which pond and town were anciently known by this name; and the name seems to have been applied to the branch of the Chickopee, till it formed the junction with the other branches.

CHICKOPEE, the name of a river that empties into the Connecticut, at Springfield. It holds this name till it reaches Palmer, where it divides into three branches; and modern custom seems to have applied it to the South branch of the three, till it reaches Brimfield.

The name is also applied to certain large hills or mountains, bordering on the branch lying in Monson.

MONOACHOAG, a largeswell of land in Ludlow.

WALLAMANUMPS, a rapid in the Chickopee, at Ludlow. This name, in the manner of speaking it, strikingly describes the thing—the easy flow of the syllables, the rapid succession of the sounds of the liquids, together with the final termination of the mute, which suddenly stops the voice, convey a striking representation of the scenery at the place.

AGAWAM, the name of a river running through West Springfield, and emptying into the Connecticut. Also of another river, near Ipswich. It probably means crooked, or rapid.

POCONSICK, a small stream, on the North part of Long-Meadow, emptying into the Connecticut.

WATCHOAG, the name of a stream and the adjacent territory in the East part of Long-Meadow; probably written Oatchog.

WILLIMANSETT, a small stream emptying into the Connecticut, in the North part of Chickopee.

## V.—A CHAPTER IN NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGICAL CONTROVERSY.

PYNCHON AND HOLYOKE.

BY REV. DOCTOR GILLET.

President Quincy, in his *History of Harvard University*, quoting from the Autobiography of the Rev. John Barnard, relates some interesting facts bearing upon the election of his predecessor, President Holyoke. While the election was in agitation, Barnard was invited to dinner by Governor Belcher. At table, Holyoke was mentioned as a candidate for the presidency. The Governor asked Barnard his opinion of him. The reply was, "In my humble opinion, there is 'no fitter person in the Province than Mr. Holyoke.'" "I should think so too," said a Boston Minister, who was present, "if it were not 'for his principles.'" Barnard being, as he says, "nettled" by the remark, inquired pointedly, "Do you know, Sir, anything bad of his 'principles?'" "No," the Boston Minister replied, "but I should be glad to know his principles." "I am surprised," retorted Barnard, "that a gentleman of your character should 'insinuate bad principles of a brother when 'you know of none, especially since that gentleman has been approved as a valuable Minister among us, for above twenty years.'"

Governor Belcher, interested in the conversation, made further inquiry of Barnard; and at length pointedly asked, "But can you vouch 'for Mr. Holyoke's Calvinistic principles?'" Barnard assured him that he thought Mr. Holyoke as orthodox a Calvinist as any man, although of too Catholic a temper to cram his principles down another man's throat. "Then," said his Excellency, "I believe he must be the 'man;'" and, accordingly, he was the man; and was elected unanimously by the Corporation and Overseers, as President of Harvard College.

Perhaps it was less a mystery at that day than at the present, why President Holyoke's Calvinism was subject to suspicion. The blood of two of the greatest heresiarchs of early New England history flowed in his veins. He was the great grandson of William Pynchon, and, also, of Edward Holyoke. Each of these had written and published views that had been sharply controverted in their day, and that had produced serious agitation and alarm, in both Church and State.

William Pynchon came to this country, in 1630. He was from Springfield, in Essex, England; and after tarrying awhile at Roxbury, he gathered a company of colonists around him, and laid the foundations of Springfield, on the Connecticut-river. A well-read, if not liberally educated, man, he was familiar with the theological questions of the day, in which he took a deep interest. He read and criticised the writings of Puritan theologians, like Jacob and Ainsworth. With the latter, from whom he differed, he entered into correspondence, controverting some of the views which he had published. What these views were may easily be inferred from comparing Pynchon's *Treatise* with Ainsworth's writings. The exiled Puritan Pastor, had published, doubtless in Holland, his work on the *Communion of Saints*; of which a second edition appeared in 1615; a third, in 1628, at Amsterdam; and a fourth, at London, in 1641. It was just the book for a man like William Pynchon, in his wilderness dwelling, to pore over—a book which, in eloquent words and glowing sentences, set forth the unity of Christian fellowship and the glorious privileges which were associated with it.

But, in this work, were a few sentences which seemed to Pynchon, obnoxious to criticism, setting forth sentiments which had perplexed or stumbled him in the writings of other contemporaries; and to which he could not give his assent. After his correspondence with Ainsworth, he took up his pen to set forth and vindicate his own views; and during the thirteen years that intervened between his settlement at Springfield, in 1637, and 1650, when his book was published, he had shaped them for the press. A layman, in the depths of the wilderness, on the very outskirts of the civilized world, with nature around him in her savage grandeur, and with few, perhaps, but his Pastor, Moxon, to sympathize with him, his book, as a work of theological disquisition, would invite our notice, even had it not acquired, by subsequent events, a remarkable notoriety.

In his *Communion of Saints*, Ainsworth had inserted one Chapter entitled, "Of Man's Redemption by the Grace of God in Christ." In the course of this, he had said of Christ, "he 'willingly gave up his body for a sacrifice, and 'bore the wrath of God, due for our trespasses; 'he who knew no Sin was made Sin for us.'"

It is doubtless true that some of Ainsworth's contemporaries among the Puritan writers had expanded and emphasized these views, and presented them in much more obnoxious form. But Ainsworth was by far the most eminent writer; and, in New England especially, he was regarded as a high theological authority, and it is to him, with whom Pynchon was acquaint-



ed and with whom he had corresponded, that he especially directs his attention.

In 1650, his work was published in London; and the first copies of it reached Boston early in October. It was entitled: *The Meritorious Price of our Redemption, Justification, etc.*, clearing it from some common errors, and showing, (1.) That Christ did not suffer for us those unutterable torments of God's wrath that commonly are called Hell-torments, to redeem our souls from them; (2.) That Christ did not bear our sins by God's imputation, and therefore he did not bear the curse of the law for them; (3.) That Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law (not by suffering the said curse for us, but) by a satisfactory price of Atonement; viz., by paying or performing unto his Father that invaluable precious thing of his mediatorial obedience, whereof his mediatorial sacrifice of Atonement was the master-piece; (4.) A sinner's righteousness is explained and cleared from some common errors. Quarto, pp. 158.

This lengthy title sets forth quite fully and correctly the scope of the work. Pynchon's starting-point was undoubtedly the denial that Christ suffered, as a substitute for us, the wrath of God due to our sins. But, in establishing this point, he was under a conscious logical necessity of going yet farther, denying imputation in the accepted orthodox sense, and taking from the work of Christ, in Redemption, the sacrificial element which had been supposed to constitute its vital essence.

For instance, on the subject of imputation, he says, (p. 13.) "to impute sin to any is to account them for guilty sinners, and to impute the guilt of other men's sins to any, is to account them guilty of other men's sins by participation; but in case there be no participation with other men in their sins, then it cannot stand with justice to impute other men's sins to them."

He adds, (p. 14.) "You may, with as good reason, affirm that God the Father doth still impute our sins to Christ, now he sits at the right hand of God, in glory, as affirm that that he did impute our sins to him, when he was alive here, upon the earth." And, again, (p. 15.) "The common doctrine of imputation is I know not what kind of imputation: it is such a strange kind of imputation, that it differs from all the several sorts of imputing sin to any that ever I can meet with in all the scriptures."

The treatise is conducted under the form of a dialogue, between a tradesman and a divine, the former drawing his objections from the commonly-received orthodox authorities, more especially from the writings of Henry Jacob;

and the latter replying to them and setting forth Pynchon's own views.

Among other objections of the tradesman, he introduces the language of Scripture, where it is said of Christ, by the Prophet Isaiah, "he bare our iniquities." But this is met—as recently by Dr. Bushnell, in his work, *The Vicarious Sacrifice*—by rendering *iniquities* as infirmities and diseases, which Christ removed or bore away. "The healing virtue of Christ's stripes," we are told, "lies not in the patient bearing them, but in his active mediatorial obedience, which is tried through stripes and sufferings."

This view seems to be necessitated by the position that Christ did not endure the penalty to which the sinner was exposed. Certain incongruities are represented as following from the admission of this point. We must hold that (p. 33.) "if God the Father was angry with the Mediator, because he did bear our sins, then God the Father must be angry with himself, because he in like sort doth bear our sins." It is asserted, moreover, (p. 38.) that "Christ doth still bear our sins in heaven, as much as ever he did here upon earth."

To the objection, that it is said in Scripture that Christ was *made Sin*, the reply is, that the word *Sin* is used for Sin-offering. The agony of Christ in the Garden is ascribed, not to the *wrath of God* or any withdrawal of his favor, but to "a natural fear of death."

It is quite significant that with such views as these, Pynchon combats the notion of a general atonement. He asserts (p. 87) "it is a most dangerous error to say that Christ hath redeemed the whole world; it is another error, as dangerous as the former, to say that one drop of the blood of Christ is sufficient to redeem the whole world." He admits, (p. 88.) that "all mankind, in general, are become sinners through Adam's fall;" yet he insists (p. 107) "that God cannot, in justice, justify any man by the imputation of Christ's active obedience."

Undoubtedly, Pynchon, proceeding from his main position that Christ did not suffer the *wrath of God*, and that man's Redemption did not spring from Christ's endurance of that wrath, adopted views inconsistent with received orthodoxy, and not always consistent between themselves. But the extreme language of some of the Puritan theologians had produced in his mind a re-action, and, there is good reason to believe, not in his alone. Several eminent laymen in the Colony, probably, had perused the work before it was sent over to England, to be published; and Edward Holyoke, at least, must have assented substantially to the views it presented.

But when it was brought back to this country, it excited deep and wide-spread alarm. The orthodox Pastors, in the vicinity of Boston, shared with leading civilians the fear that the reputation of the Colony abroad, especially in England, might be compromised by it. The General Court was convened to consider it. Their course was, at least, prompt and energetic. To free themselves from the suspicion of Christian brethren in England, and from complicity with its composure and publication, they protested their "innocency as being concerned in "it," and declared their "abhorrence of many "opinions therein." Nor was this all. The Legislature appointed John Norton, soon to become Cotton's successor in Boston, and the leading Theologian of the Colony, to answer the book. This was well enough, but it was not so expressive as the order given to the Marshal—to burn the book, publicly, on the following day, after the Lecture, in Boston market. The order was punctually executed, on the seventeenth of October, 1650.

Intelligence of what had been done by the General Court, in the matter of Pynchon's book, reached Roger Williams, in Rhode Island. He was naturally indignant, and, at the same time, anxious to see the obnoxious publication. In October, of course within a few days of the transaction in Boston, he wrote to John Winthrop, Junior, subsequently Governor of Connecticut, a letter, in which, speaking of the book, he says, "If it come to your hand, I may "hope to see it; however, the Most High and "only Wise will by this case discover what "liberty conscience hath in this land." \*

The Declaration of the Court, attested by the Clerk's signature, was ordered to be sent to England, to be there printed. Pynchon himself was summoned to appear and answer before the Court, for his opinions, on the first day of the next Session. On the thirteenth of May, 1651, he replied, in person, to the summons. He now avowed himself the author of his book. The Court, out of "tender respect" to him, offered him liberty to confer with all the Elders present, or such of them as he chose. He accepted the offer; and, as the result, stated to the Court that, according to their advice, "I "have conferred with Mr. Cotton, Mr. Norrice, "and Mr. Norton, about some points of the "greatest consequence in my book, and I hope "I have explained my meaning to them as to "take off the worst construction; and it hath "pleased God to let me see that I have not "spoken in my book so fully of the price and "merit of Christ's suffering, as I should have "done; for, in my book, I call them but trials of

"his obedience, yet intending thereby to amplify and exalt the mediatorial obedience of "Christ as the only meritorious price of man's "Redemption. But now I am much inclined "to think that his sufferings were appointed by "God for a further end, namely, as the due "punishment of our sins by way of satisfaction "to divine justice for man's Redemption."

In the circumstances in which Pynchon found himself, it would not be strange if he gave a more favorable account of himself than his real convictions would warrant. We have some reason to believe that the awe inspired by the honorable Court and the venerable Elders wrought in him a disposition to concede to the extreme limit that his conscience would allow. Whether, for his own peace sake, he went beyond that limit, we are not warranted to say; but he must have given encouragement to the belief that he was ready to renounce his printed views, which was by no means warranted by his subsequent course.

The Court indeed judged that Mr. Pynchon was in a "hopeful way to give good satisfaction," and allowed him, on some day in the next week, to return to Springfield. The troubles in his family, of which we have such ambiguous accounts, had already begun; and we cannot but suspect that the witchcraft of the time and place had some unexplained connection with the heresy of the Springfield colonist. He was, at least, and on various accounts, naturally, anxious to return to his home; and the Court directed him to take Mr. Norton's answer to his book with him, to consider it, so that he might be able to give all due satisfaction at the next Session.

Norton's answer, thus promptly prepared, early in 1651, was published in London, in 1653. It bore the title, *A Discussion of the great point in Divinity, the Sufferings of Christ; and the Question about his Righteousness, active, passive; and the imputation thereof. Being an answer to a Dialogue, entitled, The Meritorious Prince of our Redemption, Justification, etc.*

In opposition to Pynchon, Norton maintains—*First*, The imputation of the disobedience of the elect unto Christ. *Second*. That Christ, as God-man, Mediator, and our Surety, fulfilled the law by his original conformity and active and passive obedience thereunto, for the elect. *Third*. The Imputation of that obedience unto the believer for justification. Some of the statements of Pynchon—so far as the words strictly considered might imply—Norton was disposed to grant; but he remarks: "It is very "true that the mediatory obedience of Christ "is the meritorious and full price of redemption; but most untrue in the sense of your



"mediatorial obedience; for you leave out and "reject, from thence, Christ's obedience to the "law of works, as God-man, his judicial bearing of sin, his suffering the punishment due "for sin, in way of satisfaction to divine justice, and all this as the Surety of the Elect."

Pyncheon took Norton's answer back with him to Springfield, but it did not effect his conversion. Although he occupied no enviable position, confronted alike by the Civil and Ecclesiastical authorities, his character and standing commanded respect, even from those to whom he stood opposed. Sir Henry Vane had been his intimate friend, and, even in England, was not indifferent to events which were transpiring in the American wilderness. Perhaps the suspicions to which his own orthodoxy had been subjected, made him the more ready to sympathize with Pyncheon. It is not improbable, that while writing in his behalf to the authorities of the Colony, he corresponded with him, also, and, at this critical period, addressed to him encouraging words. Pyncheon must also have been confident of the approval of his Pastor, Moxon, who soon after accompanied him to England. Nor was the General Court by any means unanimous in his condemnation. When this body declared its abhorrence of Pyncheon's book and ordered it to be burned, we find that several of the Deputies declared their dissent. William Hawthorn, who bore the honored title of Major; who was a colleague with Bradstreet, when the two were Massachusetts Commissioners of the United Colonies; who, in common with the Deacons of Salem Church, laid hands on Higginson, and was prominent in public spheres under the Colonial Government; Henry Bartholomew, likewise employed in public service; Edward Holyoke, with whose family that of Pyncheon was connected; and Joseph Hills, Richard Walker, and Stephen Kinsley, were all opposed to the proceedings of the General Court. With such sympathizers, Pyncheon might calmly peruse and deliberately prepare his reply to Norton.

But he must have been well aware that it would not be advisable for him to await in the Colony the publication of his reply. He was not prepared to offer any recantation which would give satisfaction to the General Court. This body, which met in October, reserved their decision in his case till the ensuing May, in the hope that he might, if possible, "be reduced into the way of "Truth, and that he might renounce the errors "and heresies published in his book." He was required, however, to appear before the Court, at its next Session, and give answer, or to forfeit one hundred pound.

Pyncheon had yet some reason to expect that the Court would treat him with a measure of

lenity. Certain "brethren in Old England, in "behalf of Mr. Pyncheon," wrote to their friends in New England, urging milder proceedings. The Court, however, ordered Norton's work to be forwarded and printed in England. They were fearful that the Churches there should suspect that the views of Pyncheon, on Redemption and Sanctification, received public countenance on this side of the Atlantic. At the end of Norton's volume, a letter, in reply to the communication of the "brethren in Old England," is inserted, signed by John Cotton, Richard Mather, Zechariah Symmes, John Wilson and William Thompson, leading Clergymen in the Colony. In this letter, they say, "The General Court do "believe and profess (as ourselves likewise do) "that the obedience of Christ to the whole law "(which is the Law of righteousness) is the matter "of our Justification, and the imputation of our "Sins to Christ (and thereupon his suffering the "sense of the wrath of God upon him for our "sins) and the imputation of his obedience and "sufferings are the formal cause of our justification, and that they that do deny this, do now "take away both these, both the matter and form "of our justification (as this book doth) and take "away also our justification, which is the life of "our souls and of our religion, and, therefore, "called the justification of life. *Romans v, 18.* "As for the notion which you conceive he "[Pyncheon] declineth, of infinite wrath, we "readily conceive with you, that though God's "wrath be (as himself is) infinite, yet no creature can bear infinite wrath, but be swallowed "up of it; and, therefore, the wicked are put to "suffer finite wrath in an infinite time; yet this "suffering in an infinite time is accidental, in regard to the finiteness of the creature, but "Christ being infinite God, as well as finite man, "his manhood suffering, though in a finite measure, the sense of God's wrath, both in soul "and body, the infiniteness of his Godhead, "(whereto his manhood was united in one person) made his finite suffering, in a finite time, "to become of infinite value and efficacy, for "the satisfaction of God's justice, the transaction "of our redemption."

The resolute spirit evinced by the proceedings of the Court and the letter of the Elders, boded no good to Pyncheon. To assure to the Colony the support and sympathy of Cromwell, Cotton addressed him a letter, (July, 1651,) justifying his course in "purging the Parliament "and presenting the King to publique tryall." The successful chieftain must have been gratified, in no ordinary degree, to be told, "I am fully "satisfied that you have all this while fought "the Lord's battells, and the Lord hath owned "you, in all your expeditions, which maketh "my poor prayers the more serious, and faithful,

"and affectionate, (as God helpeth), in your behalf. In like frame (as I conceive) are the spirits of our brethren, (the Elders and Churches of these parts,) carried forth, and the Lord accepted us and help you in Christ." It is very evident, that no pains were spared to secure the sympathy and favor of the predominating powers in England on the side of the measures of the General Court.

And these measures needed an apology, especially at this juncture. "Brethren in Old England" were very insufficiently acquainted with the causes and occasions for alarm that were felt by brethren on this side of the ocean. Seekers, Baptists, Quakers, to say nothing of Pyncheon and his friends, or of the rising terrors of witchcraft, were already exciting grave apprehension among the Elders and Magistrates. The Legislature, in their May Session, 1651, gave expression to the general alarm, by the appointment of a day of fasting and prayer. They grounded this appointment (June 18) not only on the condition of things in England, Ireland, and Scotland, but on the consideration "how far Satan prevails amongst us in respect to witchcraft, as also by the drawing away of some from the Truth to the profession and practice of strange opinions."

Clark's *Ill News from New England*, in which he complained of the persecutions to which he, Crandal, and Holmes, had been subjected, in Boston, was not calculated to give a favorable view of the tolerance of the New England authorities. Almost contemporaneously with the proceedings in Pyncheon's case, it had been sent to England, and excited at once the sympathy and the grief of leading English Puritans. Among those who sent back letters of remonstrance, were such men as Doctor John Owen\* and Sir Richard Saltonstall. The latter had resided for a short time in New England, and took a deep interest in its prosperity. To the Boston Ministers, Cotton and Wilson, he wrote: "It doth not a little grieve my spirit, to hear what sadd things are reported dayly of your tyranny and persecution in New England, as that you fine, whip and imprison men for their consciences." He goes on to say that such proceedings led some to deny their faith and become hypocrites. "These rigid wayes have layed you very lowe in the hearts of the Saynts. I do assure you I have heard them pray in the publike assemblies, that the Lord would give you meeke and humble spirits, not to stryve soe much for uniformity as to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. When I was in Holland, about the beginning of our warres, I remember some Christians there, that

"then had serious thoughts of planting in New England, desired me to write to the Governor thereof, to know if those that differ with you in opinion, yet houlding the same foundation in religion, as Anabaptists, Seekers, Antinomians, and the like, might he permitted to live among you, to which I received this short answer from your then Governor, Mr. Dudley, 'God forbid' (said he) 'our love for the truth should be growne so could that we should tolerate errors.' I hope you do not assume to yourselves infallibility of judgment."

Cotton's reply to this letter (June, 1652) is apologetic, with something of an indignant tone. "Wee are amongst those," he says, "whom (if you knew us better) you would account of peaceable in Israel, yet neither are we so vast in our indulgence or toleration, as to think the men you speak of, suffered an unjust censure." He then reviews the facts stated in *Ill News from New England*, correcting misstatements, and proceeds: "We believe there is a vast difference between men's inventions and God's institutions. Wee fled from men's inventions, to which wee else should have been compelled. Wee compel none to men's inventions. If our wayes (rigid wayes as you call them) have layd us low in the hearts of God's people, yea and of the saints (as you stile them) wee do not believe it is any part of their saint-ship. . . . We are far from arrogating infallibility of judgment to ourselves, or affecting uniformity. Uniformity God never required, infallibility he never granted us."

While this correspondence was taking place, Pyncheon remained unmolested at his home in Springfield. He was, indeed, removed from that control of civil affairs which, as the founder of the town and its leading citizen, he had exercised hitherto. But, to lighten the blow as much as possible, and to combine healing influences with severe measures, his son-in-law, Henry Smith, was appointed to his place, to govern in the affairs of Springfield.

It is very doubtful whether Pyncheon appreciated such forbearance. As the Session of the General Court, to which he was summoned, drew nigh, (May, 1652) he found in himself no stronger inclination to recant his views than had been manifested hitherto. It is certain that he did not answer to the summons. It is less certain whether he had to pay the one hundred pounds which he was to forfeit by his absence. The "rigid ways" of the authorities, ascribed to them in the letter of Saltonstall, might warrant us in believing that the fine was exacted to the last farthing; nor would it be to the credit of those who were dealing so harshly with humble men, like Crandal and Holmes, to suffer an offender, like Pyncheon, of a higher rank, altogether to escape.

\* Owen's letter of reproof must have been of a somewhat later date.



Still there were considerations persuading them to forbearance. Some two or three weeks before the meeting of the Court, the letter from Sir Henry Vane, formerly Governor of the Colony, to which reference has already been made, was put into the hands of the Magistrates. In this, they were desired to deal gently with Pynchon, "in a brotherly way, and encourage him in the improvement of his excellent abilities, for further service of the Churches." It is possible that, under the influence of this and other appeals, as well as from considerations of expediency, Pynchon was excused from appearing before the Court. This, however, seems scarcely probable. His own course, in promptly leaving the country and returning to England, as well as the tone of the reply to Vane's letter, which followed his departure, and which we shall soon consider, would tend to convince us that Pynchon purchased a present reprieve by the payment of his fine.

But, whether he paid it or not, he evidently did not put much faith in the clemency of the Court. Without awaiting the proceedings of its Autumn Session, he made preparations to leave the country. The commandment of the Lord, we are told, "is pure, enlightening the eyes;" but the commandments of the Massachusetts Magistrates did not have this effect on Pynchon. Reinforced by the arguments of Norton, they still left him an incorrigible offender against the ecclesiastical, as well as civil, standards of orthodox belief in the Colony. He did not feel that it was safe or advisable to remain longer within reach of the summons of the General Court. In September, 1652, a month before the next meeting of the Court, he was on the ocean, bound for England, accompanied by his son-in-law, Smith, and his Pastor, Moxon.

The reply to Vane's letter, in his behalf, followed him to the Old World. It was drawn up by Endicott and his Council, who speak of Pynchon's doctrine as dangerous and pernicious. "We are much grieved," they say, "that such an erroneous pamphlet was penned by any New England man, especially a Magistrate among us." Not a Minister in the four Colonies, they said, approved it; but all judged it heretical. After referring to their having obtained of Norton to answer the work, they say of Pynchon that he "might have kept his judgment to himself, as it seems he did above thirty years, most of which time he hath lived amongst us with honour, much respect, and love." But when he published and spread "his erroneous books amongst us, to the endangering of the faith of such as might read them (as the like effects have followed the reading of other erroneous books brought over into these parts) we held it our duty, and believe we were called of God to proceed against him accordingly.

"We used all lawful Christian means, with as much tenderness, respect, and love, as he could expect, which, we think, he himself will acknowledge. He was then thereby so convinced, that he seemed to yield for substance the case in controversy, signed with his own hand. But in the interim (as it is reported) he received letters from England, which encouraged him in his errors,\* to the great grief of us all. We leave the author, together with the fauters and maintainers of such opinions, to the great Judge of all the earth. Touching that which your honoured self doth advise us unto, viz., not to censure any persons for matters of a religious nature or concernment, we desire to follow any good advice or counsel from you, or any of the people of God; according to the rule of God's Word. Yet we conceive, with submission still to better light, that we have not acted in Mr. Pynchon's case, either for substance or circumstance, as far as we can discern, otherwise than according to rule, as we believe in Conscience to God's command we were bound to do."

The zeal of the General Court, in behalf of sound doctrine, did not rest here. In 1653, they enacted "that every person that shall publish and maintain any heterodox and erroneous doctrine, shall be liable to be questioned and censured by the County Court where he liveth, according to the merit of his offence." In the following year, they ordered that "no man, although a Freeman, shall be accepted as a Deputy of the General Court, that is unsound in judgment concerning the main points of Christian religion, as they have been held forth and acknowledged by the generality of the Protestant orthodox writers." A fine of five pounds was to be imposed upon any Freeman who should knowingly make choice of such a Deputy. The dangerous increase of errors and heresies became a frequent topic in Fast-day Proclamations; and it was to lift up a standard, against these, that John Norton, with the encouragement of the authorities, prepared his elaborate work, containing the system of Christian Doctrines, known as *The Orthodox Evangelist*. It was completed shortly after Pynchon embarked for England; although it was not published till a year or two later.

Safe in his English home, at Wraisbury, in Buckinghamshire, Pynchon indulged his theological tastes by new publications. Shortly after his return, his *Jews' Synagogue* was issued from the London press; and, in 1655, he published a work on the Sabbath. He had not forgotten,

\* Undoubtedly some of the letters were from Vane himself; and he was one of the "fauteurs" of Pynchon's opinions, who was to be left to the great Judge.

however, his former antagonist, Norton; and the Order of the General Court of the Bay Colony, (1654) which precluded the hope that he could resume his former position in New England, perhaps contributed to the decisive step which he took, in 1655, in issuing his answer to the leading theologian of the Colony. With nothing further to hope from the clemency of the General Court, and certainly very little to fear, he was no longer disposed to keep silence. His book, therefore, was now issued from the London press, far more formidable in bulk than his earlier pamphlet. It was entitled, *The Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption, or Christ's Satisfaction, discussed and explained*. It made a small quarto of four hundred and thirty-nine pages.

In this, he refers to the fact that his first publication had been partially answered by Anthony Burgess, in the Second Part of his *True Doctrine of Justification*, as well as by Norton.\* But his attention is mainly directed toward the latter, who, as he says, "affirms, most dangerously, that 'Christ made full satisfaction, by suffering Hell-torments before his death was complete, and so 'he makes his death and sacrifice to be altogether 'vain and needless as to the point of full satisfaction.'" With no little shrewdness does he manage other points of the controversy, receding scarce perceptibly, if at all, from what he had previously advanced. A new edition of his work is said to have appeared, in 1662. This is doubtful. His *Covenant of Nature made with Adam* was issued in that year. He dates it "From my study, Wraybury."

But Pynchon had still his sympathizers in New England. Two daughters and one son had remained behind. One of those daughters had married Elizur, the son of Edward Holyoke, who had dissented from the judgment pronounced against Pynchon's book. The times had become less favorable to the enforcement of the "rigid ways" of which Saltonstall had complained. A reaction had commenced; and English policy,

under Cromwell, had become more decidedly tolerant. It was at this juncture, (1658), that Edward Holyoke, of Romney Marsh, near Boston, came forward with a book in which, without mentioning the name of Pynchon, he maintained and vindicated several of the leading positions of the *Meritorious Price of Man's Redemption*.

His book was a quarto, for the most part closely printed, of four hundred and twenty-six pages. It bore the title, "*The Doctrine of Life, 'or of Man's Redemption, by the Seed of Eve, 'the Seed of Abraham, the Seed of David, etc., 'as was taught in several Periods of Time, 'from Gen. iii. 15, till Christ came in the Flesh, 'to fulfill all Typicall Prefigurations of him by 'his Death. Wherein also Sundry other Fundamental Points are discussed and Cleared 'from some common mistakes. As Daniel's 'Chronology of SEVENTY SEVENS, which is 'cleared from the uncertainty which too many 'Expositors have unadvisedly cast upon it. And 'about the Jew's Calling; that it must not be 'understood of any return to Canaan, or of 'their Restauration to any perspicuous Commonwealth any more, but of the Calling of a Remnant of them to the Faith, in the Countries 'where they live dispersed. And with the true 'nature of our LORD'S SUFFERINGS: with sundry other such like points, as may be seen in 'the TABLE. Propounded by way of Question 'and Answer, with Annotations thereunto annexed. Divided into three Parts. By Edward Holyoke, of New England. Come and 'See. John i. 46. London. 1658."*

There is reason to infer, from what the author says in his Preface, that the larger portion of his work had been prepared before the publication of Pynchon's book. Two-thirds of it, in the form of question and answer, with appended notes, are devoted to the history of the work of Redemption, as set forth in successive revelations in the Scripture. The Covenant of Abraham is vindicated as the Covenant of Grace, against Anabaptist errors; and the claims of the Gospel, as implying still the authority of the moral law, instead of repealing it, are urged against Antinomians. The appearance of controversy, however, is usually avoided; and it is rarely, except where Romish error or a Prelatic hierarchy become topics of discussion, that the author names his antagonists.

In some of his remarks, a reader aware of his views and sympathies might discern, under the guise of courteous words, caustic references to current topics of discussion. "Note," he says, (p. 209) "that Churchmen, and, for the most part, Bishops, were the beginners of Schisms 'and founders of heresies; and then, with open 'and full mouth, like dogs, they cried, 'heresie, 'heresie, schism, schism, faction, faction, sedi-

\* Pynchon's views were subsequently controverted by another English author, by the name of Chewney. In 1655, this man published his *Anti-Socinianism*, which professes to contain "A brief Explication of some places of 'Holy Scripture, for the confutation of certain gross Errors and Socinian Heresies, lately published by William 'Pynchon, Gent., in a Dialogue of his, called *The Meritorious price of our Redemption*." An Appendix to this work was entitled *Airesiarchai*, or, A Cage of Unclean Birds, containing the Authors, Promoters, Propagators and Chief Disseminators of the damnable Socinian Heresie. The classification of Pynchon with men with whom he could have no sympathy is, of course, unjust, although on some points he verged toward, if he did not actually occupy, Socinian ground. It is quite evident, however, from his letters contained in the Winthrop Correspondence, that he would have resented such a classification; and that, at one time, he would have favored, against those with whom he was thus associated, proceedings similar to those of which he had himself reason to complain. He and his friend Holyoke were equally opposed to such a toleration as Roger Williams and Sir Henry Vane would have approved.



"tion, sedition, anarchy, anarchy," of all that "would not obey their constitutions, etc. So of "old it was. The Leaders of my people have "caused them to err. So the Scribes and Phari- "sees made Constitutions and Canons, etc.; and "then all were questioned for heretics that ques- "tioned their traditions. They cannot be truly "called Schismatics and Hereticks that cleave to "the Words and Commandments of the Apostles "of our Lord and Saviour, but they that do depart "from the puritie and sincerity of the Apostle's "doctrine." And again, (p. 211,) "All learn- "ed in things controverted concerning the Wor- "ship of God or any doctrine, should have re- "course to the Scriptures of the Prophets and "Apostles, for definitive sentence, not to Fathers "and Councils, nay, not to the best reformed "Churches."

"O ye Magistrates," he exclaims, (p. 224) "take "heed how you give credit to the flatteries and "Diabolical slanders of such (wicked and apos- "tate Prelates) creatures, that you stain not "your hands with innocent blood." Neither "does he—any more than John Robinson—believe "that the Churches have attained to the *Ultima* "Thule of Truth. "Some thing," he says, (p. 264), "is still to be reformed, for the be-smoked Ayre "is not fully cleared amongst the best reformed, "in some points."

But the chief interest of the volume centres in the fact of its substantial endorsement of some of Pynchon's obnoxious opinions. This portion of the book extends to over thirty pages, very closely printed. Holyoke, without mentioning Pynchon's name, thus introduces his discussion: "Beloved Reader, there hath been, in some "places, not a little stir about the sufferings of "our Lord, which doubtlesse were marvellous "great, even greater than can well be expressed: "But yet unlesse a man will say, as some say, "that he sufferd the very essentiall Torments of "Hell, they will account such little better than "Heretiques." Page 238.

As he proceeds in his discussion of the mean- ing of *Hades*, he cites the authority of the cele- brated and learned Puritan, Hugh Broughton, as well as that of Bullenger. From a translation of the writings of the latter, Holyoke quotes the following: "By (Hades) Hell, we understand "not the place of punishment appointed for the "Wicked, but (the place) of the faithfull that "are departed, even as also by the higher parts, "we understand them that are yet remaining "alive: wherefore the soul of Christ descended "into hell, that is to say, it was carried into "Abraham's bosome, wherein all the faithfull "already departed were gathered together; "therefore when he said to the thief that was "crucified with him, 'This day shalt thou be with "me in Paradise,' he promised him the fellow-

"ship of life, and of the blessed souls," etc. P. 332.

He then proceeds as follows: "And presently "after Bullenger calls this article, 'The article of "the soul's immortality'. 'In this article,' (saith "he) 'we confesse that the souls are immortall, "and that immediately after death they do passe "to life, and that he speaks of all the Saints "that have died in the faith of Christ, from the "beginning of the world.'

"I find that many learned men of our native "Country have and do wave (as evil) the trans- "lation, 'He descended into Hell,' and do hold "the two former interpretations to be impertinent "to the true scope of it; and I believe that more "and more will do so daily, unlesse such as be "too carelesse in taking the pains of the mind to "search into the true knowledge of the things of "God, for indeed many students care for no "more, but what they have received by Tradi- "tion." P. 332.

With reference to the representation of Lazarus as blessed in "Abraham's bosom," Holyoke says: "And long before this, God said of Abra- "ham, 'I know him that he will command his "sons and his house after him, that they shall "keep the way of the Lord,' that is, the true re- "ligion, faith, and obedience, prescribed for "men to walk in, as in *Genesis* xviii, 19, com- "pared with *Acts* xviii, 25, 26, *Deut.* viii, "6, and x, 11, and therefore all the faithfull "of his house might at their death expect to be "made partakers with him of the heavenly City, "which God had prepared for them, and there- "fore when they died, they might still be said "to be in Abraham's Bosome; for all the faith- "full, whether they continue alive in this world, "or depart this life in the faith of Abraham, "are called Abraham's children, and therefore "when they die their spirits go to Paradise, to "Abraham's Bosome. In like sort, the faithfull "being yet abiding here in this valley of tears "are said to sit in heavenly places, and to eat and "drink with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the "kingdome of God, *Mat.* viii, and in this respect "all the godly, whether living or dying, are call- "ed Abraham's children, cherished as it were in "his Bosome, family, and Church, both militant "and triumphant." P. 335, 336.

Having cleared his way, by giving what he re- gards as the proper meaning of the words con- cerning Christ's descent "to Hell" (Hades,) Holyoke proceeds to discuss more particularly the sufferings of Christ, and to show that they could not have been the penal sufferings of the lost, or the inflictions of the Divine wrath. But first he has to deal with the prestige of orthodox Churches. On this point he says: "Beloved Reader, "we are yet further pressed, and orthodox "Churches are called up as Troopers against us

"(about the true nature of Christ's sufferings); we acknowledge that the very remembrance of them is reverend, and doth joy us, not annoy us. I know we shall not fight but treat: for they may perceive that we have orthodox Churches with us, and as learned Leaders though perhaps not so many. That is not much material, for the book of God must lie between them and us, and they may and we must search the holy pages, so that by them we both may be composed.

"But now of latter times some learned, seeing the native meaning of the Greek in the Article, will neither justify the translation nor the exposition that is made upon it, and yet still they do labour to make the matter good about hell-torments, and therefore they have endeavoured by the Scriptures to fortify that opinion, which how orthodoxly they have done, it is hoped men may have leave to examine, which if it be denied, then we shall transfer the infallibility of the Pontifical chair (justly derided) to them whom we know will not arrogate any such thing.

"Are Orthodox Churches so infallible in all things, may not godly learned men utter unsound Doctrines, and much miscarry matters of sound judgment and application? It is possible they may. \* \* \*

"And we hope our learned will say, as *Elihu*, 'What shall we say to him, for we cannot order our speech by reason of our darkness,' *Job xxxvii.* and they will acknowledge they know in part, and prophesie in part, and we hope they will not be angry, if we judge of what they say, the Apostle would not be angry, but said, '*Judge ye what I say?*' *1 Cor. 10.* and we hope they will not deny, but that they may know (we will not say be instructed in) the way of Christ more perfectly.

"May not godly Ministers now speak things not fitting about the sufferings of our Lord and Saviour, as if any shall say, that he suffered the *second death*, else we should have suffered it: if any shall say, he suffered *Hell torments* for the same reason. If any shall say, that the Son of God was not Christ for a time, when he underwent the wrath of God. Also if any shall say, that in his agonie in the garden, or upon the Crosse, he did enter the lists to fight the great combat hand to hand with his angry Father, &c. &c. Are these speeches, if any shall so say, the dialect of the holy Spirit, in his holy Scriptures, which he hath conveyed unto us, by his infinite, good, and gracious Providence?

"Again, if some good men shall have these passages, that it was not the violence of his crucifying that cut off his life, but the wrath and curse of God swallowed up his spirit, and

"made his heart fail him, and that his soul left the body in that agonie. Thus if any shall say, then one may infer, that he felt not the love of God his Father, before." *Pp. 338, 339.*

Subsequently, he adds: "Again, if some shall say, the wrath of God (as some understand wrath) killed Christ. We should be well advised what passeth the doore of our lips; for Christ, our holy Mediatour, said, '*I have power to lay down my life, and have power to take it again.*' This commission or commandment, '*have I received from my Father,*' also he said, '*As the Father knoweth me, so know I the Father, and lay down my life for the sheep—therefore doth my Father love me, because I lay down my life, that I may take it again.*' *Joh.*

"15. *As the Father hath loved me, so have I loved you, continue ye in my love. If ye keep my commandments, ye shall abide in my love, even as I have kept my Father's commandments, and abide in his love.*' *John 16.* 'Ye shall be scattered every man to his own, and shall leave me alone, and yet I am not alone, because the Father is with me.' These Scriptures, and others, are prevalent to make one think and believe that he was not under the wrath and curse of God, in any respect or consideration (as some understand wrath) not for one minute of an hour, for surely the Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, was a most willing Mediatour and Redeemer for us to God our Father, he gave himself a voluntary and free will offering to our heavenly Father for us, and therefore no force did separate his soul from his body, but he did that act by his own power, as the formality of his sacrifice.

"Many ministers have some expressions about our Lord's sufferings, which many godly, and learned Divines have testified are not warrantable, for what are we, dust and ashes, to speak of God, and our Redeemer, and Mediatour, words not comely, but we all should consider that as *Moses* spake nothing of his own mind, nor Christ in the flesh, nor his Apostles from him, but what he taught to *Moses* and the Prophets. So we should all speak from his holy Scriptures, sound doctrines, wholesome Doctrines, plain and pregnant speech, sound and uncondemnable." *Pp. 340, 341.*

Of Orthodox Churches and standards of Orthodox belief, he speaks in a tone more free than might have been anticipated: "Again, if Orthodox Churches (yea the most Orthodox) are so infallible that our faith must be resolved in part into their commentaries, expositions, &c., how cometh it to passe that some do differ in Church discipline from so many reformed Churches, both from *Geneva, Zurich, Scotland, Low Countries, &c.* that they neither scotize it with the Scot, nor Genevate it with the zealous



"Towne of *Geneva*, they fall, it may be, under "reproof, in not agreeing with, but discording "the judgement and practise of the best and reformed and Orthodox Churches in discipline.

"The Pontificians said that our fore Fathers "had the word of God from them, and therefore they did by Egyptian bondage tie our "Ancestors to their Doctrines and Councils, and "at last to the Pontifician chaire, and caused all "Christs Witnesses to mourne in Sack cloath that "would not obey their constitutions. But the "Lord our God hath delivered us from that "house of cruell bondage of mysticall *Egypt*. "And Christ saith his magistrates must not bring "his people back againe to *Egypt*. Deut. xvii. "P. 342.

"Beloved Reader, do not conceive that we "disesteem and reject Orthodox Churches, or "the writings of their godly Divines, no such "matter: But we highly prize them, as most gracious mercies of Christ Jesus our Lord, and as "they by whom the Temple of God in the "Heaven of the Church hath been opened, and "the Ark of his Testimony manifested. We "may and ought to have them in godly and respectfull remembrance for their work's sake, "both of them that are departed, and of those "that are yet living, though we make them not "lords of our faith." P. 343.

Returning to his main topic, Holyoke remarks: "I will yet speake a little more of that speach "which some affirme of Christ that he did combat with his Angry Father; shall the Son of "God, saith that treatise, suffer the second death "for you? Shall he unchrist himself for a time "for you? Shall he suffer Hell Torments for "you? Shall the Son of God enter the lists to "fight the great combat hand to hand with his "angry Father for you? God the Father to "fight with God the Son: Is this his good Orthodox Theologie to be sould or taught in "Pulpits, or in Books to the people of God: doubtlesse there is a deep silence of such expressions "in the Book of God. And from this time forwards, I hope our godly Teachers, will have "the same deep silence, and make no stir, and "utter plaine Doctrines and then our inventions "will vanish." P. 343.

It is thus that he combines critical remarks on orthodoxy with his main argument: "The "primitive Churches were admonished to take "heed of running after Fables, and reformed "Churches have as much need to look about "them; men, yea Schollers, yea, Ecclesiasticks "are as subject now to fables and heresies as "ever; it hath been observed that Ecclesiastics "have ever been the founders of fables, errors, "and heresies: The Apostle gave warning of "this to the Bishops of the Churches, and tells "them that of themselves men should arise speak-

"ing perverse things to draw Disciples after them. "Act. xx.

"Some have not traversed these paths as they "should, because they have been so long instituted and catechised in the doctrine of Hell-Torments, and that Christ the Holy One of God "was a sinner, yea, the vilest of sinners, and "when they are by modest arguing put out of "their beaten track, they run wild and utter "*sesquipedalia verba* on their brethren, that "have and do desire that they and their children "should walk with God in soundnesse of judgement, and in a godly and sober conversation." P. 349.

Evidently familiar with the most noted Puritan authors, Holyoke refers to Perkins, in this connection: Master Perkins was cautelous of "going too far in the point of Christ's sufferings, "and yet it seems he would have the Lord to "suffer a part of the second death, and he makes "that part to be in this World, and the other "part in the World to come (and that he suffered "the first and second death together, or rather "some part of the second death before the first) "is this good Divinity? is this Doctrine, Orthodox? etc."

"It is affirmed by some that Christ bore our deserved curse for our Redemption: but bring "this generall position to particulars, and then "they make a stand, at first of the spiritual "death in sin, secondly touching the corruption "of the body after death, and some are afraid to "say that he suffered any part of the second "death.

"It is not man's invention of *Tantumdem* & "Equivalency (as its urged by some) touching the "sufferings of Jesus Christ that will reach & "fathom these things." P. 350.

It is thus that Holyoke concludes this portion of his treatise, in which he reviews the ground passed over by Pynchon: "But the way of "Christ's suffering for our Redemption, that I approve and follow is this, namely, that he suffered as a combater, from his malignant combater "Satan, according to God's declaration of the "combat of enmity, between the seed of the "woman and the seed of the Serpent, for God "proclaimed a liberty to the Serpent's seed to "peirce him in the foot-soules as a sinfull Malefactor on the Crosse: and therefore hence it "followes that all Christ's outward sufferings "must be inflicted on him, from the enmity of "his proclaimed enemy *Satan*. And secondly, "hence it follows that his internal sufferings "were from the sense of his outward, Christ "as he was true man, must be tenderly touched, "and deeply affected with his evil usage, and "therefore it was God's will and Christ's owne "covenant, that all his internall humane passions "of Feare, Sorrow, and sadnesse in his vitall

"and animall soul, should arise from the evil usage of his malignant combater *Satan*.

"Let men therefore take heed how they force belief, they know not what, about Hell-Torments, and let them not think that what they write and speak, *ex Cathedra*, must be believed of Hearers without double controll or examination, truly it is natural to Ecclesiasticks to affect supremacy, it is as proper a sin to them by nature, as Tyranny is to magistracy.

"But the Lord Jesus is come down to see the buildings of our instructors, and in some things he doth confound their language, but I hope and pray that he will also be pleased to send fiery cloven tongues so sit on them, and to touch their lips with a live coale from the altar to take away all iniquity, that we in our own language may hear them speake the wonderfull works of God.

"And I doubt not but in due time, our only Doctor Christ will so informe them that they will say with holy *Job*, 'once have I spoken but I will not answer, yea twice, but I will proceed no further, I have uttered that which I understood not, things too wonderful for me which I knew not.'

Historical justice requires us to say that Holyoke was inconsistent with himself. He upholds the power of the Magistrate in religious matters, and gives to him ecclesiastical controul. He incorporates into his work a fictitious history of Solomon and his Egyptian wife pleading with him for liberty to set up a Chapel to her ancient Gods, on Olivet, and by importunity at last obtaining her request. Perhaps this fable, the moral of which was evident and pointed, took off something of the curse of heresy from Holyoke's book, in the judgment of the Magistrates. At least, we have no evidence that he was molested on account of it. In several other respects, it commended itself to the approval of the New England authorities; and its severity against Baptists and Quakers would only serve to create a prejudice in its favor.

## VI.—OUR HISTORICAL WRITERS.—CONTINUED.

### WILLIAM SWINTON.

About thirty years ago, William Swinton, a solid Scottish farmer, accompanied by his eldest son, David, left his native Lowlands, for the purpose of seeking a new home in the wilds of America. As was often done in such cases, he left his entire family, except his solitary companion, in their native Scotland, expecting and intending that they should follow, as soon as he should find a resting-place, in order that they

might share with him the comforts and the hardships of a frontier life.

With his boy, Mr. Swinton landed at Mobile, and proceeding northward, as far as Warsaw, in Illinois, where he purchased land and settled; and, at the end of two or three years, having meanwhile prepared a home for his family and surrounded himself with the rude beginnings of a comfortable independence, he sent for those whom, as we have stated, he had left at "home."

Obedient to the summons of the head of the family, the wife and her five remaining children, soon after embarked for America, landing at Quebec; but they had proceeded no further westward than Montreal, when they met the sad intelligence of the death of Mr. Swinton and the abandonment of his father's new home by the wayward boy who had been his companion and fellow-laborer. The strangers halted where the adverse news met them; and, there, with a bravery which was in the highest degree honorable to them, they gallantly prepared to battle with the world—Robert, the eldest of the boys who were with his mother, having studied for the ministry, was ordained, and is now settled at Mendota, in Illinois; John, having become widely and honorably known as an accomplished member of the editorial staff of *The New York Times*; and William, of whom, particularly, we write, having become as well known in the field of Letters as he has been in the field of History.

WILLIAM SWINTON was born in Salton, Haddingtonshire, Scotland, on the twenty-third of April, 1833; and, in 1843, as we have seen, he accompanied his mother to America, and settled in Montreal. In the plans of the family, he was to become a Minister of the Gospel; and to that end he was sent to Knox's college, Toronto, where he remained until his eighteenth year, and, subsequently, to Amherst college, Massachusetts, where he completed his education.

In 1853, having the ministry still in view, Mr. Swinton preached several sermons, taking for his subjects, *The Restlessness of Human Ambition*, *The Limitation of our Present Field of Knowledge*, *Death*, etc.; and he left Amherst with the highest respect of his fellow-students and of the Faculty.

In 1853, he was called to the Chair of Ancient and Modern Languages, in the Edgeworth Female Seminary, at Greenboro', North Carolina. While there, in connection with his brother John, he projected a weekly newspaper—*The Southern Literary Weekly*—to be devoted to the cultivation of the Arts and Sciences, Literature, Education, and Moral Reform; and he contributed to *Putnam's Magazine*, in New York, among other articles, a series of philological papers



under the general title of *Rambles over the Realms of Verbs and Substantives*.

His residence in the South was not agreeable; and, in 1854, he removed to New York, and occupied a Chair in the Mount Washington Collegiate Institute, in that city.

The literary career of Mr. Swinton may be said to have commenced with his removal to New York; and, from that time until his settlement on the Pacific coast, his ready pen has never been idle. In 1856-7, his first work, a translation from the French, was published; and it met with quite a flattering success, both as a literary and commercial venture.

In 1858, Mr. Raymond invited him to a place on the editorial staff of *The New York Times*; and, during the succeeding four years, the columns of that influential journal bore the ripe fruits of his learning, skill, and untiring industry. Many of the elaborate reviews which marked *The Times* during that period as one of the foremost of the literary journals of America, were from his pen; and Buckle's *History of Civilization*, Motley's *History of the United Netherlands*, Draper's *Intellectual Development*, Marsh's *English Language*, the Duke of Argyll's *Primeval Man*, and other leading works of the day, were elaborately and ably criticized by him.

In 1859, his philological *Rambles over the Realms of Verbs* were re-produced, in book form, with the title of *Rambles among Words*; and, in 1863, a "Revised Edition" of the same work was sent to the press.\*

In 1862, Mr. Swinton exchanged the editorial chair for the saddle, and became "Special Correspondent" of the *Times*, at the seat of War; and his attention seems to have been then turned especially into those channels which more particularly interest the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

His thorough knowledge of the French and other modern languages, his extensive acquaintance with ancient history, his general information and his literary skill, together with his hostility to deception and pretence, made Mr. Swinton one of the most brilliant, as he was one of the most able, writers during the War. His letters from the different points in the field of action—on the Rappahannock, in Dupont's fleet before Charleston, and in Rosecrans' Campaigns in the West, which appeared in the *Times*—are acknowledged master-pieces of graphic military composition.

One of these letters has become especially noteworthy—we refer to that reviewing the Chancellorville Campaign of General Hooker. Of that

article, Count Gurowski thus wrote, in his Diary: "But now a story comes, which is a sad truth. Mr. William Swinton, Military Editor of the *Times*, a young man of uncommon ability and truthfulness, prepared for his paper a detailed article upon the whole of General Hooker's Chancellorville Expedition. Before being published, the article was shown to Mr. Lincoln; and it was telegraphed to New York that if the article comes out, the author may accidentally find himself a boarder in Fort Lafayette. Almost the same day, the President telegraphed to a patriot to whom Mr. Lincoln unbuttoned himself, not to reveal to anybody the conversation. Both these occurrences had in view only one object—it was to keep the truth out of the people's knowledge. Truth is a dangerous weapon in the hands of the people."—*Diary*, May, 1863.

The obnoxious article was accordingly suppressed; but the readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE will remember it, as one of the articles which appeared in the number of that work for September, 1867.

The series of articles on McClellan, which appeared in the *Times*, were afterwards collected and re-written by Mr. Swinton, and published in pamphlet form by the *New York Times*. The Republican party used that pamphlet as a Campaign Document, during the Presidential canvas of 1864. Hundreds of thousands of copies of it were circulated; and he also wrote several other documents for the Republican Central Committee, which were published at Washington.

As Mr. Russell, the Military Correspondent of the *London Times*, in the Crimean War, incurred the displeasure of the army authorities, because of the exposure of abuses, so Mr. Swinton incurred the disfavor of certain military personages in the Army of the Potomac, whose imbecility he had criticised, and whose ruinous disasters he had revealed. General Burnside, was particularly enraged at his terrible account of the bloody field of Fredericksburgh; and when, a few days after the battle, he read the report of the slaughter in the *Times*, he entirely lost his self-command, and, sending for Mr. Swinton to his tent, he is said to have threatened to shoot him or run him through with his sword. Mr. Raymond fortunately arrived at the tent during the uproar, and managed by his skill to cool the General, and prevent assassination. It was a long time after this, and sometime after Mr. Swinton had left the Army of the Potomac, for another field of labor, that General Burnside sought a petty revenge, by foolishly procuring from General Grant, an Order, issued through General Meade, and dated the sixth of July, 1864, for his expulsion from the Army. In this, General Burnside again blundered; and he has since found that, in-

\* *Rambles Among Words*: | Their Poetry, History and Wisdom. | By William Swinton. | POLONIUS—What do you read, my lord? | HAMLET—Words, Words, Words. | *Hamlet*. Revised Edition. | New York: | December, 1863.

stead of stopping the pen of the critic, he has been gibbeted on the enduring pages of history.

On the suspension of active operations in the field Mr. Swinton returned to New York; and the first fruits of his services with the Army of the Potomac and of his careful and judicious collection of materials concerning the War, appeared under the title of *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac*, a fine octavo of six hundred and forty pages.\*

Of the character of this work, there cannot be much diversity of opinion among those who are not the subjects of the author's criticism. The unusual opportunities for the collection of material, which Mr. Swinton enjoyed had not been left unemployed; and in his researches, with unusual diligence and integrity, he had gathered information from both the Southern and the Northern parties. The material which he had thus secured was carefully and judiciously employed; and a volume of rare value, as history, as well as of unusual interest to the general reader, was produced. As was said of it by one of the leading journalists of America, "the style is at once lucid, vigorous, and scholarly: the narrative is picturesque and entertaining: the criticisms are terse, pungent, deliberately made, and usually convincing. The intense interest of the author in his work is everywhere visible, but so entirely devoted is he thereto, that the book is absolutely military in tone—not partisan, not political, not even patriotic. With stinging satire and censure on many pages, and abundance of *méchanceté* for individuals, it yet holds an equable balance over the Loyal and Confederate armies, and tries the exploits of either with strict justice. The singular candor and impartiality of the book will win it many friends. Frequent historic parallels and citations of the opinions and practices of great masters in the art of war, drawn from a sweeping professional reading, increase its value; and a rich and well-weeded vocabulary furnishes always the fittest forms of expression. Choice, exact, and often marvellously eloquent phraseology, joined to the mightiness of the deeds narrated, the novelty of many facts now first brought to light, and the revolutionary opinions so freely touched, altogether make this book one of the most worthy of its class."

Concerning this volume, the London *Saturday Review* thus remarked: "All that can possibly be done from the Northern sources of information has been already done by Mr. Swinton,

"whose *Army of the Potomac* is a monument of industry and good information, set forth with elaborate clearness of exposition, and in fine though rather stilted narrative. Nor has this valuable author wholly confined himself to the use of the countless Reports and letters of Meade's and Grant's armies by which he was aided. When the War was over, he sought out such of the Confederate officers as were most accessible or least reticent, and he has done his best to correct, from their remarks and memoranda, the one-sided impressions inherent in the original structure of his work. Its value has been greatly enhanced by this care; and if Mr. Swinton has failed to make it a complete history, he has failed to do so only because it is impossible that such a complete history should be compiled without the writer's having had access to those official records of the Richmond War Bureau, which seem to have been as completely sealed to him as to other and less painstaking workmen. Americans compare Mr. Swinton to Napier, the author whose style he most directly seeks to follow; but his real place is nearer to that of Siborne, a historian whom he much resembles in his admirable study of details and his desire honestly to reconcile varying testimony, as well as in his imperfect possession of the material necessary for his purpose; while he rises above Siborne, in style, and in impartiality towards the great General who led his countrymen. For Mr. Swinton is by no means blind to Grant's faults. On the contrary, it is doubtful whether he has not permitted an animus, arising, it is said, from somewhat personal causes, to influence unconsciously his judgment of the renowned General-President. This, however, is just one of the problems which time and the publication of records can alone clear up. What is certain is, that this book has been brought out with the strong approval of the officers of the Federal Virginian army, who declare that, though occasionally unduly severe, it is by far the best account yet written of their campaigns; while it has been highly commended by distinguished men upon the other side, for the fair tone maintained throughout, towards their now extinct service. In view of the remarkable reticence which the Confederate chiefs have, for political reasons, observed (not one of them, Early only excepted, having written as much as a pamphlet on the great War in which they took part), Mr. Swinton's book has been invaluable in America. \* \*

"Mr. Swinton's narrative of the closing Virginian campaign, the most elaborate and careful part of his work, will in future rank higher than ever when contrasted with what an English author has just done in the same

\* *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac* a critical history of operations in Virginia Maryland and Pennsylvania from the commencement to the close of the War, 1861-5 by William Swinton New York Charles B Richardson 510 Broadway 1866



"field. \* \* Mr. Swinton appears to be almost ignored, although the author in one place mentions the existence of such a work. "Whether this neglect proceeds from Mr. Cannon's not considering it favorable enough to his hero, we cannot pretend to say. What is certain is, that that admirable guide, with his large private and official information and his general historical powers, is left unused; whilst we are treated to extracts from and references to such publications as Headley's *Massachusetts in the Rebellion*, and Coppee's *Grant and his Campaigns*—works already forgotten in America, where not even their high-flavored patriotism could give them enduring credit."

Mr. Swinton has collected materials for a general History of the War; but we are not aware that he has yet commenced the work of arranging them for publication: how important that material is, is understood by our readers, who, during the present year, have enjoyed the pleasure of reading portions of them, in the important Reports of General Lee, Meade, Smith, etc., which, through his courtesy, were first published in our pages.

In 1867, Mr. Swinton was induced to prepare for the press *The Twelve Decisive Battles of the War*,\* a handsome octavo of five hundred and twenty pages, and, if we remember rightly, this is the last of his published works; although it is understood that a History of the Seventh Regiment, New York State Militia, from his pen, is now passing through the press, for a house in Boston.

With the exception of a little affair, describing *How the Ring Ran Pacific Mail*, we believe that Mr. Swinton has published nothing beyond the several works which we have noticed; but we have reason to believe that he is preparing for the press, during his leisure, that general history of the War of Secession to which we have already referred.

Mr. Swinton now occupies the Chair of *Belles Lettres*, in the University of California, at Oakland, near San Francisco; and we greatly mistake if honors of the highest grade do not await him, in his new field of labor, in the not far distant future.

Mr. Swinton was married, on the fourth of May, 1853, to Kate, daughter of Mr. Samuel Linton, of Montreal; and eight children, six sons and two daughters, have been added to their family circle, but one half of each have been taken from them, by death at early ages.

\* *The Twelve Decisive Battles of the War* is a history of Eastern and Western Campaigns in relation to the actions that decided their issue by William Swinton, Author of *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac* [New York: Dick & Fitzgerald. 1862].

## VII.—SALEM WITCHCRAFT.

[I hope, as you have published an article on this subject, that you will publish the following papers. They have escaped the notice of both Mr. Drake and Mr. Woodward. CONCORD, N. H. W. F. GOODWIN.]

### I.

[From the *Massachusetts Archives*, cxxxiii, 169.]

TO Y<sup>e</sup> HON<sup>d</sup> GEN<sup>l</sup> COURT SITTING.

We whose names are subscribed, In Obedience to y<sup>o</sup>r Hon<sup>s</sup> Act at a Court held y<sup>e</sup> vlt of May 1710: for our Inserting y<sup>e</sup> names of y<sup>e</sup> severall psons who were Condemned for Witchcraft in y<sup>e</sup> year 1692, & of y<sup>e</sup> damages they Sustained by their prosecution Being Mett at Salem y<sup>e</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> Sep<sup>r</sup> 1710, for y<sup>e</sup> Ends aforesaid upon examination of y<sup>e</sup> Records of y<sup>e</sup> Severall psons Condemned: Humbly offer to y<sup>o</sup>r Hon<sup>s</sup> the Names as Follow to be Inserted for y<sup>e</sup> Reuersing of their Attaind-

EXECUTED.	ers: Elizabeth How: Georg's Jacob. Mary Easty. Mary Parker. Mr George w Burroughs: Giles Core & his wife. Rebecca Nurse. John Willard. Sarah Good. Martha Carrier. Samuell Wardell. John procter: Sarah Wild
	ers: Mary's Bradbury. Abigail Falkner. Abigail Hobbs. Ann Foster. Rebecca Eams. Dorcas Hoar. Mary Post. Mary Lacey.
CONDEMNED & NOT EXECUTED.	

And haueing heard y<sup>e</sup> Severall demands of y<sup>e</sup> damages of y<sup>e</sup> aforesd psons & those in their behalf, & upon Conferenc haue soe Moderated their Respective demands y<sup>t</sup> we doubt not but y<sup>t</sup> they will be Readily Comply<sup>d</sup> w<sup>th</sup> by y<sup>o</sup>r Hon<sup>s</sup> which Respective demands are as follow. Elizabeth How 12£ Georg Jacob. 79£. Mary Easty. 20£ Mary Parker. 8£ mr Georg Burroughs. 50£ Giles Core. & Marth Core his wife 21£ Rebecca Nurse 25£ John Willard. 20£ Sarah Good. 30£ Martha Carrier 7£ 6: Samuell Wardell & Sarah his wife 36£ 15<sup>s</sup> John Procter. & procter his wife 150£ Sarah Wild. 14£ Mr's Mary Bradbury. 20£ Abigail Falkner 20£ Abigail Hobbs. 10£ Ann Foster. 6£ 10<sup>s</sup> Rebecca Eams. 10£ Dorcas Hoar. 21£ 17<sup>s</sup> Mary Post. 8£ 14<sup>s</sup> Mary Lacey. 8£ 10<sup>s</sup>.

the whole amounting vnto. 578.12<sup>s</sup>

Yo<sup>r</sup> Hon<sup>s</sup> most

Humble Serv<sup>ts</sup>

SALEM y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> Sept<sup>r</sup> 1710. JOHN APPLETON.  
THOMAS NOYES.  
JOHN BURRILL.  
NEH. JEWETT.

Octo<sup>r</sup> 23: 1711. Read & Accepted in the House of Representatives. Sent up for Concurrence, Oct<sup>r</sup> 26<sup>o</sup> 1711.  
JOHN BURRILL, Speaker.

In Council.  
Read and Concurr<sup>d</sup>

JSA ADDINGTON Secry

II.

[From the *Massachusetts Archives*, cxxxv, 135.]

HONRED GENTLE MEN we have Receiued your Notification & send this to Signify our Desires that our good mother M's Mary Bradburys name may be inserted, in the bill proposed for y<sup>e</sup> taking off the attaind<sup>r</sup> &c, She throu ffaith obtained a good report among all christians for her Exemplary piety & vertue & was euer Lookt on as an Innosent in Her Suffrings in that dark & gloomi day & we doubt not but youl-se Cause as far as Can be in this Method, to recouer her reputation— She Indured aboute Six months Imprisonment which putt our Honred ffather & Sum of vs her Children vpon very great Expence of which we haue Indeed no particuler accounte but are well assured by what we have heard our father Cap<sup>t</sup> Bradbury say of y<sup>e</sup> money he Expended on that account or occasion & by our own obseruation & Concerne in the Case as well as others of the family that it could not be Less then twenty pounds at the Lowest Calculation be sids his time & truble:—we doubt not but Sum others might suffer more in their Estates & it semes very Just & reasonable that restitution be in Sum measure made as far as the Case will beare & therefore we wold not discourage so Just & good a desine by any Excessive demands but rather Comply with any thing which your Honers shall think meet to allow therefore we not Expressly fix Vpon any Sum but Leauie it to your honers fauervable Consideration only pray that we may haue that reasonable Consideration & allowance which you make to others of Eaquall surcomstances & which may be Consistant with & rather Incourage then Discourage the gen<sup>l</sup> desine now on foot our buisness is shuch at home we Cant well attend your Honers at this Junture but hope our writting may as Efectiue Answer the Ende being Confident that such is your Justice & Cander that you will not Improue our moderation in our demands to our disaduantage: we Subscribe—your most Humble Seruants & petitioners

SALISBURY Sept<sup>r</sup> 11<sup>th</sup> 1710

HENRY } TRUE  
& JANE }  
Executior to y<sup>e</sup> will of  
M<sup>rs</sup> Mary Bradbury

Condemned for Witchcraft Sep<sup>r</sup> 1692

Not Executed: made her Escape.

VIII.—DEATH OF COLONEL JOHN J.  
HARDIN.

BY GENERAL GUINNIPP; COMMUNICATED BY  
MANSFIELD T. WALWORTH, ESQ.\*

On the twenty-first of February, our Army fell back to Buena Vista, a distance of twelve miles, to secure a more advantageous position, as the Mexican Army was advancing, and an immediate engagement was anticipated. Hardin's Regiment, with Washington's Battery, was left in the pass, a mile in advance of the Army—it was here the fiercest struggle was expected—and Generals Taylor and Wool told Hardin that he must hold that point or all was lost. The Colonel replied that his Regiment was good for five thousand of the Enemy. The Army of Santa Anna did not, however, appear in sight until ten, A. M. on the twenty-second, when we could see their lines stretched over the plains, making our small Army look smaller by comparison. It was then, by his brave words and gallant bearing, our Colonel inspired his men with a courage worthy of their leader. He spoke to them, as nearly as I can remember, in the following words:

"SOLDIERS! You have never met an enemy; but you are now in front. I know the First Illinois will never fail. I will ask no man to go where I will not lead. This is Washington's birth-day: let us celebrate it as becomes true soldiers who love the memory of 'the Father of their Country.'"

The enemy did not, however, attempt to force the pass on this day, nor did any general engagement take place, till the morning of the twenty-third; when some five or six thousand Mexican Infantry made the attack, whilst their heavy Artillery came thundering down upon us. Hardin's Regiment, with Washington's Battery, repulsed them three times, with heavy loss. We guarded Washington's Battery until the Second Kentucky (Colonel McKee) was ordered to the right of the Second Illinois (Colonel Bissell) which had been for some time under heavy fire. There appeared to be some three or four thousand Mexican Infantry moving to the right of the Kentuckians, towards where we were stationed.

Colonel Hardin, seeing the necessity for prompt action, called five Companies of his Regiment, and leaving the rest to guard the Battery, proceeded on the double quick, under cover of the

\* I have obtained from Senator Yates, of Illinois, a written account of the death of this distinguished officer and lawyer of that State, at the Battle of Buena Vista. General Guinnip, of Illinois, was an eye-witness of the affair, and having frequently described the scene to Senator Yates, that gentleman requested him to write a detailed account of it. The substance of that manuscript I send to *THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, that it may be preserved in print for historical purposes. MANSFIELD TRACY WALWORTH.



hill, arriving within a hundred yards of the enemy before he discovered us. He then ordered an immediate charge, himself always in front, shouting, "*Remember Illinois! Give them Blizz-zard, Boys!!!*" this being a favorite expression of his, and one which will be recognized by all who served under him. We drove the enemy, helter skelter, taking some two hundred of them prisoners, and driving the remainder to the rear, thus saving the Second Illinois and Second Kentucky from being flanked and forced back. This was about two o'clock, on the twenty-third. Hardin was then ordered to guard Bragg's Battery, which we did, under a heavy fire, until about four o'clock.

The battle had raged, unabated, from early morning, some nine hours, the enemy attacking us, at times, on almost every flank, several thousand of them passing entirely round our little Army, during the forenoon. Meantime, Santa Anna had hoisted the black flag, to which Colonel Hardin called our attention, remarking: "It comes to victory or death." From this time, on, the enemy killed all of our wounded that fell into their hands. At about four o'clock, the enemy appeared to be giving back, at all points. At this time, an Aide from General Taylor rode up, ordering Colonel Hardin to advance with his five Companies and Bragg's Battery. This, like all of Hardin's moves, was quickly made. We pushed ahead, some distance in advance of our troops, in the face of a heavy fire of grape from a Mexican Battery. Bragg's Battery advanced some distance, and then commenced to exchange shot with a Mexican Battery, when Hardin said to his little force: "We will take that Battery." He drew his sword; and with a shout we ran for the Battery, the Colonel in front of us, waving his sword. We had arrived within a few yards of it, when, from some fifty yards to our right, their whole reserve, some six or seven thousand Infantry, opened fire upon us. We had advanced beyond supporting distance. I have often heard it said, that no man but Hardin would have attempted to fight such odds as fifteen to one, to say nothing of a Battery of eight pieces, throwing grape. He gave one glance towards them, then gave orders to fire, the enemy advancing as they fired. I could hear the Colonel's voice above the din, shouting, "Boys, remember the 'Sucker State! We must never dishonor it. 'Give them Blizzard! They fall every crack!'"

Their long lines were within a few yards of us, throwing both their flanks around our brave little squad; yet so well had the Colonel succeeded in infusing his own spirit into his men, that not one of them could have been induced to move from his track till shot down. Our little force was being rapidly swept away, when Colonel Bissell, with his Second Illinois, or what was left

of it, and Colonels McKee and Clay, with the Second Kentucky, arrived. This point now became the centre of attack. Hardin, with four hundred men, had held the enemy in check till this time. Santa Anna had become desperate, and led the charge in person. His horse was shot from under him. General Taylor, thinking we would be surrounded and cut off, as we were fighting face to face, almost touching each other, sent an Order to Colonel Hardin to retreat. The Colonel said, reluctantly: "We will have to 'go.'" Now came a desperate time. The enemy was on or around both flanks. We had to retreat down a deep ravine, rocky and broken, in which no order could be kept. From this time, every soldier was a commander, fighting on his own responsibility. There were Infantry, a few yards above us, on each side the ravine; and several thousand Lancers had cut off our retreat, at its foot. About this time, Colonels McKee and Clay fell; Colonel Bissell's horse was shot from under him; every voice appeared to be hushed but Colonel Hardin's. We could distinctly hear the shout that rang in my ears for many a day: "*Remember Illinois, and give them 'Blizzard, Boys!!*"

I was within a few feet of the Colonel, at this time, and remember the feeling came over me that he, being an officer, would be sure to fall a victim to the Lancers; when I should think at least twenty of them charged on him, firing at the same time. Hardin fell wounded. With his holster-pistol, he fired and killed one Lancer; and I think he drew, or attempted to draw, his sword; but, in the *mêlée*, I am not sure, for as many Lancers as could approach him surrounded and threw their lances in him. And thus perished an officer than whom none was ever more beloved.

We made our way through the enemy's lines. Part of Hardin's Regiment, of which I was a member, clubbed our rifles and fought through. General Wool now arrived, and re-formed the shattered ranks; and, with the aid of our Batteries, drove the enemy back and regained the lost ground. Now the Battle was won; and night closed on the scene.

#### IX.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONTINUED.

256.—*Elias Boudinot to John Inskeep.\**

BURLINGTON, Dec<sup>r</sup> 13, 1816.

SIR.

I have been so unwell that I could not sooner answer your last letter. I have examined my

\* From 156 to 157, both inclusive, are from the originals, in possession of Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., of New York City.

negro Man, and he informs me that he never had the small Pox, but has been vaccinated and since has been frequently with Persons in the Small Pox, and has not felt the least injury.

I hope this will be satisfactory, otherwise I will return the Policy.

I am Sir

Yours Very Respectfully  
ELIAS BOUDINOT.

JOHN INSKEEP Esq<sup>r</sup>

[Endorsed:]

JOHN INSKEEP Esq. Philadelphia.

157.—*Timothy Pickering to General Clinton.*

HEAD QUARTERS AT RAMA PAUGH July 24, 1777.

Thirty thousand weight of hard bread is to be sent from fort Montgomery to Kings Ferry in a vessel, to be transported from thence in waggons to the army under the immediate command of his Excellency General Washington. This quantity may be replaced from Fish Kills, by applying to Henry Schenk Esq at that place. The General is extremely anxious to obtain a supply of hard bread for his troops which will prevent any delay in complying with this order.

TIM. PICKERING A. Gen<sup>l</sup>

To General CLINTON,  
the Officer Commanding at  
Fort Montgomery.

158.—*General James Clinton to ———.*

ALBANY Ap<sup>l</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> 1781.

DR SIR.

Enclosed I send you the Return of the Troops under my Command, agreeable to the request contained in your Letter of the 15<sup>th</sup> inst. by which you will see that the 2<sup>d</sup> Reg<sup>t</sup> is considerably reduced by the Capture of a number at Fort Schuyler—and the absolute Scarcity of Provision not only retards the recruiting service of the Levies but has excited a spirit of Desertion among the regular Troops—but I have preached this Doctrine so long that I am perfectly sick of it.

I am with great Esteem

Yours affectionately  
JAMES CLINTON.

159.—*Baron Steuben to Governor Clinton.*

ALBANY July 23, 1783.

SIR,

I had the honor some time since to mention to your Excellency my desire of residing or at least of having a place I might call my home in this state, the honor which the respectable City of Albany has lately been pleased to confer on

me has increased my wishes to remain while in America with a people to whom I am so much indebted.

I have been informed that a certain Mr Axtell was possessed of a small estate on Long Island, that it is forfeited & perhaps will be speedily sold. I have to ask Your Excellencys influence with the Honorable the legislature of the State that I may have the preemption or if it is to be disposed of in any other manner that I may have the refusal of it.

With the greatest respect

I have the honor to be

Sir Your Excellencys  
Obedient Servant  
STEUBEN.

[Endorsed:]

{ His Excellency }  
{ Governor CLINTON. }

160.—*Benjamin Franklin and Robert Morris to ———.*

PHILA<sup>a</sup> October 1<sup>st</sup> 1776.

SIR

Having received advice that our Agent Maj<sup>r</sup> Kortaliz is despatching sundry articles wanted for the Service of the United States of America to Martinico recommended to the care of his Excellency the General or the Governor and Intendant there, to be by them delivered to whoever shall be properly authorized by Congress to receive the same. We hereby request that you will make application for all arms, ammunition, money, clothing, or other articles, that may arrive in Martinico with the above directions, and you are hereby empowered to receive and grant Receipts for the same on behalf of the United States of America, or to sign certificates or any other writing that may be required purporting the delivery thereof to you as Agent for the Congress.

We are Sir

Your most libble servts

B. FRANKLIN.  
ROBT MORRIS.

[Endorsed:]

Copy of secret Correspondence.

161.—*General John Sullivan to Governor Bartlett, of New Hampshire.*

DURHAM, January the 15<sup>th</sup> 1791.

may it please your Excellency I have been informed that Judge Langdon is gone on to Congress as a Commissioner and of Course there will be a vacancy on the Superior Court Bench.

Will you permit me to recommend Mr. Oliver Whipple to a seat on that Bench on account of his law knowledge Integrity & uprightness hav-



ing been often in nomination by former Councils  
& will be likely to do honor to the station. I  
am with the most unfeigned respect Sir your  
Excellency's most obedient Serv<sup>t</sup>

JN<sup>o</sup> SULLIVAN.

his Excellency JOSIAH BARTLEY ESQ<sup>r</sup>

162.—*General Lincoln to Governor Clinton.*

FISHKILL March 14. 1782.

DEAR SIR,

I forward the inclosed at the request of Mrs  
Montgomery it covers a picture I brought from  
Boston She requests that it may be forwarded  
to her by some safe hand.

Nothing new in Boston.

I have the honor to be your Excellency's most  
obedient Servant,

B. LINCOLN.

[Endorsed:]

"His Excellency  
Governor CLINTON.

163.—*Richard Varick to Governor Clinton.*

FREDERICKSBURGH, Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>, 1778

SIR

I have the Happiness of enclosing to your Ex-  
cellency, a Letter I received from my Father,  
who returned to his Family on the 21<sup>st</sup> in Ex-  
change for Mr. Van Schaack, which had been  
delayed thro Misinformation of Mr Toome, Secy.  
to Gen<sup>l</sup> Jones, who told Mr. Van Schaack, on  
his arrival in New York that my father was out.

I beg Leave to join him in Thanks to Your  
Excellency, for your singular Friendship evinc'd  
on this occasion, in permitting a subject of this  
state to be exchanged for him a subject of New  
Jersey. He is nearly recovered of his late Ill-  
ness, tho still very feeble.

I am Sir with respect

Your Excellency's

most Obed Serv<sup>t</sup>

His Excellency  
Gov<sup>r</sup> CLINTON.

RICH<sup>d</sup> VARICK.

164.—*From Robert Van Rensselaer to Governor Clinton.*

THE HEAD OF BULL WAGER BAY THREE MILES  
SOTTH WEST FROM CROWN POINT.

SIR,

We have discovered a large fire opposite Crown  
Point on the West side the Lake. A Scout is this  
moment come in from C. Point and can discover  
no Enemy, near the fire, and Judge the fire has  
been burning this three Weeks as they can see

where it has spread through the Woods, the scout  
also says they have seen no vessels on the Lake.

I am Sir, Yours &c. &c.

ROBT. VAN RENSSELAER.

P.S.

We shall send out another Scout immediately  
to reconnoitre the fire—and if it makes no dis-  
covery immediately returning by the way of Crown  
Point.

165.—*From Doctor Charles M<sup>c</sup>Knight to Rich-  
ard Varick.*

DEAR VARICK.

I have it in command from my Madam to  
request that you would be pleased to send for  
the Sugar which Bush promised her—and the  
Articles I have requested Cap<sup>t</sup>. Copp to send me  
which can be returned by Maj<sup>r</sup>. Fish's Boy—You  
may recollect that I mentioned to you Ledyard's  
having promised Forbes the Office of Steward to  
swear so as to answer his Ends—I have now to  
inform you that he has verified his Premises—and  
having ejected old honest Brown as Stew<sup>d</sup>. has  
constituted Forbes in his Place—as I shall not  
deliver in my Defence To morrow should obliged  
to you to remit me your Remarks on the matter,  
as soon as you please to insert in my Gen<sup>l</sup> Obser-  
vations.

I am Dr<sup>r</sup> Varick your Oblig<sup>d</sup> sincere Hble serv<sup>t</sup>.

CHAS. M<sup>c</sup>KNIGHT—

Coll. VARICK.

The Articles refer<sup>d</sup> to from Cap<sup>t</sup>. Coppe  
will be deliv<sup>d</sup> on the enclosed Note.

Febr<sup>y</sup>. 24. 82.

[Addressed:]

Coll. RICHARD VARICK  
Poughkepsie.

fav<sup>d</sup> by  
Maj<sup>r</sup> Fish.

166.—*From Peter Gansevoort to Governor Clin-  
ton.*

ALBANY 12<sup>th</sup> October 1781.

DEAR SIR,

I inclose your Excellency the Copy of a  
Letter I have this Instant received by express  
from Gen<sup>l</sup>. Stark. I shall march this evening  
for Saratoga with four Reg<sup>ts</sup> of my Brigade this  
may However probably so much weaken our  
strength in this Quarter that if the Enemy should  
appear in force on the Western Frontier Col<sup>l</sup>  
Willet must depend solely upon the small Num-  
ber of Troops he Commands as we should not  
be able to Render him any effectual assistance.  
The intelligence now transmitted is so certain  
that not a doubt Remains of the Truth of it. I  
am therefore to intreat your Excellency (as we

have the Best Reason to think the Enemy are in force) if it is in your power to grant or obtain for us such aids as you may Conceive necessary in the present Emergency. I would also add that we are destitute of provisions & ammunition. I need not point out the necessity of immediate supplies of both, particularly of the latter without a Sufficiency of which your Excellency knows it will be impossible to oppose the enemy.

I am Sir Your Humb. Servant

PETER GANSVOORT.

187.—*From Thomas Mifflin, President of Congress, to Governor Clinton.*

ANNAPOLIS 25 March 1784.

SIR,

I have the Honor to transmit to your Excellency an Act of Congress of the 23<sup>d</sup> Inst relative to the appointment of Delegates to serve in Congress.

I have the honor to be with the greatest Respect & Esteem

Your Excellencys

Obedient & humble Serv<sup>t</sup>.

THOMAS MIFFLIN.

# X.—A MILITARY VIEW OF PASSING EVENTS, FROM INSIDE THE CONFEDERACY. NO. I.

THE CAMPAIGN IN WEST VIRGINIA, 1861 AND 1862.

By FREDERIC W. B. HASSLER, OF THE XXII. REGIMENT, VIRGINIA VOLUNTEER MILITIA.\*

My first engagement was on Scarey Creek, and a few days before the battle of Beverly. We were opposed to the Thirteenth Ohio, under General Cox, with a Battery of Artillery. After an engagement of three hours, Cox retreated. Colonel Norton, of the Thirteenth Ohio, was wounded and taken prisoner. That night, two Union Colonels, de Villiers and Neff, rode up into the Rebel lines, supposing that their side had been successful; patted the Southern troops on the back, and said: "Well done, you brave Ohio boys; you have whipped the Rebs;" when they were captured.

When Cox again advanced, with superior forces, on Charleston, Wise fell back to Gauley-bridge; burnt the bridge; and retreated to Lewisburg, at the White Sulphur Springs, to re-organize his forces for the Fall Campaign,

Wise next made a stand at Meadow-river, in Greenbrier-county, where he was joined by

Floyd, the two hoping to overpower Cox and retake the Kanawha valley. Floyd took a portion of these troops and crossed the Gauley-river, at Carnifex-ferry, and attacked the Seventh Ohio Regiment, at Cross-lanes.

This Regiment, out on a reconnoissance, fell back on General Cox. At Carnifex-ferry, the river forms a horse-shoe. The banks are very high, except where a road crosses the stream, which is rough water, not fordable. Floyd fortified the short line between the heels, or bluff, and built a trestle bridge at the toe, so that he could retreat, in case Cox forced his position.

Rosecrans, who had been opposing Lee on Cheat-mountain, made a complete fool of General Lee, deluded him and got away so adroitly that Lee was not aware that he was gone from his front, until Rosecrans had actually whipped Floyd, at Carnifex-ferry. We heard that this move of Rosecrans, and its complete success, came near upsetting Lee, in whom we lost all confidence.

Rosecrans attacked Floyd at the Ferry; and, after a fight which lasted until dark, Floyd, finding he could not maintain his position, retreated in the night. Had it not been for the trestle-bridge which Floyd had built for the very purpose of getting away on, Rosecrans would have bagged him.

Meanwhile, Wise and Floyd fell out. Floyd retreated back again to Meadow-river; but Wise remained in position, on Little Sewell Mountain. I was with Floyd.

Lee, after Rosecrans had slipped away from him, came down, round, by a short cut, and reinforced Wise and Floyd, at Little Sewell Mountain. Rosecrans was in camp, on the other crest of the same ridge, known as Big Sewell Mountain.

Wise and Floyd quarreled about a wagon, which the former accused Floyd of having stolen from him. Moreover, Wise wanted to fight on the Mountain; whereas Floyd preferred his position on the Meadow-river,

Lee now ordered Floyd up, to reinforce Wise, and stop the further progress of Rosecrans, who had crossed the Gauley, at Carnifex-ferry, and effected a junction with Cox, on the Lewisburg and Charleston-turnpike. We heard that Cox had not come up to time. He was to have attacked Wise at the same time that Rosecrans was to have attacked Floyd. At all events, we now found ourselves opposed to the united Union forces on Little Sewell Mountain. Lee was in chief command of the Rebels, as I said, on Little Sewell Mountain. The two armies skirmished for about ten days, in the depression between the crests which were not more than a mile apart. We could make out the Union lines, very plainly; and there was some cannonading.

\* This paper has been communicated for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, by General J. Watts de Peyster, of Tivoli, New York.



Rosecrans, soon after, fell back to Gauley-bridge. We did not think that we forced him to retreat, but supposed it was on account of the horrible condition of the roads, in consequence of extremely hard rains, which rendered the transportation of supplies very difficult.

No one can conceive how bad these roads become when soaked with water. They are rough and difficult, at the best of times; and storms soon make them almost impassible for heavy wagons.

After the Union forces fell back, Floyd took a portion of Lee's army; crossed the New-river, at Pax-ferry; went down to Cotton Hill-mountain, on the Kanawha-river; posted his artillery on the mountain; and cannonaded Rosecrans's forces, at the crossing, in hope of cutting off the Union communications with the Kanawha-valley. This waste of ammunition was kept up for about a week. After this, Rosecrans sent a Brigade or Division, under Benham, up Look-creek, in hopes of getting in the rear of Floyd, at Fayette-courthouse, and cutting off his retreat.

Rosecrans did drive Floyd out of his position at Cotton Hill-mountain. My Regiment was on the top of the mountain and saw the whole movement. We perceived the Union forces gaining ground, all day. When night came on, Floyd, knowing that he could not maintain himself there, burnt his supplies and stores of clothing, and fell back so precipitately that, by daylight, he was at Fayette-courthouse. I think it was twelve to fifteen miles, from Cotton Hill-mountain to the Courthouse; but I know that we cooked our breakfast at the latter place, and eat our supper at the former.

We thought that General Benham disgraced himself here. We heard from the country people, that General Benham was in the woods, with four thousand men. He occupied such a position, they said, right along the road upon which we were retreating, that if he had only "gone in," upon our flank, we could not have formed so as to make any available resistance; so that, by a little ability or energy, he could have bagged the whole of our crowd. Floyd was so glad to get off, that he never stopped retreating until he got to Dublin-station, on the Virginia and Tennessee-railroad, one hundred miles from Cotton Hill and the Gauley.

The weather was infamous and the roads almost impassible, so that the troops had to push the trains and artillery along. We heard that the Union troops pursued us about twenty-five miles, and then had to stop, on account of the mud. The roads in this part of the country are never good in wet weather. The best are what we term "mud turnpikes." The country is rolling, rather than mountainous, but very rough, and rendered as difficult as it is possible for a country to be by

rain and snow, both of which fell at this time. On the retreat, our rear was pressed by the Union Cavalry. I was in none of the fights; but I saw and heard the firing, and I know that Floyd was in a great hurry to get out of the way.

I forgot to say that the whole country is very little cleared and densely wooded with evergreens, especially pine, hemlock, and laurel. The streams are numerous, but not difficult, running into New-river, which, united with the Gauley, at the falls of the Kanawha, form, thenceforth, the river of that name.

We got to Dublin-station about the first of December. Here I was made glad with a furlough from General Floyd, in order to go to Richmond and eat my Christmas dinner.

While I was in that city, Floyd received orders to go to Bowling-green, Kentucky, and thence to Tennessee, with all his command, except my Regiment, the Twenty-second Virginia. It appears that my Colonel, Christopher Q. Tompkins, had had a quarrel with Floyd, at Cotton-Hill-mountain. Rosecrans occupied the Colonel's house, at Gauley-bridge, and sent the family through the lines, to Richmond. When Colonel Tompkins asked General Floyd for a leave to go and see his family, the latter accused the Colonel of being a disloyal man, on account of his intimacy with Rosecrans.

It appears that Tompkins had either served with Rosecrans or was friendly with him. I knew Tompkins well; for he was a Cadet when my grandfather, F. R. Hassler, was a Professor at West Point. We often talked together; and the Colonel said "that he did not believe in the Rebellion." He always told the rebels that "The Yankees would fight as well as they would." They disliked him for this; and so he resigned, and never would have anything more to do with the War.

After my furlough was out, I returned to my Regiment, and met it at Lynchburg, on its way to Lewisburg, to take up Winter-quarters. In the Spring, we went into camp, on the Charleston-turnpike, and remained there about a month, doing little else but drilling. This was about March, 1862. Then we went to White Sulpher-springs, and were re-organized, under the Act which conscripted every able-bodied man, between eighteen and thirty-five.

Here the officers elected a new Colonel, Patten, a graduate of the Lexington Virginia Military Institute, in the place of Jackson, a Militia Colonel, whom Floyd had appointed to succeed Tompkins. This Jackson we liked about as little as we liked Floyd.

Patten took the Regiment, now one thousand, one hundred strong—originally six hundred to eight hundred—back to Dublin-station; and, soon after, we had a fight at Giles's-courthouse,

where we surprised two Union Companies, but did not "gobble them." Then we encamped on the "Narrows" of the New-river.

Here we were joined by the Forty-fifth Virginia, by Edgar's Battalion of Virginia Troops, and by two Batteries of Artillery. General Heth, who was a graduate of West Point, and had been Colonel of the Forty-fifth Virginia, had been promoted to a Brigadiership, and taken command. He advanced upon Lewisburg, which was held by two Ohio Regiments, the Thirty-fourth and Thirty-sixth, under Colonel Crooke. An engagement ensued on the twenty-third of May, 1862; when Crooke gave us a tremendous licking, capturing four pieces of artillery and nearly the whole of Heth's command. Those who escaped got back to the old camp, at the "Narrows" of the New-river.

Major-general Loring then came on with reinforcements, and took the command of us. He had his head-quarters at Salt Sulpher-springs, where he re-organized his little Army, received re-inforcements, and advanced, by Pax-ferry, on Charleston. At Fayette Court-house, we had a fight with the Union forces entrenched at that place, drove them out, pursued them down the Kanawha-valley, and captured Charleston. We remained in this District for about six weeks, gathering up all the cattle and salt, for the benefit of the Confederacy. Then, as the Union troops had been largely re-inforced, Loring got off with his plunder and went to Lewisburg. Here he took up his Winter-quarters, on the Greenbrier-river.

The Brigade to which my Regiment belonged, was commanded by Brigadier-general Eccles, and laid at this point until Spring, (I think it was April) 1863.

FRED. W. B. HASSLER,\*  
RIPLEY, Jackson County,  
West Virginia.

\*The gentleman who communicated these facts to General de Peyster, is a grandson of the famous F. R. Hassler, organizer and first Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey, who was born at Aaran, Switzerland, on the sixth of October, 1770. The grandson was in West Virginia, when the Rebellion broke out, looking after the property of his family in that region. Like many other men of Union sentiments, he was forced into the Rebel service, in which he was compelled to remain, until the victories of Sheridan and demoralization of Early's Command, enabled him to escape.

The Regiment (22nd Virginia Volunteer Militia) in which he was forced to carry a musket and uphold principles which he detested and predicted must eventually fail, was commanded by Christopher Tompkins, a graduate (in 1836) of West Point. This gentleman assumed his command with reluctance (so says Hassler) in obedience to a mistaken view of the rights of his native State; but retired into private life, as soon as he could do so consistently with soldierly honor.

Mr. F. W. B. Hassler, in partnership with his brother, Brevet-colonel F. R. Hassler, was one of the first, after the War, to invest money and establish a factory in the new State of West Virginia. Colonel F. R. Hassler is now a Republican Member, from his District, in the Legislature assembled at Wheeling.

## XI.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

## PEACE AND WAR.

[In 1816, a Society was established in Massachusetts, by some Christian philanthropists, to discourage War. The following letters were received by the founder of this Society in answer to an application to the writers, for their support of its views. Any letters coming from such eminent men as Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson, must be interesting, but these are highly characteristic. We copy them from *The Friend of Peace*, a work published under the auspices of this Society.—*North American Review*.]

## MR. JEFFERSON'S ANSWER.

MONTICELLO, January 29, 1816.

SIR :—Your letter, bearing date October 18, 1815, came only to hand the day before yesterday, which is mentioned to explain the date of mine. I have to thank you for the pamphlets accompanying it, to wit, *The Solemn Review*, *The Friend of Peace*, or *Special Interview*, and *The Friend of Peace*, No. 2. The first of these I had received through another channel, some months ago. I have not read the two last steadily through, because where one assents to propositions as soon as announced, it is loss of time to read the arguments in support of them. These Numbers discuss the first branch of the causes of War, that is to say, Wars undertaken for the *point of honor*, which you aptly analogize with the act of duelling between individuals, and reason, with justice, from the one to the other. Undoubtedly, this class of Wars is, in the general, what you state them to be, "needless, unjust, and inhuman, as well as antichristian."

The second branch of this subject, to wit, Wars undertaken on account of *wrong done*, and which may be likened to the act of robbery in private life, I presume will be treated of in your future numbers. I observe this class mentioned in the *Solemn Review*, p. 10, and the question asked, "Is it common for a Nation to obtain a redress of wrongs by War?" The answer to this question you will of course draw from history; in the mean time, reason will answer it on grounds of probability, that where the wrong has been done by a weaker Nation, the stronger one has generally been able to enforce redress; but where by a stronger Nation, redress by War has been neither obtained nor expected by the weaker—on the contrary, the loss has been increased by the expenses of the War, in blood and treasure; yet it may have obtained another object, equally securing itself from future wrong. It may have retaliated on the aggressor, losses of blood and trea-



sure, far beyond the value to him of the wrong he had committed, and thus have made the advantage of that too dear a purchase in future; in this way, the loss by the War may have secured the weaker Nation from loss by future wrong.

The case you state of two boxers, both of whom get a "terrible bruising," is apposite to this; he, of the two, who committed the aggression on the other, although victor in the scuffle, yet probably finds the aggression not worth the bruising it has cost him. To explain this by numbers, it is alleged that Great Britain took from us, before the late War, near 1,000 vessels, and that, during the War, we took 1400: that before the War, she seized and made slaves of 6,000 of our citizens, and that in the War we killed more than 6,000 of her subjects and caused her to expend such a sum as amounted to 4 or 5000 guineas a head for every slave she had made. She might have purchased the vessels she took for less than the value of those she lost, and have used the 6000 of her men killed, for the purposes to which she applied ours; have saved the 4 or 5000 guineas a head; and obtained a character of justice, which is as valuable to a Nation as an individual. These considerations leave her without inducement to plunder property, and take men, in future, on such dear terms. I neither affirm nor deny the truth of these allegations; nor is their truth material to the question: they are possible, and therefore present a case to your consideration, in a discussion of the general question: Whether any degree of injury can render a recourse to War expedient? Still less do I propose to draw to myself any part in this discussion.

Age, and its effects both on body and mind, has weaned my attentions from public subjects and left me unequal to the labors of correspondence, beyond the limits of my personal concerns. I retire, therefore, from the question, with a sincere wish, that your writings may have effect in lessening this greatest of human evils, and that you may retain life and health, to enjoy the contemplation of this happy spectacle; and pray you to be assured of my great respect.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

MR. ADAMS' ANSWER.

QUINCY, February 6, 1816.

DEAR SIR: I have received your kind letter of the 23d of January, and I thank you for the pamphlets enclosed with it.

It is very true, as my excellent friend, Mr. Norton, has informed you, that I have read many of your publications with pleasure.

I have also read, almost all the days of my life, the solemn reasonings and pathetic declarations of Erasmus, of Fenelon, of St. Pierre, and many others against War and in favor of Peace. My understanding and my heart accorded with them at first blush. But, alas! a longer and more extensive experience has convinced me that Wars are as necessary and as inevitable, in our system, as hurricanes, earthquakes, and volcanoes.

Our beloved country, Sir, is surrounded by enemies, of the most dangerous, because the most powerful and most unprincipled, character. Collisions of national interest, of commercial and manufacturing rivalries, are multiplying around us. Instead of discouraging a martial spirit, in my opinion, it ought to be excited. We have not enough of it to defend us, by sea or land.

Universal and perpetual Peace appears to me no more nor less than everlasting, passive obedience and non-resistance. The human flock would soon be fleeced and butchered, by one or a few.

I cannot, therefore, Sir, be a subscriber or a Member of your Society.

I do, Sir, most humbly supplicate the theologians, the philosophers, and politicians, to let me die in peace: I seek only repose.

With the most cordial esteem, however, I am, Sir, your friend and servant,

JOHN ADAMS.

THE PORTRAIT OF SEBASTIAN CABOT.—The *Daily Times*, of Bristol, England, contains the following account of the celebrated picture of Sebastian Cabot, which was destroyed in the house of the Hon. Richard Biddle, of Pittsburg, in the great fire of 1845, in that city:—

"There have recently appeared, in several newspapers, two different statements—neither being correct—respecting the original painting of Cabot, an engraving of which forms the frontispiece to our City Librarian's handsomely got-up *Life* of him, recently published. 'This engraving,' say some of the papers, 'is from a painting in the possession of Mr. C. J. Warford;' whilst others, following the statement on page fifty-three of the *Life*, say 'the original is now in America.' The fact, however, is, that twenty-four years ago it was accidentally destroyed. Its history, like that of Cabot himself, is a varied and interesting one. It was painted for Edward VI., and hung in the Palace at Whitehall. Seventy-two years after that King's death it was still there, for Purchas, in his *Pilgrimes*, published in 1625, mentions the portrait, and prints an extract from the Latin inscription on it. As there is

"evidence to show that it was not there in 1674, "the inference is that it was sold soon after the "death of Charles I., when the fine-art contents "of Whitehall and his other palaces were turned "into cash, by the Government.

"In 1792, the late C. J. Harford, Esq., of Bristol, whilst traveling in Scotland, saw the portrait at the seat of a nobleman; and, many years afterward, his friend, the late Sir Frederick Eden, had the pleasure of gratifying "Mr. Harford's anxious wishes by procuring it "for him (vide *Memoir*, 1831, page 328). About "1830, Mr. Richard Biddle, a distinguished "lawyer, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, was in "England, engaged in historical investigations, "the result of which was the *Memoir of Cabot*, "published in 1831. In pursuing his inquiries, "he spared neither labor nor expense. Hearing "that the portrait of Cabot, with the Latin inscription on it, mentioned by Purchas, was in "the possession of the representative of C. J. Harford, Esq., he became very desirous to have "it. At first, he was not inclined to sell; but, "afterwards, was induced to name a sum, which, "it is said, was supposed would not be given "for it—five hundred guineas! To his surprise, it was at once taken at that price; and Mr. Biddle carried his treasure home to Pittsburgh.

"Knowing, as we do now, the purchaser's "veneration for the memory of Bristol's famous "mariner, his anxious wish to possess the portrait, and his means to gratify that wish, one "is set speculating as to what sum could have "been asked which such a purchaser would not "have given.

"In 1845, an extensive conflagration occurred "at Pittsburgh when Mr. Biddle's house and all "its contents, including the picture, were consumed. Thus the original portrait of 'The "Right Worshipful M. Sebastian Cabota, Esq., "Governor of the Myserie and Companie of "the Merchants Adventurers,' was destroyed "by fire on that Continent which, nearly three "centuries and a half before, in the good ship "*The Matthew of Bristow*, Cabot was the first "to discover."

#### A SAILOR'S COGITATIONS.

*Extract from the Log-book of the Ship Plato, of Baltimore, Captain Timothy Gardner, just arrived from Bremen.*

JUNE 2D. Clear weather and smooth sea, light winds W. S. W. Lat. 42 deg. Lon. 59 deg. spoke and passed the elegant Steam-ship SAVANNAH, out eight days from Savannah, bound to St. Petersburg, by way of Liverpool. She passed us at the rate of nine or ten knots, and the Captain informed us that she worked remarkably well; and the greatest compliment we

could bestow, was to give her three cheers, as the happiest effort of mechanical genius that ever appeared on the western ocean. She returned the compliment. "Thinks we to ourselves," if America should ever have another War with any European power (which God forbid,) we shall in a short time have floating steam-batteries at sea, as large as Fort M'Henry, when we shall have a better opportunity of returning shell for shell than we had last siege, where many were stationed as targets to be shot at.—*Niles's Register.*

HAWAIIAN AND MALAY DIALECTS.—A correspondent of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, in a letter to the Editor of that newspaper, revives the theory that the Hawaiian language is a branch of the Malay. We believe that Mr. Marsden, the compiler of the *Malayan Dictionary*, was of opinion that the whole of the languages of Oceania were derived from the Malay. The correspondent we before alluded to, gives a short Vocabulary of words similar in both languages, and says: "Many of the "Malay words are, in the different languages, "entirely dissimilar to those in Hawaiian. I "have run over the list and selected those alike, "or similar. For instance, in the Ratahan dialect, Fire is 'Putong'; in the dialect of Mysol, 'Lap'; and in that of Teto, 'Hai,' which "last I have used in my list. I would like to "hear the subject treated at length by a learned Hawaiian scholar, like the Rev. Artemas Bishop; and I think he would clearly prove "that a portion, at least, of the aboriginal "Hawaiians descended from the people of the "Malay group."

English.	Malay.	Hawaiian.
Fire.....	Hahi	Ahi
Nose.....	Inu	Ihn
Snail.....	Kutu	Uuku
Tongue.....	Lila	Alelo
Tooth.....	Nihi	Niho
Water.....	Wai	Wai
Banana.....	Fia	Maia
Box.....	Barua	Pahu
Bird.....	Manu	Manu
Boat.....	Waa	Waapa
Cocoanut.....	Nyu	Niu
Come.....	Mai	Mai
Eye.....	Mata	Maka
Feather.....	Bulu	Hulu
Finger.....	Lima hato	Lima
Hand.....	Lima	Lima
Head.....	Poi	Poo
Good.....	Mai	Maikai
House.....	Bali	Hale
Hot.....	Pelah	Wela



<i>English,</i>	<i>Maylay.</i>	<i>Hawaiian</i>
Rain.....	Hura	Ua
Road.....	Lalani	Alanui
Two.....	Rua	Elua
Three.....	Tolu	Ekolu
Four.....	Ha	Eha
Five.....	Lima.....	Elima
Six.....	Noh	Eono
Seven.....	Hitu	Ehiku
Eight.....	Walu	Ewalu
Nine.....	Siwa	Eiwa

THE PAST, NOT THE PRESENT.—The following letter, written by Thomas Jefferson when he was President, is published, for the first time, it is said, by one of our metropolitan exchanges:

“WASHINGTON, Feb. 6. 1803.

“DEAR SIR: Monsr. d'Yrujo, the Spanish Minister here, has been so kind as to spare me “200 bottles of Champagne, part of a larger parcel imported for his own use, and consequently “privileged from duty, but it would be improper “for me to take the benefit of that. I must, “therefore, ask the favor of you to take the proper measures for paying the duty, for which purpose I enclose you a bank check for 22½ dollars, “the amount of it. If it could be done without “mentioning my name it would avoid ill-intended observations, as in some such way as this, “by duty paid on a part of such a parcel of “wines not entitled to privilege,” or in any “other way you please. The wine was imported “into Philadelphia, probably about midsummer “last. Accept assurances of my great esteem and “respect. TH. JEFFERSON.

“Gen. MUHLENBERG.”

RECORD OF THE FOURTH INFANTRY.—The following are the battles in which the Fourth United States Infantry participated during the Rebellion, and names of officers serving with the Regiment, in each engagement:

*April, 1862—Siege of Yorktown.*—Lieutenant-colonel R. C. Buchanan, commanding Regiment; Captain L. C. Hunt, Acting field-officer; Captains J. B. Collins, Hiram Dryer, F. H. Bates, R. N. Scott, T. E. Turner; First Lieutenants C. H. Carlton, A. R. Benedict, Thomas A. Martin, A. B. Cain, Alexander Carolin, W. S. Collier, John L. Buell, Regimental-quartermaster; Second Lieutenants A. E. Sheldon, R. P. McKibbin, William H. Powell, Adjutant, G. M. Randall, H. W. Patterson, E. F. Brenner, S. G. Krepps, S. T. Crowley.

*June, 1862—Gaines' Mills.*—Captain J. B. Collins, commanding Regiment; Captain Hiram Dryer, Acting field-officer; Captain T. E. Turner; First Lieutenants C. H. Carlton, J. W.

Adams, A. R. Benedict, Thomas A. Martin, A. B. Cain, Alexander Carolin, W. S. Collier, John L. Buell, Regimental-quartermaster; Second Lieutenants A. E. Sheldon, R. P. McKibbin, William H. Powell, Adjutant, G. M. Randall, H. W. Patterson, E. F. Brenner, S. G. Krepps, S. T. Crowley.

*July, 1862—Malvern Hill.*—Captain J. B. Collins, commanding Regiment; Captain Hiram Dryer, Acting field-officer; Captain T. E. Turner; First Lieutenants C. H. Carlton, A. R. Benedict, Thomas A. Martin, A. B. Cain, Alexander Carolin, W. S. Collier, John L. Buell, Regimental-quartermaster; Second Lieutenants A. E. Sheldon, R. P. McKibbin, William H. Powell, Adjutant, G. M. Randall, H. W. Patterson, E. F. Brenner, S. T. Crowley, S. G. Krepps.

*August, 1862—Bull Run, No. 2.*—Captain J. B. Collins, commanding Regiment; Captain Hiram Dryer, Acting field-officer; First Lieutenants C. H. Carlton, A. R. Benedict, Thomas A. Martin, A. B. Cain, Alexander Carolin, W. S. Collier, John L. Buell; Second Lieutenants A. E. Sheldon, R. P. McKibbin, G. M. Randall, H. W. Patterson, Acting adjutant, S. T. Crowley, S. G. Krepps, George Williams, E. F. Brenner, Regimental-quartermaster.

*September, 1862—Antietam.*—Captain Hiram Dryer, commanding Regiment; Captain C. H. Carlton, Acting field-officer; First Lieutenants A. R. Benedict, Thomas A. Martin, A. B. Cain, Alexander Carolin, John L. Buell, A. E. Sheldon; Second Lieutenants R. P. McKibbin, G. M. Randall, H. W. Patterson, S. T. Crowley, George Williams, E. F. Brenner, Regimental-quartermaster.

*December, 1862—Fredericksburg.*—Captain Hiram Dryer, commanding Regiment; Captain J. W. Adams, Acting field-officer; First Lieutenants A. R. Benedict, Thomas A. Martin, Alexander Carolin, W. S. Collier, Ira F. Gensel; Second Lieutenants G. M. Randall, acting Adjutant, H. W. Patterson, Regimental-quartermaster, S. T. Crowley, George Williams.

*May, 1863—Chancellorsville.*—Captain Hiram Dryer, commanding Regiment; Captain J. W. Adams, acting Field-officer; First Lieutenants Thomas A. Martin, A. B. Cain, Alexander Carolin, W. S. Collier, A. E. Sheldon, H. W. Patterson; Second Lieutenants S. T. Crowley, George Williams, John Miller, G. L. Luhn, G. W. Dost, George Atcheson, J. J. S. Hassler, John Simmons, Adjutant.

*July, 1863—Gettysburg.*—Captain J. W. Adams, commanding Regiment; First Lieutenant, A. R. Benedict, Acting field-officer; First Lieutenants Thomas A. Martin, Alexander Carolin, W. S. Collier, A. E. Sheldon, H. W. Patterson, S. T. Crowley; Second Lieutenants

John Miller, G. W. Dost, G. L. Luhn, George Atcheson, George Williams, John Simmons, Adjutant.

*May, 1864—Wilderness.*—Captain C. H. Brightly, commanding Regiment; Captain Thomas A. Martin; First Lieutenants—G. M. Randall, S. T. Crowley; Second Lieutenants George Atcheson, John Simmons, Adjutant.

*May, 1864—Spottsylvania.*—Captain A. B. Cain, commanding Regiment; First Lieutenant R. P. McKibbin, Acting field-officer; First Lieutenant S. T. Crowley, Second Lieutenant George Atcheson, Acting-adjutant.

*May, 1864—Spottsylvania Court-house.*—Captain A. B. Cain, commanding Regiment; First Lieutenant R. P. McKibbin, Acting field-officer; First Lieutenant S. T. Crowley; Second Lieutenant George Atcheson, Acting-adjutant.

*May, 1864—North Anna River.*—Captain A. B. Cain, commanding Regiment; First Lieutenant, S. T. Crowley, Acting field-officer; Second Lieutenants G. L. Luhn, George Atcheson, Acting Adjutant.

*June, 1864—Coal Harbor.*—Captain A. B. Cain, commanding Regiment; First Lieutenant, S. T. Crowley, Acting field officer; Second Lieutenant, G. L. Luhn, acting Adjutant.

The Companies were commanded by non-commissioned officers.

*June, 1864—Petersburg.*—Captain A. B. Cain, commanding Regiment; Captain A. Carolin; First Lieutenant, J. J. S. Hassler; Second Lieutenants John R. Bothwell, Whittingham Cox, Acting Adjutant; First Lieutenant, H. W. Patterson, Second Lieutenant, G. L. Luhn.

*April, 1865—Lee's Surrender, Appomattox Court-house.*—Captain J. B. Collins, commanding Regiment; Captain A. B. Cain, Acting field-officer; Captains Alexander Carolin, A. E. Sheldon; First Lieutenants R. P. McKibbin, W. H. Powell, G. L. Luhn, J. J. S. Hassler, George Atcheson; Second Lieutenants T. F. Quinn, John R. Bothwell, Whittingham Cox.

The following-named officers of the Fourth United States Infantry were detached from the Regiment:

Colonel Silas Casey, Major-general Volunteers; Lieutenant-colonel R. C. Buchanan, commanding First Brigade, Regular Infantry; Major S. G. Simmons, Colonel Volunteers; Major H. M. Judah, Brigadier-general Volunteers; Major F. T. Dent, Brigadier-general Volunteers; Captain D. A. Russell, Brigadier-general Volunteers; Captain Maurice Maloney, Colonel Volunteers; Captain L. C. Hunt, Brigadier-general Volunteers; Captain George Crook, Brigadier-general Volunteers; Captain R. N. Scott, Aide-de-Camp to General Halleck; Captain C. H. Carlton, Colonel Volunteers; Captain R. P. McKibbin, Aide-de-Camp to General Crittenden; Captain Wil-

liam H. Powell, Assistant Adjutant general, First Brigade, Regular Infantry; Captain George M. Randall, Lieutenant-colonel Volunteers.—*Army and Navy Journal*.

THE "MOHAWK INDIANS."—Some time ago, the Editor of the *Register* took the liberty to ask President Adams, if he could oblige him by furnishing a list of the names of those gentlemen who destroyed the tea in Boston-harbor, previous to the Revolution. The following is his reply; and its publication may probably put us in possession of the information which we seek to record:

"QUINCY, May 10th, 1819.

"MR. NILES—In one of your letters, you ask 'me whether I can give the names of the Mohawks, who were concerned in the noyade of 'the tea in Boston-harbor? I now tell you in truth, and upon honor, that I know not, and never knew, the names of any one of them. During the week of that transaction, I was employed in the discharge of my duty as a Barrister-of-law, in the Court of Judicature, in the Town and County of Plymouth. When I returned to Boston, the deed was done. I never inquired who did it—whenever any person discovered an inclination to give me a history of it, as many did, I constantly stopped him short, and said, 'Say not a word to me on that subject, name not to me one person concerned in it.' My reason for this caution was, that I expected every day an Indictment against the authors of it; and that I should be called upon to defend them in a Court of Justice; and I was determined that no Judge or Juror, Attorney-general or Solicitor-general, should have it in his power to compel me to testify as a witness to any fact relative to the transaction; and, to this day, I know not the name of one man concerned in it. Within two years past, a gentleman, an entire stranger to me, on a visit he was pleased to make me, blurted out the name of one gentleman who, he said, told him that he was one of the 'Mohawks,' but this name I will not commit to writing. You may depend upon it, they were no ordinary Mohawks.

"The profound secrecy in which they have held their names, and the total abstinence from plunder, are proofs of the characters of the men. I believe they would have tarred and feathered any one of their number who should have been detected in pocketing a pound of Hyson."—*Niles's Register*.

RELICS OF THE MOUND-BUILDERS IN OHIO.—G. F. Adye writes to the Cincinnati *Gazette*



from Newtonville, Spencer-county, Ohio, that that region is rich in American antiquities. Indian arrows, wedges, stone hatchets, pestles, and mounds are plenty. One of the most prominent mounds can be seen on Corn Island, near Troy. It is half a mile above the coal landing; and has a large two-story frame house on it. A cellar and a cistern have been dug in it. The mound covers about three acres; and is about twenty feet above the general level. About twelve inches below the surface, is a layer of flat stone, under which human bones of large size are found in abundance. Skulls, larger than the whole head of a man, are found. The lower jawbone can be placed over the jaw and flesh of a large man's face. The whole skeleton is very large. An excavation near by shows where the dirt was obtained. Inclosed I send you two teeth, taken from the upper and lower jaw of a human head, which was obtained twenty-one feet below the surface. They are large and sharp, and show the carnivorous habits of a larger race of men than the present. Half a mile from this mound, is another of less proportions, but every way similar. Also twenty or thirty other small mounds are not far off, all containing bones, etc. In one was obtained a wedge of pure copper, that weighed over a pound. The mounds are full of bones, from top to bottom, showing that large numbers were buried there.

In this connection, I will speak of a very large mound near Petersburg, Pike-county, Indiana. It covers about four acres at the base; is one acre on top; and about seventy feet high. Here also an excavation shows where the dirt was obtained. Human bones, of immense size, hatchets, arrows, etc., here also mark the habits of a warlike race of giants.

The timber and soil of these mounds and excavations are the same size, and depth, and general appearance, as the surrounding country, showing great antiquity of the mounds and builders.  
—*Christian Intelligencer*.

HOW HENRY CLAY AND J. Q. ADAMS PLAYED "ALL FOURS."—In the Summer of 1838, one of our editors was an attache of the South Carolina Railroad delegation to Lexington, Kentucky, to attend a barbecue given by the citizens of that place to Hon. Robert Y. Hayne, as President of the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railroad.

After the barbecue, Mr. Clay invited the party to dine with him at Ashland, his beautiful country residence and rich cattle-farm.

At the table, one of the guests called attention to two beautiful paintings on the mantelpiece, whereupon Mr. Clay, pointing to one of the paintings, said archly, and smiling, "I will tell

"you how I came by that painting, provided," (bowing to one of his guests) "it does not go into 'the newspapers, as it involves an anecdote, at 'the expense of my old friend, Mr. Adams." He then proceeded thus: "Mr. Adams, Gallatin, and myself, three of the Commission for negotiating a Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, 'in 1813, were at Ghent, boarding at the same 'hotel. One morning, we went to a great exhibition, or sale, of paintings; and each of us 'purchased one. On returning to our quarters, 'our paintings were sent to us. Admiring Mr. 'Adams's purchase very much, I said to him, "'Mr. Adams, I would like to win your painting 'from you: I will stake mine against yours, at "'a game of cards." Agreed, said Mr. Adams, "'What game will you play?" said I. 'All "'Fours," said Mr. Adams. We cut for the 'deal; I won it; dealt; turned up Jack; and 'scored 'High, Low, Jack and the Game;' and 'the next hand counted out, and won the 'stake. I turned to Mr. Gallatin, who had purchased a fine painting of the Virgin Mary, and 'said, 'Mr. Gallatin, I would like to win your "'painting from you, in the same manner as I "'have won that of Mr. Adams.' 'No, Sair,' 'said Mr. Gallatin, in his broken English; 'I "'did not win the Veergin so, and I sall not "'loose heer so."

The company were all highly amused at the anecdote, and at the manner in which Mr. Clay narrated it, fully coming up to his reputation as a *reconteur*. The cream of the anecdote was that Mr. Adams, a demure gentleman, should have not only assented to play cards with Mr. Clay, but should have proposed a game of "All "Fours," at which Mr. Clay was a perfect adept. The anecdote, in due respect to Mr. Clay's admonitory proviso, has never been in print; but now, that the illustrious parties concerned have gone to honored graves, we feel at liberty to give it a place in our columns.—*Charleston (S. C.) Courier*, December 22.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THOMAS PAINE, RECEIVED FROM MARY ROSCOW.—After Willet Hicks and family began to visit Thomas Paine, not long previous to his death, they being near neighbors at Greenwich, he was much engaged in writing, which he performed with difficulty, bolstered up in bed, with something placed before him to rest his paper on, his shoulders being stiff, so that he could not move them; which, together with what Mary Roscow saw, convinced her, beyond a doubt, that he was spending his little remaining strength to leave behind him a proof against those principles he had so much of his time been endeavoring to inculcate. This circumstance occasioned Mary Roscow to be less careful to pre-

serve or remember what she saw and heard. What became of the MSS., has not yet been fully ascertained. It is reported and believed that it was sent to a printer, in New York city, since Paine's decease; and, while preparing for the press, was purchased, at a considerable price, by some of Paine's former adherents, and suppressed.

The first time Mary Roscow saw him she was returning from meeting. When nearly opposite the house where he resided, a person, who also was passing, observed, with thoughtless vulgarity, "Paine looks like the devil." A voice from the door replied, "If I only *looked* like the "devil it would do." She then perceived that Paine was at the door, but was hidden from view by trees, and had heard the conversation which occurred.

In the course of Paine's illness, Mary Roscow was also sick. The physician who attended him was called to her. She asked the Doctor how Paine was. He replied, "Very ill. We think "we have never seen such a suffering object. "He told me, to-day, that his bodily distress was "nothing compared to that of his mind."

When Mary Roscow recovered, she went to see Paine; and, in another apartment, she found a Frenchwoman, who had accompanied him from France, wringing her hands, and lamenting that she had forsaken her husband, friends, and religion, to embrace the principles of Paine, and had spent three years in following him. Now, he told her that those principles would not stand; and charged her not to build upon them. Said she, "I have none now to look unto."

There was a statement in a newspaper, a few weeks before his death, that two Clergymen came to see him, and he treated them very roughly. Mary Roscow asked him if this was correct. He answered "No!" but said that he sent for a Clergyman, who came with a Deacon or Elder; and he, supposing that Paine wished him to proceed in the usual manner, proposed prayer. Paine told him he did not send for him to pray, as he did not conceive that any form of prayer invented by man would avail; but that his motive in sending for the Clergyman was to relieve his own mind. To correct an error which he supposed him (the Clergyman) to be in, he then asked if he thought he was authorized by Christ to preach, which offended him, and he withdrew. Paine said he much preferred the Clergyman to himself; but feared he was in error, and might injure others.

The last visit Mary Roscow made him, on entering his room, she perceived him at prayer; and, on turning to go out, his nurse said to him: "There is a friend from Mr. Hicks, come to see "you." He paused; then asking her to come near him, said: "I hope you are a friend to God

"and to Christ." After pausing again, he asked her if she had ever read any of his writings. She replied she had, when very young. He desired to know what she thought of them. She said: "Dost thou *really* wish to know?" He answered: "I trust thou art one who has "bought the truth, and would not sell it to "please such a vagabond as I am." She then told him, that for some days after perusing them she could not think a good thought but some of his reasoning would twine around and repel it; and, seeing other children eager to read the book, she found no peace till she had burned it. He then uttered an exclamation, denoting the horror of his mind, saying, "It would have "been better for my soul, at this day, if all the "world, like you, had destroyed my writings; "but the world was glad to have them. If ever "Satan had an instrument on earth to lead into "the ways of darkness, I have been that one. I "have passed many sleepless nights in endeavor-"ing to pervert the right way."

He requested Mary Roscow to ask Willet Hicks to come and see him, saying: "I love to "have him sit by my side; for, though he says "but little, it seems as if the devil was silenced, "and I feel as if I could do nothing but pour "out my cries and tears before God." When some of Mr. Hicks's family were there, one of Paine's former adherents came and opened the door; but, seeing them, called out roughly, "Paine, I have heard five lies about you: one "was, that you were dead: another, that you "have recanted and turned Quaker. As you "lived like a man, I hope you will die like one." Paine said to Mr. Hicks: "You see how I have "lived. This has been Heaven; but these, my "former adherents, can do nothing now but "afflict me."

Paine wished Willet Hicks to endeavor to obtain permission for his interment in Friends' burial ground. Willet said he hardly thought it probable his request would be granted, stating his reasons. Upon applying for permission, he found Friends' sentiments as he expected, and informed Paine thereof, who was affected with the result, but thought it just. He afterward left directions to be interred on his own farm, at New Rochelle, giving the field, by will, as a place of interment for poor strangers.—*Sunday Dispatch*.

THE LATE GENERAL HAMILTON.—Our readers will recollect that Congress, at their last Session, passed a Law, allowing to the widow of the late Major-general Hamilton, the commutation of half-pay, which was granted to the officers of the Revolutionary Army, in lieu of five years half-pay. General Hamilton was, at that



time, a member of the old Congress; and, let it be remembered, was most anxious for the commutation, so as to relieve the wants of those brave men who aided in establishing our glorious Independence, the effects of which have been felt to this day, and will descend to posterity. In order to divest himself of every interest, and to give to his endeavors a weight, derived from the purest motives while effecting his commutation, he generously relinquished all claims that he had as an officer of the Army, and carried his laudable views into execution.

We are led to this statement from having heard the eldest son of the General, who has just returned from Washington, speak on this subject; in which he expressed himself sensible of the liberality displayed in the construction of the Law, allowing to his respected mother, in addition to the amount of commutation, interest thereon since the Peace of 1783, and of his having received from Government the whole amount, upwards of ten thousand dollars; and what made the settlement still more honorable, was making the Draft payable at one of the Banks in this city, by which upwards of seven-hundred dollars is saved to Mrs. Hamilton. —*An old number of the New York Advertiser.*

SCRAPS.—A paper-mill was in operation in East Hartford, as long ago as 1776. It was owned by Watson & Ledyard, and supplied much of the paper that was used by the American Army, in the Revolution.

—Machias is the oldest town in the State, East of the Penobscot-river, having been incorporated in 1784. The Plymouth Company had a trading house here, as early as 1633. The Indians were numerous on the river, and gave it the name of Mechisses, in consequence of its difficult navigation.

—Two Indian skeletons were dug up the other day at Marblehead, who, it was inferred, must have been buried ages ago, as they were underneath heaps of scollop-shells, which species of bivalves became extinct, in our waters, before Columbus's day.

—A man, in Waldoboro, Maine, prides himself on the possession of a hatchet with which, in 1749, his grandfather's skull was split by an Indian. It must be a pleasant thing to have in the family.

—Mr. Street, of Salem, Massachusetts, moved to Ohio, and founded the town of Salem; thence to Indiana, where he established the town of Salem; and thence to Iowa, where he erected the town of Salem.

—The Meeting-house built at Waldoboro,

Maine, more than a hundred years ago, by the Germans, is still standing, with its twenty windows of four by nine glass, its square unpainted pews, its pulpit, sounding-board, and communion-table of pine. The last Pastor was Rev. John William Starman, a native of Helmstadt, Germany, who preached in this ancient house more than fifty years, in German and English, and who died, in 1854, ninety-one years of age.

—The First Church, in Hingham, Massachusetts, was organized, in 1635, under Rev. Peter Hobart, from Hingham, England, who had been silenced by the persecuting authorities of that day. The Meeting-house, built in 1681, has been in use ever since, and has lately been thoroughly repaired, with new floors, windows, and pews. It is supposed to be the oldest house of worship in the country, and will stand another hundred years, if permitted.

—The heirs of William Penn have, from the English pension fund, “£4,000 a year, forever.”

## XII.—NOTES.

BARONETS IN AMERICA.—*The Royal Kalendar* for 1775, contains a List of the Baronets of Great Britain, with their places of abode, and the dates of the original Patents. Among them I find the following residents of America.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Date of the original Patents.</i>
Beckwith, Jonathan, Virginia.	April 15, 1681.
Head, Edmund, South Carolina.	June 9, 1676.
Johnson, John, New York.	November 18, 1755.
Pepperell, William, Boston, N. E.	Oct. 29, 1774.
ALBANY,	O'C.

LIST OF ADVERTISED LETTERS.—A list of letters remaining in the New York Post Office, April 6, 1752, was advertised in the *New York Gazette*. Among the lot, one is particularly indicated a “High Dutch Letter,” without stating the name of the person to whom it was addressed!

The chances are that it ultimately found its way to the Dead Letter Office.

ALBANY.

O'C.

AITKEN'S EDITION OF THE BIBLE.—THE BIBLE. A CORRECT EDITION, now printing in PHILADELPHIA, by Mr. ROBERT AITKEN, will be ready to be delivered to the subscribers by the first day of November next

This being the first edition of THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS printed in the English language in America, it is hoped the public will give their patronage to this arduous, but necessary undertaking; and send in their names to the Printer hereof, for such numbers as they may

want. Such as incline to have WATT'S PSALMS bound up with them, will please to give notice to the Printer, as there is an edition of them now printing for the purpose.

N. B. A specimen of the paper and types with which the Bible and Psalms are printed, may be seen at the Printing Office: Also, the prices may be known, wholesale and retail, by applying to the Printer.—*The New York Packet*, August 29, 1782. W. K.

#### NAVAL SHIP BUILDING, IN NEW ENGLAND.

##### I.

*Extract of a letter from Jamaica, dated June 29, 1776.*

A pamphlet has been circulated here under the title of *Common Sense*, which was sent hither from America. It is written with great virulence against the English Administration; and its design is to stir up the Colonists to assert their independency on the Mother Country. There are many false assertions in it, one of which Admiral Gayton has thought proper to contradict, in the *Jamaica Gazette*, in the following words:

"I have seen a pamphlet published in Philadelphia under the title of *Common Sense*, wherein the author says, that 40 years ago there were 70 and 80-gun ships built in New England: in answer to which I do declare, that at that very period of time I was in New England, a midshipman on board his Majesty's ship with the late Sir Peter Warren, and then there never had been a man of war built of any kind. "In 1747 (after the reduction of Louisburgh) there was a ship of 44 guns ordered to be built at Piscataqua by one Mr. Messervey; she was called the *America*, and sailed for England the following year; when she came home she was found so bad that she never was commissioned again. There was afterwards another ship of 20 guns built at Boston, by Mr. Benjamin Hollwell, which was called the *Boston*; she run but a short time before she was condemned; and those were the only two ships of war ever built in America: therefore I thought it my duty to publish this, to undeceive the Public in general, to shew that what the author has set forth is an absolute falsity.

"CLARK GAYTON."

*Upcott's Collection, iv, 371, New York Historical Society's Library.*

##### II.

To the PRINTER

As Admiral Gayton has taken upon him publicly to declare in Opposition to the Author of *Common Sense*, and from his own knowledge that when he was here forty Years since, "there never had been a Man of War of any kind built in New England." It is but just that the Pub-

lic should be informed, that in the year 1690, a Fourth Rate Ship of War was launched at New Castle in Piscataqua River; and in the Year 1696, another, whose Force is not remembered. The former was the *Falkland*, and the latter *Bedford Galley*.

It is not probable that Admiral Gayton had any knowledge of these Ships having been built here, so that he cannot be charged with Falshood, but it is hoped if he should publish any Thing further relating to this Country, he will express himself not quite so positively, especially if he undertakes to prove a Negative.

The Evidence of the above Facts depends on an original Manuscript Letter from Mr. Emerson, formerly Minister of New Castle, to the late Mr. Prince, and it is to be found among the Collection of Manuscripts relating to the History of New England, made by 50 years Industry of that worthy Gentleman, unless it has been pilfered or destroyed by the Saracen-like Barbarity of the late Occupiers of the Old South Meeting House in Boston, in an Apartment of which those valuable Manuscripts were deposited.—*Freeman's Journal*, or *New Hampshire Gazette*, January 14, 1777. W. K.

THE MORAVIAN MISSIONS.—*Philadelphia, June 15.* The Beginning of this Month, three Natives of *Greenland*, two young Men and a young Woman, converted to the Christian Religion by the Moravian Missionaries in that Country, were in this City on a Visit to the Brethern here. They left their own Country about two Years since, in the Ship belonging to that Society, (which had carried a ready framed Church to be erected there, *Greenland* affording no Wood for Building; *This Vessel sailed from this Port a few Days ago for Davis's Streights, with some of the Greenlanders on board*) and have visited the Brethern in several Parts of *Europe, as England, Holland and Germany*. They were clad in Seal Skins, with the Hair on, after Manner of their own Country, their Eyes and Hair black, like our Indians, but their Complexion somewhat lighter. The *Moravians*. it seems have a Mission also at *Barbice*, near *Surinam*, and two Indian Converts from thence, with these *Greenlanders*, met lately at *Bethlehem*, in this Province (a Settlement of the *Moravians*) with some of the *Delaware Indians*, and some of the *Mohickons*, Converts also of the *Moravians*; and tho' their Native Lands are so vastly remote, as the Latitude 5, 41, and 65 North, yet what they observ'd of each others' Hair, Eyes and Complexion, convinc'd them that they were all of the same Race. They could find however no kind of Similitude in their several Languages.—*The New York Gazette and Post Boy*, June 19, 1749. W. K.



THE PILGRIM FATHERS.—The following Lines were put over the Door of the General Court, viz:

"Our Fathers crost the wide Atlantick Sea,  
 "And blest themselves when in the Desart Free,  
 "And shall their Sons, thro' Treachery or Fear,  
 "Give up that Freedom which has cost so dear!  
 "What-e'er Pretence our Enemies may frame  
 "The Man is alter'd, but the Cause the same.  
 "From *Caesar's* Court should *Cato* fawning  
 "come,

"Be sure that *Cato* is no Friend to *Rome*."

A Stranger passing by, and seeing several Persons reading the above Lines, caused him to stop, and having perused the same, he took a piece of Chalk, and writ under-neath the Lines following, viz:

"Their Fathers crost the wide Atlantick Sea,  
 "To be in Desarts from their *Deserts* free,  
 "And shall their Sons with glaring Insolence  
 "Support a Cause so void of common Sense?  
 "What-e'er Pretence this stubborn People frame,  
 "The Case is alter'd, but the Men the same.  
 "From *Caesar's* Court should a new Ruler come,  
 "Be sure they'll Starve him, as they've others  
 "done."

*The New York Gazette*, November 2, 1730

W. K.

THE JERSEY MUSQUITOS.—We hear from the Jerseys, that a Girl about 12 Years of Age, was sent last Monday se'nnight, to look for a Cow and a Calf, and that she has not been heard of since. The Neighbours have been for a week in quest of her, but to no Purpose; they suppose they have found her Track, about 7 Miles off in the Woods, and that she had eat Huckle Berries, which it appear'd she had vomitted up again. It is thought the Musquitoes, that are in prodigious Swarms thereabouts, are sufficient of themselves, to have put an End to her Life.—*New York Journal*, August 13th, 1767.

W. K.

#### HATFIELD AND DEERFIELD.

*Hatfield*, January 9. The People of this County are fill'd with Joy, for the Arrival of the Captives; especially, for the Return of the Reverend and Pious Mr. *John Williams*, to *Deerfield* again, upon *Saturday* the 28th of *December* last: which is esteemed a general Blessing. All thankfully acknowledge His Excellency's effectual Care of us therein. And a Design is formed for Rebuilding the Town more Commodiously, and regularly Fortifying of it. *Wednesday*, the 8th Current was a Day of Thanksgiving there, to Praise GOD for His great Goodness. The Reverend Mr. *Solomon Stoddard*, and *William Williams* assisted at the Solemnity, each Preaching a Thanksgiving Sermon, Besides the *Inhabitants*

of *Deerfield*, sundry Persons of Quality from other Towns were present, helping forward this Religious Exercise.

*Boston*; January 17. Upon appearance of the *Rainbow* seen here *Saturday* the 28th of *December*, about Nine in the Morning; some hoped it might be a Token, that GOD would not destroy *Deerfield* any more; And the good News from thence confirms that Hope.—*The Boston News Letter*, No. 144, January 20th, 1706-7.

W. K.

#### XIII.—QUERIES.

THE BALLOT.—When, where, and for what purpose was the Ballot first used in America? Was it written or printed, and what was its form? Whence was its use derived? If it were employed for a political purpose, was it by authority of any law; and if so, what were the qualifications of the Electors?

Was the Ballot ever used in New York under the Dutch Government?

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

L. B.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF TRINITY CHURCH, NEW YORK.—I have between seventy and eighty pamphlets relating to this Church and exclusive of mere Sermons preached within its walls, or by its various Ministers. Two-thirds of the number relate directly to the tenure of the property of the Church.

Who can furnish a bibliographical list of these and similar publications, giving a complete bibliography of this historic Church?

W. S. P.

GENEVA, N. Y.

#### WHO WROTE IT?

DEAR SIR: Allow me to occupy space sufficient, in your estimable Journal, to make the following query: Who is the author of this familiar quotation: "Consistency, thou art a jewel;" and where can it be found? Perhaps some of your readers who, like myself, have searched for it diligently; and who not like myself, have found it, can inform me.

NEW YORK, Oct. 30th, 1869. D. W. C. LENT.

#### XIV.—REPLIES.

JAN NAGEL (*H. M. II*, iii., 43.)

RYE, N. Y., Oct. 29th, 1869.

HENRY B. DAWSON Esq.,

MY DEAR SIR: Glancing over the *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, for January, 1868, I observe, in the Extracts given from the Records of New Amster-

am, the name of *Jan Nagel*. He is mentioned as the Defendant, in a suit which occurred on the 15th of March, 1653. A foot-note states, "We have found nothing whatever concerning this person. H. B. D."

Perhaps you may take some interest, therefore, in a document which has lately come into my hands, bearing the name of this individual, and purporting to have been written by him. It reads as follows:

"April ye 12 1657

"I take this oportunity to send you word that I will see you to comply with ye orders of ye nlew government as such a coarse seems now nessary and leving other alternative, but not without very strongly protesting against ye injustice which has long been heap-ed on us Not finding satisfaction in ye confiscation of very valuable property they are now compelling us to submit to an illgal and tyranicle forren Government If God has desin-ed in his providence that ye Dutch peple shold become victims to ye treachery and rapacity of ye English then all they can do is to submit.

"JAN NAGEL."

Without venturing an opinion as to the authenticity of this letter—its *antiquity* is manifest; but of course it may not unlikely be an antique translation—I send you the above as a curiosity.

I remain, my dear Sir,

Yours very cordially,

CHAS. W. BAIRD.

JACOB PERKINS. (*H. M. II. vi, 223.*) You will find a very good account of Jacob Perkins in *Appleton's New Cyclopædia*. He was born in Newburyport, in 1766, and died in London, in 1849.

My father was his particular friend, and when he was in trouble rendered him assistance. Perkins united with his extraordinary genius, the amiable weakness of prodigality in the use of money.

The invention of the nail-machine was one of the greatest benefactions given to this country, and made a sudden revolution in the expense of house carpentering. Before it came into successful operation, buildings were put together with wrought nails, imported from England. I remember the great excitement this machine produced, as I witnessed its operation, in 1808: it was curious to watch the perpetual dropping of perfect nails. These machines were greatly improved, and extended to tacks, afterwards.

In 1808, Mr. Perkins invented steel-plate engraving, to be applied to bank-notes, which was considered, and actually was, for many years a security against counterfeiting. The engraving of bank-notes before was rough and unskilful,

and led to innumerable counterfeits, all over the country.

Mr. Perkins's reputation became so great, as a manufacturer of bank-note plates, that Massachusetts, in 1808, directed that the stereotype-check, invented by him, should be used by all the Banks in the Commonwealth. Many in New England continued to use it, to the time of the establishment of the National Bank system.

Mr. Perkins carried his invention to England, and had great success in introducing it there. The Bank of England having long suffered from forgeries, had made liberal propositions, in 1818, for a more skilful mode of producing work which should resist the counterfeiter's skill. On this encouragement, he went to London, with experienced workmen; and, there, he successfully practiced his art.

Mr. Perkins did not confine himself to this speciality; but his active ingenious mind was constantly evolving new and useful inventions, which placed him among the most eminent of his class, in that country, and called him into the service of the Government.

He died in London, at the age of eighty-three, highly respected by a discriminating public.

W. W.

PORTLAND, ME.

## XV.—BOOKS.

### RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

### A.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Annual Reports of the Adjutant-general of the State of Maine, December 1, 1860.* Published agreeably to a Resolve approved March 16, 1855. Augusta: Stevens & Sayward, Printers to the State. 1860. Octavo, pp. 32.

....., *December 31, 1861.* Augusta: Stevens & Sayward, State Printers. 1862. Octavo, pp. (Report) 80, (Appendices A to D.) 636, (Appendix E.) 192, (Appendix F.) 4, (Appendix G.) 64.

....., *December 31, 1862.* Augusta: Stevens & Sayward, State Printers. 1863. Octavo, pp. (Report) 164, (Appendix A.) 47, (Appendix B.) 35, (Appendix C.) 6, (Appendix D.) 892, (Appendix E.) 74, (Appendix F.) 12, (Appendix G.) 27, (Appendix H.) 14, (Appendix I.) 72, (Appendix K.) 7.

....., *December 31, 1863.* Augusta: Stevens & Sayward, Printers to the State. 1863. Octavo, pp. (Report) 136, (Appendix A.) 22, (Appendix B.) 43, (Appendix C.) 10, (Appendix D.) 948, (Appendix E.) 104, (Appendix F.) 4, (Appendix G.) 12, (Appendix H.) 10, (Appendix I.) 30, (Appendix K.) 6, (Appendix L.) 6, (Index) 5.

....., *for the years 1864 and 1865.* Augusta: Stevens & Sayward, Printers to the State. 1866. Octavo, pp. Volume I, xl., 1825; Volume II, viii, 1378.

....., *for the year ending December 31, 1866.* Augusta: Stevens & Sayward, Printers to the State. 1867. Octavo, pp. 588.

*Supplement to the Annual Reports of the Adjutant-gen-*



*eral of the State of Maine, for the years 1861, '62, '63, '64, '65, and '66.* Augusta: Stevens & Sayward, Printers to the State. 1867. Octavo, pp. 1211.

..... *for the year ending December 31, 1867.* Augusta: Stevens & Sayward, Printers to the State. 1868. Octavo, pp. 64.

..... *for the year ending December 31, 1868.* Augusta: Owen & Nash, Printers to the State. 1869. Octavo, pp. 25.

We are indebted to General John C. Caldwell, the Adjutant-general of Maine, for this complete series of Reports of his office, illustrative of the part taken by that State in the recent War; and we have gone over them with much satisfaction. It is one of the most complete of the series of Reports which the War has produced. We can see nothing which has remained unnoticed, either concerning the individual soldiers or the organized forces which that State sent to the field; and there seems to be nothing left undone, which is desirable to the student of history, unless we except a general summary of the contents of the whole, which could have been done in a comparatively small space—a defect which we have noticed in the Reports of the greater number of other State Officers, and which, before long, we shall undertake to remedy, for our readers.

In order that the value of these volumes may be understood, we need only say that each volume contains, also, the Reports of the Quartermaster-general and Paymaster-general; and that the Appendices, in each volume, are exceedingly minute and precise in their statements, and generally uniform, throughout the series, in the order and arrangement of subjects. Thus, Appendix A, in the greater part of them, contains the General Orders issued during the year; Appendix B, in nearly all of them, contains the Roster of the officers of the Regiments forming the Maine forces, and the changes, by decease, resignation, etc., among the officers of the several Maine Regiments; Appendix C, in nearly all of them, exhibits the statistics of each Regiment and Battery, in tabular form, in a most convenient form for reference; Appendix D, in each, contains complete Returns of every Regiment in the field, showing their organization, when they left the State, and all subsequent changes, prior to the first of December of the year of the Report; the name, age, residence, rank, whether married or single, and date of muster; and, not unfrequently, they notice the present condition, date of discharge, character, and services, *of every man, private or officer*, in the entire service; Appendix E, in each, shows the towns and those who went into the Army from each of them; etc. It will be seen that little more can be desired, than has been done in this instance.

All this matter is well-arranged and exceedingly minute; and the volumes are well printed. Altogether, typographically as well as in a histori-

cal sense, these volumes are, in the highest degree, honorable to the officers who prepared them for the Press and to the State which has issued them.

2.—*Report of the Adjutant-general [of the State of New Hampshire.] made to His Excellency the Governor, June Session, 1860.* Concord: Asa McFarland, Public Printer. 1860. Octavo, pp. 16.

..... *for the year 1860-61.* House Journal for 1861. Pp. 484-527.

..... *made to His Excellency the Governor, May 20, 1862.* Concord: Henry McFarland, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 24.

..... *for the year ending May 20, 1863.* Concord: Henry McFarland, State Printer. 1863. Octavo, pp. 62.

..... *for the year ending May 20, 1864.* Concord: Amos Hadley, State Printer. 1864. Octavo, pp. 75, 3.

Communication from the Adjutant-general, transmitted by His Excellency the Governor, June Session, 1864. Concord: Amos Hadley, State Printer. 1864. Octavo, pp. 4.

*Report of the Adjutant-general, for the year ending May 20, 1865.* In two volumes. Concord: Abraham G. Jones. 1865. Octavo, pp. (I.) lvi, 747; (II.) vi, 856.

..... *for the year ending June 1, 1866.* In two volumes. Concord: George E. Jenks, State Printer. 1866. Octavo, pp. (I.) xxxii, 716; (II.) xxxii, 958.

*Report of the Commissioners upon the War Expenditures of the Towns and Cities in the State of New Hampshire.* Concord: George E. Jenks, State Printer. 1866. Octavo, pp. 32.

*Report of the Adjutant-general, for the year ending June 1, 1867.* Concord: George E. Jenks, State Printer. 1867. Octavo, pp. 123.

..... *for the year ending June 1, 1868.* Manchester: John B. Clarke, State Printer. 1868. Octavo, pp. xx, 401.

..... *for the year ending May 20, 1869.* Manchester: John B. Clarke, State Printer. 1869. Octavo, pp. 53.

The kindness of General Natt Head, the very efficient Adjutant-general of the State, and that of our friend, Captain W. F. Goodwin, U.S.A., and of the obliging State Librarian, enable us to notice, here, a complete set of New Hampshire's record of the part she has taken in the recent struggle.

It was not until the advent of General Head, that this record was even creditable to the officer who made it. The Annual Reports were meagre and unsatisfactory; and, as materials for history, they were nearly useless.

The appointment of General Head, as the successor of General Colby, very soon produced a change which was as welcome as it was noticeable. The Reports became gradually more complete and more useful; and not until he had brought some degree of order out of chaos, does he seem to have rested from his exceedingly onerous labors.

The Reports for 1860, 1861, 1862, and 1863, are brief and extremely unsatisfactory. That for 1864, is more thorough concerning the local militia, than any of the others, besides which, it contains the first Roster of the officers serving in the New Hampshire line, in the field. The Re-

rt for 1865, opens with a careful review of the rt which New Hampshire had taken in the ar, followed by a historical sketch of the ser- ces of each of her several Regiments, embrac- g, in each, a complete list and record of ser- ces of those who served in each Regiment; and e second volume closes with a series of biog- phies of officers who had fallen in the service. he Report for 1866 contains, *First*, The Gener- 's Report for the year; *Second*, a Record of all e New Hampshire Volunteers, from the begin- ing of the War; *Third*, the first portion of a complete "Military History of New Hampshire, from its settlement, in 1623, to the year 1861;" nd, *Fourth*, a complete "Military History of New Hampshire during the great Rebellion, 1861-1866," as that history may be read in a minute description of the organization and ser- vices of each of her several Regiments. The Report for 1867 contains only the general Report f official services and of official Returns; but hat for 1868, beside the usual details of official matters, brings forward the second portion of the 'Military History of New Hampshire, from 1623 'to 1861," which was commenced in the Report or 1866, and closes it. The Report for 1869 con- tains nothing requiring particular notice.

The work which General Head has performed, in the preparation of these several Reports, entitles him to the grateful remembrance of all who are interested in the history of New Hampshire, whether as members of that State or merely students of her history. The history of her ser- vices, in former Wars, which was prepared by C. E. Potter, Esq., of Hillsborough, possesses the highest importance, as material for history; while the personal record of the individual sol- diers who fought under the banners of New Hampshire, in the recent War, and the Regimental Histories, both herein presented, possesses an im- portance, both for present and future reference, which cannot be too highly estimated.

Like Maine's Reports, these are very neatly printed.

3.—*Report of the Adjutant and Inspector-general of the State of Vermont, for the year ending November 1. 1862.* Montpelier: 1862. Octavo, pp. 110.

*Report of the Adjutant and Inspector-general of the State of Vermont, from November 1, 1862, to October 1, 1863.* Montpelier: 1863. Octavo, pp. 106.

..... *from October 1. 1863, to October 1, 1864.* Montpelier: 1864 Octavo, pp. 229; (Appendices D. and E.) 63; (Appendix E.) 3.

..... *from October 1, 1864, to October 1, 1865.* Montpelier: 1865. Octavo, pp. 130, (Appendix A.) 80, (Appendix B.) 16, (Appendix C.) 60, (Appendix D.) 420, (Appendix E.) 14, (Appendix F.) 6, (Appendix G.) 26, (Index) 754-762.

..... *from October 1, 1865, to October 1, 1866.* Montpelier: 1866. Octavo, pp. 28, (Appendix A.) 12, (Appendix B.) 258, (Appendix C.) 32, (Appendix D.) 10, (Appendix E.) 6, (Appendix F.) 20, (Index) 367, 368.

....., *October 1. 1867.* Montpelier: 1867. Octavo, pp. 27.

....., *for 1868.* Montpelier: October, 1868. Octavo, pp. 35.

....., *for 1869.* Montpelier: 1869. Octavo, pp. 60.

*Register of Commissioned Officers of the Vermont Vol- unteers, in the service of the United States.* Adjutant and Inspector-general's Office, Woodstock, Vt., June 1. 1863. Sine loco, sine anno. Octavo, pp. 37.

*An Oration before the Re-union Society of Vermont Officers, in the Representatives' Hall, Montpelier, Vt., October 25, 1866.* By Col. W. G. Veazey, Rutland, Vt. Rutland: 1866. Octavo, pp. 26.

..... *October 22d. 1868.* By Gen. P. T. Washburn, Woodstock, Vt. Montpelier: 1869. Octavo, pp. 29.

We are indebted to Major Peck, the Assistant Adjutant-general, and the Hon. Charles Reed, State Librarian, for this complete series of Ver- mont's Official Reports, concerning the part taken by that State in the recent War; and we take pleasure in giving a notice of it, in its proper place, in our pages.

There was no Report from this office in 1861; and the record actually began, therefore, in the volume for 1862—indeed, when the War burst on Vermont, there seems to have been nothing to be reported, within her borders, which bore a semblance to an efficient Militia. Of course, the history of the War for the two years, 1861 and 1862, must have been greatly condensed to find a place in this little volume; yet it is quite distinctly set forth, as far as Vermont was concerned in it; while the story of the organization of her military forces, sent to the field, and that of the services which those forces rendered to the coun- try, as set forth, year by year, are minute in their details, well-told, and quite satisfactory. The Appendices are very full in their exhibition of the General Orders, the Executive Correspond- ence, the Reports of Regiments in the field, the Rosters of men and officers, Records of the ser- vices of individual soldiers and those of Regi- ments, etc.; and without being as expensive or as well-done as some others, this series of volumes is above the average of this class of works, in both extent and quality.

The *Report for 1862*, as we said, briefly re- views the operations during 1861 and 1862; and that for 1863, as briefly reviews those of 1862-3. The *Report for 1864*, in addition to a similar brief review of those of 1863-4, presents, also, the General Orders issued by the Governor, during the pe- riod covered by the Report; the Correspondence of the Governor, on Military affairs; the official Re- ports to the State Officers, by Officers of the State, relative to services in the field; a complete Ros- ter of the Vermont Volunteers who had entered the service of the United States, arranged by Regiments; a complete Record of Town Cred- its, in which the names of their several men and



of the Regiments and Companies in which they served, are carefully noted; and sundry Official Reports, not made to the State Authorities, but relating to the services of the Vermont line. The *Report for 1865* reviews the operations of 1864-5, and contains, also, an Appendix embracing the General Orders; the Governor's Military Correspondence; the Reports of Officers in the field to the local Adjutant-general; a complete Roster of Vermont Volunteers, arranged by Regiments and exhibiting their services; the Town Credits, exhibiting the names of their recruits and the Companies and Regiments in which they served; the standing of Towns, in reference to the several Calls for Troops; and the Returns of the Militia, arranged by Towns and Counties. The *Report for 1866* is very brief; but its Appendices contain the Governor's Orders; the Rosters of Officers in the Vermont line, arranged by Regiments; the Final Statement of troops raised, also arranged by Regiments; lists of Engagements in which the Vermont troops participated, also arranged in Regiments; Reports from the field to the Adjutant-general; and the Returns of the Militia of the State. The *Reports for 1867, 1868, and 1869*, contain nothing of general interest.

It will be seen, from this brief synopsis, that the record of Vermont's services has been well kept and carefully presented to the world; notwithstanding she has not equalled Maine in the minuteness of its details, nor New Hampshire in the unbroken chain of her narrative.

The two Addresses contain material for the illustration of Vermont's history; and, for that reason, were printed at the public expense and have become public papers. For the same reason we connect them with other official evidences of Vermont's resolute defence of the Union, in the recent War of Secession.

4.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant and Acting Quartermaster-general of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, for the year ending December 31, 1860.* Boston: William White, Printer to the State. 1860. Octavo, pp. 62.

*Annual Report of the Adjutant-general of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, with Reports from the Quartermaster-general, Surgeon-general, Commissary-general, and Master of Ordnance, for the year ending December 31, 1861.* Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers. 1861. Octavo pp. 91, 15, 21 and a folded sheet, 4, 12.

....., *for the year ending December 31, 1832.* Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers. 1833. Octavo, pp. 472, 12 and a folded leaf, 32, 10 and five folded leaves.

....., *for the year ending December 31, 1863.* Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers. 1864. Octavo, pp. 1022, 8, 22, 20 and 2 sheets, folded, unpagged.

....., *for the year ending December 31, 1864.* Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers. 1865. Octavo, pp. 1093, 80.

....., *for the year ending December 31, 1865.* Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers. 1866. Octavo, pp. 767.

....., *for the year ending December 31, 1866.* Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers. 1867. Octavo, pp. 74.

....., *for the year ending December 31, 1867.* Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers. 1868. Octavo, pp. 64.

....., *for the year ending December 31, 1868.* Boston: Wright & Potter, State Printers. 1869. Octavo, pp. 62.

*Record of the Massachusetts Volunteers. 1861-1865.* Published by the Adjutant-general, under a Resolve of the General Court. Volume I. Boston: Wright & Potter, Printers to the State. 1865. Quarto, pp. v, 793.

We are indebted to several valued friends, for this very complete series of volumes, embracing very nearly the entire record of Massachusetts in the recent War.

The Adjutant-general's Reports, as will be seen from the size of the volumes, are very minute; and although in the range of subjects which they occupy, they are not as complete as those of Maine, very little which possesses general interest appears to have been left unnoticed.

The Report for 1861, after a brief survey of the history of Massachusetts, during the year, presents a complete history of such of her military organizations during the same period, and a statement of their condition, as nearly as possible at the date of the Report. The Reports for 1862, 1863, 1864, and 1865, follow the same general arrangement; and as each of these regimental sketches was made up from the Reports to the Department of the officers, they possess what must be considered of great value, as accurate and tolerably complete records of the services of the Regiments, during the periods referred to. The Reports for 1866, 1867, and 1868, contain very little which will be considered important, outside of Massachusetts.

These Reports are very handsomely printed and bound in a neat, substantial manner.

The *Record of the Volunteers* is the first of the series of volumes which were ordered by the General Court, in 1866; and it embraces the names and rank, age, amount of bounty received by, place of residence or place credited to, date of muster, and termination of term of service and the cause thereof, of each of the soldiers who served for *short terms*, together with those who served in the Light Artillery, Heavy Artillery, and Cavalry, for *long terms*—those who served in the Regular service, the Veteran Reserve Corps, and other organizations, having been reserved for succeeding volumes.

All this is very good, as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough; and with the excellent example which has been afforded by less pretentious States, it seems to us to that Massachusetts should have gone further, unless she has purposely left her record incomplete, in order that it may not rise against her, when, years hence, she shall falsely pretend that, in this War as in

l others, she alone set the ball in motion and kept it rolling, until the insurrection had been overcome and Peace restored.

If Massachusetts is not ashamed of *her* record, *SHE NEED NOT BE*, and if she has no evil purposes in the omission, why has not she presented to the world, Regiment by Regiment, as little Rhode Island has done? She could have had no better opportunity to have displayed the grim story of the struggles and the sufferings of her military sons—native or adopted, real or fictitious—than was afforded in this volume, where every man's individual record has been presented, in the order of the respective military organizations; but, for some unexplained reason, that opportunity has been allowed to pass unemploy- ed, and even unnoticed.

We are not insensible that an explanation of this omission to properly record the services of the Regiments from Massachusetts, has been circulating around Boston; and that, if these rumors are true, the omission is as disgraceful to the military authorities of the State, as it is ungracious to the Regiments which it affects. We are not insensible, too, that this volume *was commenced*, under the Orders of the General Court, in a style which was in keeping with the dignity of the Commonwealth and the importance of the subject; that, several months ago, historical sketches of the organization and services of the several Battalions, Batteries, and Regiments, preceded the Rosters of those bodies, respectively, *as far as the work had then progressed*; that, thus prepared, a large portion of the first volume, with the several historical sketches referred to, *was stereotyped*; and that everything indicated that Massachusetts soldiers were to *enjoy*, a portion at least, of *the honors from Massachusetts*, which Massachusetts justly owed to them. It is rumored that when Benjamin F. Butler made his celebrated raid on the Essex District, in order to retain a seat in the Federal Congress, of which, otherwise, he would have been deprived, very many of the *leading* Republicans in that District—we will not say they were the most *upright* of that party, no matter what we may think—resisted both the invasion and the invader; that among those who thus cared more for Massachusetts than for General Butler, and who regarded honor and honesty with more favor than they regarded impudence, was that tried friend of John A. Andrew, and of Massachusetts, and of the country, the distinguished Adjutant-general of the Commonwealth, General William Schouler, by whom the Regimental Records, to which we have referred, were being prepared for the *Record of Massachusetts Volunteers*; that when General Butler had obtained the seat which he sought, in the Essex District, he visited, with retributive vindictiveness, every one who had opposed him,

whenever "the game was worth the powder" which was required to bag it; that, as a consequence of that opposition, the Adjutant-general of the State was dismissed, and one who was a more pliant tool of the successful demagogue was placed in his official chair; and that, *because the old Adjutant-general would not and the new Adjutant-general could not continue the Record, in the form in which it had been commenced*, that portion of the proposed *Record of the Massachusetts Volunteers* which was devoted to the Record of the services of the several Battalions, Batteries, and Regiments, as such, and which preceded, in each instance, we believe, the Roster of the officers and men belonging to it, was necessarily suspended; the stereotype plates of that portion of the *Record* which had been already completed *were melted*; and new plates were cast, from which, as we now see the result, even those Regimental histories which had been prepared by General Schouler, and stereotyped under his direction, *were carefully excluded*—of course, no others were substituted, and no others were written for the Regimental Rosters which General Schouler had not yet sent to the press, merely because the in-comer, whom General Butler had placed in the Adjutant-general's chair, *was too ignorant of the facts to become the historian, and too sensible of the tenure under which he held his office to allow his unfitness for the place to be thus presented to the world*.

With the Regimental Records, already stereotyped, broken up and returned to the metal-pot, and from new plates manufactured at the cost of the Massachusetts tax-payers, this volume has been manufactured and blushing sent forth by the new Adjutant-general, among those, alone, whom he supposes to be least capable of noticing its defects; and, in order that his modesty may have its just reward, we have pleasure in thus noticing his peculiar qualifications as a book-maker, and the peculiar merits, as materials for history, which his authorial offspring does *not* possess. He has our best wishes for his future success, in the volumes yet unpublished; as, we assure ourself, he has the best wishes, also, of those whose honest record he has thus cast, unhonored and unpublished, with worn-out type and broken, into the stereotyper's melting-pot.

The volume is very neatly printed.

5. — *Annual Report of the Adjutant-general of the State of Rhode Island, for the year 1861.* Providence: Cooke & Danielson, Printers to the State. 1862. Octavo, pp. 27.

..... for the year 1862. Providence: Alfred Anthony, Printer to the State. 1863. Octavo, pp. 64.

..... for the year 1863. Providence: Alfred Anthony, Printer to the State. 1864. Octavo, pp. 94.

..... for the year 1864. Providence: H. H. Thomas & Co., Printers to the State. 1865. Octavo, pp. 78.



....., for the year 1865. Providence: Providence Press Co., Printers to the State. 1866. Octavo, pp. 36.

*Official Register of Rhode Island Officers and Soldiers, who served in the United States Army and Navy, from 1861 to 1866.* Published by order of the General Assembly, January Session. 1866. Octavo, pp. 829.

*Annual Report of the Adjutant-general of the State of Rhode Island, for the year 1866.* Providence: Providence Press Co., Printers to the State. 1867. Octavo, pp. 68.

In this series of volumes, for which we are indebted to our long-time friend, Hon. J. Russell Bartlett, Secretary of State, we have a complete official record of the part taken by plucky little Rhode Island, in the recent War of Secession.

The Annual Reports, proper, are very brief, at best; but the Appendices contain, systematically and annually, *First:* the General Orders which were issued by the Governor; *Second:* Reports of Regiments in the Field; *Third:* Rosters of the Officers in the field, carefully annotated; and *Fourth:* Rosters of the Militia—the whole being tolerably complete, very compact, and exceedingly useful.

The *Official Register*, on the other hand, is a thorough exhibit of the several Regiments which Rhode Island sent into the field, embracing a well-written history of each Regiment, separately considered, apart from all others; together with the individual record of every man of it, whether officer or private, in the most ample style.

All these, as we said, are important to every close student of the military history of the War; and we shall have very early use for them, in that connection.

6.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant-general of the State of Connecticut, for the year 1860.* Printed by Order of the Legislature. New Haven: Carrington & Hotchkiss, State Printers. 1861. Octavo, pp. 62.

....., for the year 1861. Printed by Order of the Legislature. Hartford: J. R. Hawley & Co., State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 115.

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....., April 1, 1863. Printed by Order of the Legislature. New Haven: Babcock & Sizer, State Printers. 1863. Octavo, pp. 332.

....., April 1, 1864. Printed by Order of the Legislature. Hartford: J. M. Scofield & Co., State Printers. 1864. Octavo, pp. 356.

....., April 1, 1865. Printed by Order of the Legislature. New Haven: Carrington, Hotchkiss & Co., State Printers. 1865. Octavo, pp. 494.

....., for the year ending March 31, 1866. Printed by Order of the Legislature. Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Co., Printers. 1866. Octavo, pp. 275.

....., for the year ending March 31, 1867. Printed by Order of the Legislature. Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Co. 1867. Octavo, pp. 69.

....., for the year ending March 31, 1868. Printed by Order of the Legislature. Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard. 1868. Octavo, pp. 58.

....., for the year ending March 31, 1869.

Printed by Order of the Legislature. New Haven: Thomas J. Stafford, State Printer. 1869. Octavo, pp. 59.

*Catalogue of Connecticut Volunteer Organizations, with additional enlistments and casualties to July 1, 1864.* Compiled from Records in the Adjutant-general's Office, and Published by Order of the Legislature. Horace J. Morse, Adjutant-general. Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Co. 1864. Octavo, pp. Title-page and verso, ii, 3—547.

*Catalogue of Connecticut Volunteer Organizations, (Infantry, Cavalry, and Artillery,) in the service of the United States, 1861—1865; with additional enlistments, casualties, &c., &c., and brief summaries, showing the operations and service of the several Regiments and Batteries.* Prepared from Records in the Adjutant-general's Office. Published by Order of the Legislature. C. M. Ingersoll, Adjutant-general. Hartford: Brown & Gross. 1869. Royal Octavo, pp. 937.

We are indebted to the courtesy of Assistant Adjutant-general Coit and Adjutant-general Merwin, for this very nearly complete record of Connecticut's part in the recent War.

The Adjutant-general seems, in his Annual Report for 1862—3, to have followed General Schouler of Massachusetts, in the manner of the arrangement of his material—he has first taken a general survey of the entire field, and then presented a brief sketch of the history of each Regiment, during the past year, separately. In his Report for 1863—4, the material was differently arranged—*First*, the raising of troops was noticed; *Second*, the re-enlistment of Veterans, in the field; *Third*, the Federal Draft; *Fourth*, the quotas of the several Towns and the number of Recruits furnished; *Fifth*, the separate histories of Regiments during the year, very carefully presented; *Sixth*, the Returns of the local Militia. In the Report for 1864—5, another change was made; *First*, the raising of troops was noticed; *Second*, Rosters of the Officers of each Regiment, together with the History of the Regiment, during the past year; *Third*, the Returns of the Militia. In the Report for 1865—6, the history of each of the Regiments and Detachments from Connecticut, during the preceding year, is presented in detail, with a complete Roster of all its officers, and a "Summary" of all its services, from its organization to its dissolution; and the usual Returns of the Militia close the volume. The Reports for 1866—7, 1867—8, and 1868—9, are very brief; contain little beside the Returns of the State Militia; and possess little general importance.

[We have had so many enquiries concerning the official publications, by the several State Governments, respecting the recent War, that we have concluded to describe, among the Book-notices of the day, those of them which are in our own library.

We have given, above, careful descriptions of that portion of our collection which has been issued by the several States in New England; and we shall continue the series, hereafter, as we shall have opportunity.

THE  
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

Vol. VI. SECOND SERIES.]

DECEMBER, 1869.

[No. 6.

I.—AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MAJOR SAMUEL S. FORMAN, OF SYRACUSE, N. Y.

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT.

COMMUNICATED BY CHARLES C. DAWSON,  
ESQR., OF NEW YORK.

[These sketches of some of the events in his life were written by Major FORMAN, about the year 1849, in Syracuse, N. Y., for the gratification of the writer of this note, then a young lad, residing in that place. Although generously committed to him with the expectation that they would be seen only by himself, and for his amusement only, consent was afterwards as generously granted that such use might be made of them at any future time as their custodian might deem proper. Hence their appearance in this Journal. They are written in a neat round hand, remarkably firm and clear for one so advanced in years.—A peculiar reticence in respect to names and dates will be noticed, and regretted. Omitting everywhere his own name, he aptly adopts for a signature the name of the Scythian philosopher who traveled for the purpose of gaining knowledge for the improvement of his countrymen—since he had thus given one favored auditor the benefit of his experience and observation in the journeys described. The mention of his age or the date of his birth seems also to have been carefully avoided—a peculiarity which was noticeable, as the writer well remembers, in his conversation, wherein it is believed he delicately evaded mention of the subject on all possible occasions. In a biographical sketch of him, written by Mr. A. B. Caldwell, and published in the *Albany Atlas and Argus*, in 1861, it is stated that he was born July 21, 1765; but it is doubted if the Major's exact age was known to any one except himself. In these reminiscences he states that he "*can just remember* seeing the "Tories running their Bayonets through the feather beds" in search of his father; and he relates the incident of an officer taking him by the hand on Evacuation day, and afterwards directing him to go on the sidewalk, and not to leave it, or he "*would be run over, being then very small.*" If we suppose that he was born about 1770, instead of 1765, these statements will seem much more consistent.

MAJOR FORMAN was the third son of SAMUEL and HELENA (DENISE) FORMAN; and was born at Middletown Point, New Jersey. At the time of his birth (whenever that was,) his father was engaged in mercantile business at that place, in copartnership with JOSEPH FORMAN, the Major's uncle—but the copartnership being shortly after dissolved, his father continued alone in trade until the business was destroyed by the commencement of the Revolutionary War. While the War was in progress, young FORMAN went to live with Major JOHN BURROWS, his brother-in-law, Sheriff of Monmouth-county, residing at Freehold, where he attended a Latin or Grammar-school, until the War ceased.

He was not only present at the evacuation of New York, of which he gives an account in these sketches, but he witnessed the departure of WASHINGTON from the city, after the General had taken leave of his officers on that day, and saw him again at Philadelphia, in the Convention which assembled to frame the Federal Constitution. After the adoption of the Constitution he had the pleasure of witnessing the celebration in New York City, in commemoration of that event. He spent the Winter of 1792-3 in Philadelphia, and witnessed the inauguration of

President WASHINGTON at the commencement of his second term of office. As soon as the war had closed, his uncle, Lt.-col. FORMAN, and Major BURROWS, united in copartnership in a mercantile business, and engaged the Major as one of their clerks. After a brief engagement with this firm, he entered the employ of his brother-in-law, Major LEDYARD, and Col. BENJ. WALKER, who were copartners in a wholesale hardware and commission business in New York City. He remained with this house about five years, during which time he was sent as supercargo of a vessel to Charleston, as related by himself. On quitting the service of LEDYARD and WALKER he engaged in mercantile business on his own account at Middletown Point, which, however, he abandoned in 1789, to join the expedition to Natchez. In 1793 he engaged with Messrs CAZENOVE and LINCKLAEN, Agents of the Holland Land Company, to assist in disposing of the Company's lands in New York, lying near the center of the State. Large quantities of staple goods, farming implements, &c., were forwarded to the proposed new settlement, which was named by the Major, Cazenovia, in honor of one of his employers. By him also was christened the village of Delphi, in the same county. Having organized a military Company at Cazenovia, he was appointed, by Gov. JAY, Major of the Regiment to which it was attached. He carried on a mercantile business at Cazenovia for many years, and held many places of private and public trust. He removed to Onondaga-county about 1808, in which year he married Miss SARAH MCCARTY, of Salina. His only children were a son, who died in infancy, and a daughter, MARY EUPHEMIA, wife of Dr. ABRAHAM VAN GAASBECK, of Syracuse.

Major FORMAN had an extensive acquaintance with public men, and was related by birth and marriage to many persons of distinction. He was a man of good conversational abilities, sound judgment, generous disposition, and fine social feelings. His mental faculties were retained in a remarkable degree to extreme old age. His death occurred at the residence of his daughter, in Syracuse, N. Y., August 18, 1862.—C. C. D.]

MY DEAR SIR:

In compliance with your urgent request, for a sketch of my journey in life; I here give you a few reminiscences:

At the commencement of the Revolutionary war, my Father was a merchant, & owned a large landed estate, & took an active part in defence of his country. He lived on the frontier of the enemy, was very much harassed by them—the Tories making frequent depredatory excursions, house ransacked, plundered, valuable mills & other buildings burnt. he suffered much by Continental money. I can just remember seeing the Tories running their Bayonets through the feather beds in search of "the damned old Rebel," (my Father), but they could not find him. I had two brothers & three brothers-in-law in the army.—In the noted engagement at German-Town (Penn<sup>a</sup>) I had



fifteen relatives, from brothers to more distant—a Brigade commanded by a near Relative.\* After that, a Brother & Brother-in-law were taken on board of a privateer commanded by the latter—they remained a long time prisoners on board of that hatefull prison-ship, the *Jersey*,† laid in the port of New York, which City was in possession of the British army. They were exchanged, & were perfect skeletons when they return'd home! These days ought to be handed down to posterity, & kept in memory, that they may know the sufferings of our fore-Fathers; especially at this time, when a few restless & ungrateful people are trying to distract community & cause blood-shed in our happy land. I will now dismiss this unpleasant subject.

When arrived to an age to leave home,‡ I was sent abroad to a grammar school. When peace was declared, I was sent with a relative, to New York, who return'd to his merchant-dise, having been an exile from the time when the enemy took that City. Peace was declared in the Spring of 1783, but the army did not evacuate the City untill Nov<sup>r</sup> 25<sup>th</sup> 1783. All the old exiled inhabitants returned to their homes in N York before the enemy left it. On that memorable 25<sup>th</sup> November, the Citizens crowded out to the Bull's head, up town as it was called,§ to see the two Armies. The first was the British Army, This had been familiar to us for several months, I strolled along, passed the British, I did not like them, both armies were upon the halt, with considerable space between them, in the Bowery: when I come to the Americans, they loo'd much handsomer as I thought, nor was I affraid of them, I rushed in the street directly in front of the Jersey-blues. The Officers of the two armies

were holding a parley, perhaps on some etiquette in surrendering—while I was ghawking about, an Officer took hold of my hand, I looked up at him, "don't be affraid" he said calling me by my name, & also said "I know your brother" he & I were in the same Brigade, my "name is". He was a Colonel\* the same rank as my brother, & both afterwards Brigadiers. Presently orders were given to march—the British marched, & the american, after, The former turned off from pearl (then Queen) street, to the East River, and embarked on board of their Man-War's—When orders were given to march, the Colonel directed me to go on the Side-walk, & not leave it, or I would be runover, being then very small. I kept by the Army untill they entered the fort on the Battery. It was some time before the American Flag could be hoisted, the enemy haveing greased the flagg-staff, so that many unsuccessful attempts were made to climb it—at last a little boy succeeded, he reeved the hallyards & up went the Star-spangled Banner.—the loud cheering up-went towards Heaven—hatts went round, & if the little Climer ever received all what was donated, I don't think that he would have been obliged to saw wood in his old days in Blooklyn, as I was informed was the case a few years since! It I was a member of Congress, the first duty that I should feel, would be ask for a farm, implements of husbandry, a yoke of Oxen & a years provision, and donated to him or his family (if he is dead) for that noble act.

The Merchants with whom I lived, imported hard ware, & kept a whole sale Store, and also commission business, which was selling Vessells & Cargoes of West-India produce. The commission business was the most pleasant. The Sales of Vessells & Cargoes, kept us busy. Entering and clearing Vessells at the Custom-House. The sales of the Cargoes made us acquainted with all the Grocery merchants in the City, as it was all whole sale, both in the Commission & Hard Ware lines—Also the House had a beautiful Packet, which sailed to Charleston S. C.

Remittances to Europe at that time was principally in specie. All denomination of coin were in circulation, much of the Gold of different nations were clip'd, some sweated under value. Dollars of the old mints with pillars, were 4 ¢ advance above the common Spanish Milled—So various were the different

\* GENERAL DAVID FORMAN, a second cousin, commanded the Jersey Brigade, to which DENISE, a brother of the Major, belonged.—C. C. D.

† This allusion to the *Jersey* affords strong evidence of the accuracy of this narrative.

Contrary to the general impression, the *Jersey* was used only as a place of confinement for men captured in *privateers*; and it was this last circumstance which led to many of the hardships which were experienced by those who were confined there—they were not in the public service and General Washington and the Congress did not usually provide for their exchange as was done in other cases. They were regarded differently, by both powers, from those who were in the public service.

Besides, there are two sides to the stories about the hardships and general bad treatment inflicted on the prisoners on board the *Jersey* and the neighboring prison-ships; and those who are disposed to examine the subject, *impartially*, are referred to the Appendix of our edition of Andros's Narrative, where the original papers on this interesting subject may be found, *in extenso*.—ED. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

‡ Major BURROWS, with whom young FORMAN boarded, left "the Army after General SULLIVAN drove the Indians out of New York State, and settled at Freehold," occupying a farm which had been a part of the Monmouth battleground.—C. C. D.

§ When the Bowery Theater now stands, EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

\* "An American officer, observing the Major's youthful 'timidity, stepped forward, took hold of his hand, and said: 'Don't be afraid, SAMMY. I know you and your brother JONATHAN, who is a Lieutenant-colonel with me, 'in the same Division; I am Col. CUMMINS.'"—Caldwell's paper.

species, that we had to put them up in papers and mark on them their value & invoice them in the same as an invoice of merchandize. Silver pillar'd Dollars add 4  $\frac{1}{2}$  C<sup>t</sup>. I think there were two kinds of French Crowns, smooth crowns 8/6, the other kind 8/10. The specie, when shipped, was put in Iron bound small kegs: many times I have been sent with one of these precious little kegs to a Vessel bound to England, & taken the Captains Bill of Lading. On my way, I had to rest the kegg on a post by the side walk. So we boys had occasionally, to carry bundles of merchandise to different stores, where our Customers from the Country or other towns were packing their goods—Boys, in those days, are call'd Clerks in modern days—in those days they addressed their employer M<sup>r</sup> in modern times perhaps they substitute the christian names—and again, the boy never spoke when his employers were talking to another, unless he was requested.

At one time, Flour took a great rise in Charleston, S. C. our House Chartered a Vessel & loaded her with it, & honored me the Supercargo, when I was yet a minor, & said that I should have the Commissions, I thought the compliment of being appointed Supercargo was very great, & beyond the boys merit—and in addition to this, was the Commissions: I asked for letters of introduction to Commission Merchants, if the markets should be dull, in case I wanted advice, to which they complied. We sailed on a dark rainy afternoon; I felt a little lonesome & went down in the Cabin—after we passed Sandy-hook & fairly at sea, the Cap. came & asked me to come on deck & see us sailing thro' flames of fire—in a dark night the breakers at sea, has the appearance of the blase of fire. The sea running pretty high; in a day or two the weather became pleasant, I think it was in the month of May. One still calm day we met a Vessel bound for England, the Captains spoke each other; the englishman said they had a very sick lady on board & had nothing that she could eat or drink, & asked if we had any wine—I told the Cap<sup>t</sup> to answer in the affirmative, & that he would send his Long-boat to them; the Long-boat was maned, I handed the mate a case bottle of madeira to present to the lady—he went on board of the Englishman & saw the Lady try the wine, she return'd her thanks & compli<sup>s</sup> & was delighted with the present—it's hoped that it answered the desired effect by giving her relief. There is no better way to judge the quality of wine that at sea. There is no situation in the world where we enjoy to meet our fellow creatures than on the broad Ocean—especially when we can exchange hospitalities. A few days after, we arrived off Beaufort in North Carolina, weather calm &

pleasant, but the swells of the sea were long & heavy, we discovered the Vessel going fast by a strong current—presently she seemed to thump—immediately a long setting pole was put along side, & found a hard sandy bottom—This was call'd, the Frying-pan shoals; I believe it is a long tongue of land, formed by counter currents,—in every trough of the swell, the Vessel thumped—Providentially the swells carried the Vessel unhurt over the shoal—we were some miles from land. We saw a ship upon her beams end, between the shore & us. After this we came in speaking trumpet distance one stormy night of a large ship bound to Europe, they wish'd us a safe passage!—This kind wish of the Capt. of the Ship, had a depressing effect upon my spirits, as implying a doubt as to our safety, for the Wind was fresh, seas high, & night stormy & dark. fortunate for me I never was sea sick. No other incidents occurred on our passage, & we arrived safe in our destin'd port. The number of days, I don't remember, pritty long passage however. The Capt & Mate, were very kind & attentive to me & a good sett of hands.

On our arrival I took lodgings at a Northern Ladies boarding house, where I enjoyed myself very much. I lost no time in finding out the state of the markets, & when I found that flour was rather on the decline, I consulted with friends—delivered my letters to the Commission Merchants, made him acquainted with my situation—the generosity of my employers, & proposed to him to assist me in the sales &c., &c., & we divide the Commissions, The merchant I found to be every way what I could require—we sett ourselves to work, & was so fortunate as to make just a saving adventure to my kind employers, & return'd to N. York in 33 days—they had not heard a word from me during my absence. They were satisfied at not not loosing by the venture.

Whilst at Charleston, I was call'd on by the Secretary of State, who was an old friend & acquaintance of my Father's; also by the Rev<sup>d</sup> who had a Son at Princeton College; my Friend & Employer was the Guardian of the Student. Also, the Secretary informed the widow of the late Rev<sup>d</sup> that I was in the City—that Lady, being a particular Friend of my Fathers family, sent for me to see her, altho' I was too young to remember her. It was highly gratifying to me, to be honored by such charectors, & my Colleague in the Sales of my Cargo was much of a Gentleman.

Charleston is somewhat situated like N York, being between Cooper & Ashley Rivers, but more open to the Sea. Soon after my arrival, a spruce, well dressed Col<sup>d</sup> young



man call'd on me to know, if I wanted a waiter during my stay in Town; I asked, if that was the custom to employ waiters who did not belong to the house, he said it was,—then I told him to come every morning & take my orders. When I went down to the Vessel I was besett by a company of field Darkies half naked, soliciting work, they said that they were obliged every night to pay their master a certain sum, even if they had to starve themselves to do it! out of sympathy, I told them to pile those barrells of flour so many high, to keep them clean;—it seemed hard work for two men to lift one bbl. on the top of another. On our return to N. York, I believe we had not the pleasure to meet with a single sail—we had one Gentleman passenger.

After my time was out, I left New York, & went in the Country & opened a Store—took in Farmers produce & forwarded it to N. York market.

A relative had made, at this time, an arrangement with the Spanish Minister, Don diego, de Gardoque, then residing in N. York, to emigrate with his family & sixty negroes into Louisiana, then belonging to the King of Spain. He made me proposals to accompany him, which I accepted.\* On the latter part of November 1789, we left New Jersey. An old Continental Capt<sup>n</sup> a truly good man, was the overseer of these people. We had four 4 horse, and two 2 horse Covered Waggon, for these people to ride in, & the Captain & Self on horse back. In making the arrangements to emigrate, the Owner of the people, where-ever his colored men or women had married out of their own family, he proposed to such owner to buy or sell, so as not to seporate families. My part was to take charge of the papers & finances, untill we arrived at Pittsburgh. On or arrival at Lancaster in Penn<sup>a</sup> Sixty miles from Phil<sup>a</sup> we were stoped, (as we expected to be), by the authority, to shew what right we had to transport those colored people thro' their State. We produced the papers; the Judge & his Counsellors, very wisely returned the papers after examining them.—The Colored women & girls, made some sport, they told us, that the women in the City came out amongst them, & equired whether they understood spinning, knitting &c., &c., & that the Ladies in Lancaster expected have plenty of

girls to work for them, but we left the City to their great disappointment. The Capt<sup>n</sup> ordered them all to their respective places, & they all laughingly bid farewell to Lancaster!

In our journeying, if we could find a suitable place to encamp for the night, we build a good fire, & turn the tails of the waggons to the fire, so as to make a hollow square, we preferred it. One waggon for the Capt. & me to sleep under, had tenter-hooks, so as to fasten Curtains & pin them to the groun. One night we come to a deserted cabin, but an earthen floor, the men soon brushed out the room & made a good fire, the women made our bed, & spread their Blankets round about the room & we sleep'd well—another night we were in a strait what to do; at last we spied a Cabin a head, I observed to the Capt<sup>n</sup> that I would ride on a head, & see if we could be accommodated; when I came to the house, I hastened in & begn to tell my object of calling on him. a tall, rawboned man, jumpt up from his chair & stood directly before me, & exclaimed, "mighty "soul, if this is not little " , & caught me under my arms, & lifted me up apparently as easy as if was only a few years old, & hug'd & kissed both of my cheeks, & then said. "O yes, "you can have any thing that I have or can do "for you." I introduced the Capt<sup>n</sup> to him, this was another object of admiration, as both had been in the army. This man had been a subaltern in the army, he accompanied my oldest Brother & was in his Ridgement. He could ape the ideot. He was sent at one time as a spy in the British Army, & return'd unsuspected. After the War, he found his way it seemed in the Allegahaney Mountain with his family, and afterwards returned back to his native place, thence to the Salt Springs, in Onondaga County; where I believe he died & left his family in rather indigent circumstances. If his family could be discovered, I have no doubt but they recover from the U. S. a pension. I will now return to our journey. It happened to be on Saturday-night, & our provisions nearly spent. We purchased a fat steer, kill'd & dressed him—bought a few bushells of Wheat, & sent it the Mill—& got all things in readiness & commenced our journey on monday morning. If we did not travel on the Sabbath, but did the work of necessity, it is hoped it was not wrong. Some where, about fort Loudon, I believe we began to feel that our finances were growing scarce. My Uncle for so he was considered, he being advanced in years, expected to leave Philadelphia with his wife, three daughters & a Son, so as to over take us before our cash would be expended. One morning the Capt<sup>n</sup> & I stopped at a fine Tavern, & took breakfast, I told the Capt<sup>n</sup> that I would Offer my horse for sale at

\* "In 1789, Gen. DAVID FORMAN fitted out his brother "EZEKIEL, to settle at Natchez on the Mississippi-river, all "of that section then belonging to Spain, and was called "Louisiana. A proposition was made by the General to "the Major to accompany EZEKIEL, and superintend his "business, which was accepted, and accordingly readiness "was made, and EZEKIEL, his family, the Major, and about "sixty slaves of the General were mounted on horseback, "bound for Natchez, the objects of which were to settle "there, cultivate tobacco, and carry on the mercantile "trade."—*Caldwell's paper.*

this place, to raise funds. I proposed to the Land Lord to take the horse at a low price, he declined, & asked why I offered him so low, I then told him our situation—he said that he knew my Uncle & that he would loan as much money as I wanted & take my Order on him. when he come along he would take it up, and asked us to walk over to his Store—when we went in his Store, piles of Dollars laid on the Counter as if it was a Banking house—now he said step up to counter & help yourself to as much as you want, without paying any attention to it himself & took my Order. We arrived in Pittsburgh about two days before Uncle. On his way over the mountains, his carriage hit a leaning Tree & broake off the top & detained him. Our journey from New Jersey to Pittsburgh was three weeks, most of the way was extremely bad. Here we had much to do. Horses & Waggon to sell, two boats to buy, River Stores to lay in, A Gentleman formerly of Phil<sup>a</sup> with whom Uncle was acquainted, tendered him a new house & one part finished for a Store exactly such a place as we wanted—I opened Store, out of part of a large quantity of dry goods, which had been sent to Pittsburgh. My business was to take care of the merchandise, & lay in Stores to descend the Rivers, when the waters were in a good state. Uncle & the Capt<sup>a</sup> saw to the other concerns. I had some letters of introduction from Ladies in Jersey to Ladies in Pittsburgh—these duties are to business, what deserts is to a dinner, it keeps up the spirits, for they are the life of life. One long keel boat for the family, the Cabbin was necessarily low for safety from being entangled the limbs of trees—the inside lined with blankets, beds &c as a protection from the Indian bullets, the hold also secured for the same reason. The large flatt bottomed boat was roofed all over, & look'd like a One story house, & also guarded against the enemy. On board of the keel boat Uncle & family & the house servants & 2 hired men, one a Carpenter & the other a Black Smith—On board of the flat, the Capt<sup>a</sup> & his colored charge, the Carriage horses (all the others sold) the Carriage &c. We bought a number of Rifles & divided them between the boats. The Water rose to a good height to descend. When the day was sett to start, two Gent<sup>a</sup> in Company with us had a small keel boat on their way to Nashville in Tennessee, kept in company with us. The Gent<sup>a</sup> whose house we occupied, not only refused any compensation but gave us an elegant Dinner, & invited several Ladies & Gent<sup>a</sup> of the City to dinner. The dinner was hastened for us to start. When went on board, the Wharf was crowded with spectators. The water was still rising. We darted off in fine

stile. Before I go farther, I must describe Pittsburgh: The City fronts on the Monongahely River; directly opposite, is a high Coal mountain, from the top, Coal is sent down in trunk & fall immediately into scows, & then brought over to the Town. The Town at that time was the muddiest place that I ever was in; and by reason of using so much Coal being a great manufacturing place, & kept in so much smoake & dust, as to effect the skin of the inhabitants. It was noted for handsome Ladies. I had the pleasure to see a few; they certainly were very hospitable. The Allegaheny River & the monongahely forms a junction a little below the Town, then commences the Ohio (Belle Rivere) River.

To our keel boat we had a Cable & anchor; towards evening we thought best to make the experiment to come to anchor before it was quite dark;—anchor was cast—it so happened that the Cable was fastened only to the little post over the forecandle—when the boat felt the anchor, it whirled her head up stream, & as the Cable was interwoven with the little posts & slats, from one post to the other, she jerked every post & slats over board & created much confusion & anxiety, for by this time it became quite dark—we could not tell whether any persons were swept off or not, as men & children were standing upon the forecandle deck, & in this painful suspense we remained all night. The Flatt boat passed us in our difficulty—but we soon passed her, the Capt<sup>a</sup> hailed us, & said that he was entangled in the limbs of a large Sycamore tree—we dispatched 2 or 3 hands in the small Skiff to their assistance, altho' we had passed them but a few rods, that the Skiff was a long time stemming the mad current. We felt the want of good water-men. After loosening our Cable & Anchor (probably the anchor lays in that spot yet) Uncle took a chair & sot on the forecandle deck, as a polot, & I was stationed at the helm, & a man to help steer, Uncle & I only understood the sea phrases of *Laboard*, *Stabboard*, & *Port*. So we drifted all night, in the month of January—After the Capt<sup>a</sup> Boat jumped off the Sycamore, the skiff returned to us. The Salt water fashion to steer, did not answer the fresh water Rivers—Continually Uncle called out to me all night long as he saw objects to be shuned, thus: Starboard (i. e. put the helm to the right) & Larboard, to the left, & Port to put it in the middle, that is parallel with the length of the Vessel; it was the most awfiell night that we ever experienced. Had our Cable been fastened to ring-bolt in the stem of the boat, it was highly probable that the stem would have been torn out, & the boat wrecked & all found a watry grave! At day light we made out to land at Wheeling



96 miles below Pittsburgh, perhaps 8 miles per hour. Here we got a long *sweep* to steer the keel boat, a *sweep*, is a long Oar hung upon a swivel & run out the stern & to reach the water some distance behind the boat. Our first inquiry after we all landed & were together, to ascertain, whether we had the misfortune to loose any one, Providentially all were safe.

This refitting, consumed a great part of the day. We glid along very well; the second evening from Pittsburgh we arrived at Muskingum & laid by all night. Here was a Garrison, Uncle & family were acquainted with the Officers, they came on board & spent the evening, which rendered the time very pleasant. Here was a small Village—I think this place is 175 miles below Pittsburgh. Early in the morning we were under way. After this, all was wilderness to Fort Washington now, City of Cincinnati. We landed, as possible at night, as we were in hostile latitude, & liable hourly to be attacked by the hostile Indians. We were pretty well armed with Rifles, pistols &c. & 3 boats made rather a warlike appearance. The wolves in the night made the wilderness ring with their howling. One day a large flock of Turkeys flew nearly over us & light on the trees by the River bank; Our Black-Smith, a bold, lively young man, asked leave to go on shore to shoot one—he was advised not, but at last the Skiff was manned, & he and his fine Dog were sett on land—he had not gone far, before he gave signals of distress, the Skiff was immediately dispatched & brought him back, but lost his fine Dog, he dare not call him. His alarm was, he saw a newly made fire, which was a sure indication, that Indians were not far off.

One great difficulty in descending the River, was sawyers & planters, & passing Islands, a constant watch was necessary. In approaching an Island a strict observation must be made, to ascertain which side the current seemed to be, then direct the Oarsmen to favor that side,—no one but the Captain of the boat must be allowed to give his opinion, otherwise if there is a difference of opinion, very likely the boat will be grounded upon the Island, not a word must be spoken, no talking, all must be wist: When we arrived near Fort Washington we landed & Uncle, our Friend who was traveling in company, & I went up to the Fort, to pay our respects to Genl Harmer, the Commander-in-Chief. The General was very polite, as Uncle knew him in Phila<sup>da</sup>. When we were about to take leave of him it was near his dining hour—he asked us to stay & take family Dinner, saying that he had that day a rarity what perhaps we never had, it was the hunch of a Buffalo, which is a large bunch which

grows on one Shoulder of that animal.—we accepted the kind invitation—the flesh was coarse, dark, but very tender & good. The Genl invited Uncle to spend the next day with him, as their families were acquainted in Phila<sup>da</sup>, & gave him instructions where to lay ashore with his boats, under the protection of the Sentinel. We then return'd to the Boats & drop down as directed. The next morning after breakfast, we made our toilets, & repaired to head quarters, Our numbers were, Uncle, his wife, 3 Daughters & one little Son, & a lady companion of Aunts myself & the good Capt<sup>n</sup> & the Col<sup>o</sup> & his Brother-in-law, who were going to Nashville, in all 11. the Genl also invited several of his Officers, we had an elegant dinner, good wine &c., after tea we took leave of our kind & hospitable friends. The Genl directed his Aid Captain, to accompany us.—when we drew near to the Guard, the Capt<sup>n</sup> requested us to halt, that he might advance and give the countersign—At dinner, the Officer of day, call'd on the Genl for the Countersign to sett the guard, I set at the table, on the Genl's right, when he, with a pencil wrote it & gave it to the Officer. when we were requested to halt, I sauntered along, & supposed that I heard our *name* for the Countersign (perhaps not) Aunt & the Genl's wife, were enough a like to be Sisters. After we paid our respects to the General, immediately after breakfast as we were requested, Our old Continentall Capt<sup>n</sup> (the over-seer) said to me, that the Officers then in service were the Old Officers, & that he knew each one & wanted me to accompany him & call on them in their quarters, as they all knew my Brother, who was also an Officer in the old Army, & they would be glad to see me on his account.—this was found to be so, for I was received by them in a most pleasant manner. Thus this day was spent in the most happy manner.

The mouth of Sciota river was a very dangerous place to pass,—a Canoe with three men on board, was fired upon by the Indians the day before we passed, & one man was shot thro' one shoulder & another thro' the calf of one legg. They stopt at Fort Washington one day, waiting to keep in company with us, but understanding that we were going to spend the day, they pursued their journey. The cause why the Sciota was such a dreaded spot, the Indians had a secret cavern to hide, which was never discovered untill after the war.

In the defeat of Genl Harmer, it was said that the most of his officers were kill'd! At that time, the Officers wore cocked Hatts, which was the cause of such an over-proportion were sacrificed, their Hatts distinguished them.

Early the next morning after our delightfull visit, we, let loose our Barks—nothing particularly

occurred—we glided down this beautiful river—in the night. “All things were hush’d, as if Nature’s self lay dead,” except at intervals, the hateful yelling of the hungary Wolf. The Country, a dense wilderness to the Falls of Ohio, except a small Vineyard attempted to be made by a french Gent<sup>a</sup> a few miles above the Falls—the Savages made War upon them kill’d the settlers & destroy’d his Vines. He lived in Louisville. With him, lived a young Gent<sup>a</sup> by name of Dandridge, with whom I became acquainted, & afterwards met with him in Phil<sup>a</sup> as he was helping his venerable aunt “Lady” Washington, in her carriage, in Market Street, going to church, he requested me to stop & he would walk with me. This was when Congress sot in Phil<sup>a</sup>.

The same night that we arrived at Louisville, just above the Falls, the river was blocked up with ice—had we been a day later, the Ice-burghs probably would have put us at the mercy of the Indians!! At the banks of Louisville, we made fast our fleet, ‘till, I believe in the last of Feb<sup>r</sup>. Here we were kindly received. Uncle was so fortunate as to meet another Phil<sup>a</sup> acquaintance, who happened to be there on speculation. He owned a snug new house & one room fitted for a Store, exactly as we wanted, which stood unoccupied & politely tendered to him. Here we opened Store & this Gent<sup>a</sup> being a merchant & acquainted with western business: He assisted me a little in the priccing the goods, he staid but a few days. The Village was but small, perhaps 60, houses. The Family receivd much attention—Southern-politeness makes any place pleasant. But a very few days claps’d, before we were call’d on to sign for a Ball. When we met in the danceing room, I was agreeably surprized to see so much youth & beauty on these frontiers. Directly opposite to this place was Fort Jefferson, on Indiana side of the River. The Garrison was a Capt<sup>a</sup> Command. Uppon these mirthful occasions, marshall musick was generally furnished by the polite Officers. I was informed that whenever there arrived strangers of note, a hop was promotted on their account & the greater attention paid them. After the managers had organized the Company, by drawing numbers & appointing the opening with a minuet, Uncle was call’d on, & introduced to a Lady for the opening scene, aunt did not attend. The Managers who distributed the numbers, call’d Gent. N<sup>o</sup> 1. he takes his stand—Lady N<sup>o</sup> 1. she rises from her seat, the Manager leader to the floor & introduces the Gent<sup>a</sup> N<sup>o</sup> 1—and so on ‘till the floor is ful—After all the Company have been thus call’d out, then the Gent<sup>a</sup> are free to seek his partner, but no monopoly—Lady at the head choseth the figure, but it is considered out of order for one Lady to head a figure twice unless all have been at the head. If there happen to be

some Ladies to whom from mistake or otherwise have heen passed, the managers duty is to see to it. And another custom was, for a Gent<sup>a</sup> to call on a Lady & inform her of an intended ball & ask permission to see her to the place & see her safe home again. If the Gent<sup>a</sup> does not draw such Lady the first Contra dance, he generally engages her for the first volunteer At the refreshments, the Gent<sup>a</sup> will, by instinct, without Chesterfieldian monition, see that his better half (for the time being) has a quantum sufficit, of all the nice delicacies, & that without his craming his *jaws* full, untill he has reconducted her to the ball-room—then he is at liberty to absent himself a while. There were two young gentlemen that winter in that place from N. Y. who were much attached to each other: they promised to let each other know when a ball was on foot. At one time one came to the other, & told him to prepare his pumps against such an evening, the answer was, pumps out of order, must decline! No Sir, that will not do—well then Sir, you have been buying several pair of handsome Moccasins for N. Y. Ladies, if you will lend me one pair & you will put on one pair (it won’t hurt them) I will go—snaps his fingers, the very thing—I will comply with all my heart—we’ll let our fair Partners knew, when to be prepared (these gent<sup>a</sup> having forestalled their Partners between themselves) The next ball, after this, moccasins became very fashionable. So, many fashions have their origin from necessity. Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson was at one of these balls.

My Uncle & dear family took their departure from this place & left me to follow, after I had disposed of my goods for Tobacco & sent it down to him at the Natchez. I felt very lonesome; but had found many very kind, & no unkind people. One family in particular, more like a Father & Mother. One day a gent<sup>a</sup> came in my Store & brought with him a black boy about 12 years old, and said to me, I have brought this boy to give to you as long as you stay with us, I have another exactly the same age & size & one would be better than both together—he shall not be any expense to you, he can live at home (directly opposite to me) & he can do all your chorse, clean your boots & shoes, *tote* (bring) a pail of water, feed your young Bear, sweep your Store &c &c. So I accepted the generous offer. This Cub I bought at two or three weeks old—fed him with milk principally, kept him chained. Took him to the Natchez, when he was about 16 months old, Uncle invited some gentlemen to dine with him upon a Cub, which was considered a great dish. One day after I left Louisville the hands on board complained that Kuffy was eating the hams & they could not drive him away, when he see me, he jump off & hid behind the hogsheds of Tobacco. I pulled him out & threw him over-



board, this he liked, I halled him in—the next day he jumped overboard himself, & if he had not been chained he would have deserted. he was very tame & was allowed to run loose at the farm at the Natches, he feared no one but myself, I used to whip him severely.

Before I left Louisville, the Indians were seen one Saturday night, making for my Store, Sunday morning at Breakfast I was informed of it. Gent<sup>n</sup> trailed them out of the Village, as it was supposed they were discovered. My Store was rather on the out skairts of the Village & was advised to move into an empty building on one of the principal corners, which I did on the following Monday.

Whilst I was at Louisville, I had the pleasure to receive general invitations at all their Barbacues, that being then in vogue—the Officers at Fort Jefferson favored me with calls, & particularly their Surgeon, who was a very pleasant gent<sup>n</sup>. an old Continental Gent<sup>n</sup> frequently sot when I was at leasure, & related many war occurrences. There was but one Tavern & one boarding house in Town. Most of the strangers boarded at the boarding house, the Land-Lord of the boarding house, was the pilot over the falls, he was a great bare-legged hunter & fisherman, he supply his table well with game & had a good little family. One Sunday morning when we all came in to breakfast, they observed my Store was not opened & asked the reason *why*. I answered, because it was Sabbath day, Oh! they replied, Sunday had not yet come over the Mountains, yes I answered it had, that I brought it with me—well said they, you are the *first* person who has kept his Store shut in this Village on the Sabbath day: We propose to go & have a little sitting & take Egg-Nog, (a fashionable drink in those days) & we want you to join us—I declined, they insisted, I resisted & would not be “*enticed away*.” One of them had related some capers they had at such times cut up—therefore I was well prepared against such meetings. I will here remark, that it was a stading rule when travelling amongst mixed company, not to known one card from another: But had no objections to take a hand at Whist in a social party. In the course of the night I was disturb'd by a loud knocking against my window shutters, & several times repeated, I first thought of Indians, at last the Egg-nog party came in my head, I halloo'd to them & said I should send a ball through the shutter & some of you might get hurt—the window ginged finely, next bang went large stones against the door—I jumped up, found the door open, & the Gent<sup>n</sup>, I heard them at the Tavern directly opposite to me—where they cut up the same caper. The next morning, not a word scarcely was spokin at breakfast. On leaving the house, I observed to the supposed

ring-leader, whether he would order my Store door & windows repaired—he pretended ignorance, I passed on without any more words—After dinner, he asked me if my Store Door & Windows were repaired whether that would satisfy me. I replied that it would, & further said that I was sorry that *they* should set such bad example on the frontiers, when but a few nights before the Indians were it was thought, making for my Store, when I was at the Easterly part of the Village. They did not get off so mildly at the opposite place. threatening words passed, but happily no dirks were drawn, eyes gouged, nor Thumbs bit off.

Directly opposite to my Store across the street, was a Billiard Table; in the mornings some times, two or three young Ladies at a time, honored me with a call to take a game, that being a fashionable amusement for them—no gambling, only the gallant had the pleasure to foot the Land Lord's bill, & that was but a trifle considering the honor. The last time that I played that beautifull game, was in Upper Canada, with an Italian Gent<sup>n</sup>, but never gamble.

My instructions were to sell off my goods as fast as possible & turn them into Tobacco. A wealthy Planter & I had several times talked about his buying me out—also another person had a small assortment he wished to get rid of by whole sales—while this negation was pending, a fleet of 4 boats arrived from up the River, one was a Philadelphian, two N. Yorkers & one a Kentuckean. The first named gent<sup>n</sup> boat was so much injured in going over the Falls, that he was obliged to unload & refit. The rich Planter happened to come in Town in the nic of time. I mentioned to him the situation of these boats, & all bound for N. Orleans, I invited the Planter in my Store in the evening, lock'd the door & told him in a laughing way, that he could not go out untill we had completed our negotiation—& be able to depart by the time these boats were ready to go. We set about it, & finally completed the trade by midnight. I gave up my bed to him & threw down a parcell of Blankets & coarse Cloth for myself to dream on. The next work for me was to Invoice the goods, & he to get me a Tobacco boat & load her below the Falls in time to depart with these Gent<sup>n</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bayard of Philadel<sup>a</sup> his boat was the one injured, M<sup>r</sup> Winters & M<sup>r</sup> Gano of N. York, & M<sup>r</sup> January of Kentucky, three of them singular names, but reviving in a *hot* day. I purchased a City lot in Jefferson opposite to Louisville, but never attended to secure it—also a Certificate for one hundred acres (I believe it was on “Salt River,” in Kentucky & neglected that.

Now we are all ready to depart! but I must relate one occurrence which gave me for some time the most distressing feelings, & the Village

shewed great sympathy upon the Report, to wit: that Uncle was taken by the Indians down in what is called the low country!!! in this state of painful suspense I underwent for some time, as letters took an age to travel a few hundred miles in those days. At last I rece'd a letter from him of their safe arrival at the Natchez. But there was a plot to take him, he told me, when I arrived at the Natchez: It seemed that while he was detained at Louisville, a white man found him out, learned his name, & all his plans about descending the River. this fellow then must have went immediate to his codjutors & made their plans—when Uncle's boat got to a certain place, this Decoy run down on the beach, & upon his bended knees, beg'd Uncle to put a shore & take him off, as he had escaped from the Indians. Uncle steered his boat towards the shore, the flatt boat being near by in the rear, spied the Indians hiding behind the trees, the Captain halloo'd to Uncle to put off in the River, that the woods were ful of Indians—when they found that they were discovered, an old Indian came down on the beach & call'd aloud, "*wave you go?*"! If both boats had been in one direction from the shore, they would all have been massacree'd!

Now I will again take up our journey after taking leave of these interesting & hospitable inhabitants. My boat was dropt down the River a little distance, I therefore put some blankets &c on board of M<sup>r</sup> Bayard. When all were under way I call'd to my hands to come for me, a man came in my Canoe, it began to be dusky, I took up a pair of Blankets & carelessly wound them round my head & arms & jump on board of the Canoe, on pushing off, the man leaned so much to clear the rake of the bow of the Tobacco boat, as to make the Canoe dip half full of water, & on his raising up, he went so far on the opposite side, as to fill the Canoe full, the blankets being become saturated with water, & my arms bounded fast, so that I could not help myself & the man had enough to do take care of himself being a little top-heavy I supposed—had it not been for assistanced from M<sup>r</sup> Bayard's hands I might have had a watery grave!

After we had all got under way, we made arrangements for *us Captain* to dine all together in rotation—after we had come ashore—On the Ohio we very seldom landed, if we could help it for fear of the Indians, so by signals from the boat that was to see company at dinner, they were to go on board with their small boats. The current, that time of the year June, was moderate, say 4 or 5 miles per hour. M<sup>r</sup> Bayard & I lashed our boats together the most of the way on the Ohio, when we came to the Islands we separated. One day we saw a young Bear & a young Elk swimming across the River, from the Indiana

side. We all let our men try their activity—each small boat was maned in pursuit of the game & just as the game landed, the men fired & kill'd both the Cub & Elk. of course this made a little sport & feast for those who liked it. When we arrived opposite to the old French Fort Massac, which is on a beautiful turn in the River & elevated, & about thirty miles above the Mississippi, about 8 or 9 of us from the several boats got in one skiff & went a shore, it is on the Illinois side of Ohio. The Fort is some 20 or 25 Rods from the River—We the first man got upon the old entrenchment, it was a sandy loom, he saw a moccason track—that morning we had a very heavy rain, & that track or foot step of a man much have been made that day after the rain, we all formed a circle round & pointed at the track, but not a word was spoken, we stood but a few minutes, we raised our eyes towards each other, & with one consent, we turned about and run as fast as we could to our boats—some went too high, some direct, and some too low to find the skiff, I was one who run below—my first impression was that the Indians had secured the Skiff, consequently we were prisoners; none had their rifles but myself, therefore my lot would be to fall first—in this state of dilemma we still kept up & down the beach all in silence, till we at last, we found the little skiff, jump'd on board & hastened to the nearest Tobacco Boat—after we were safe on board & drew a heavy breath, each opened his mouth & came to his speech & describ'd his thoughts & feelings. It was evident that it was a moccason track made but a short time before we came & must have been after the shower of rain—if it was a lonely Indian, which was the most likely, he was perhaps as much frightened as we, & that he took the start of us. One of my hands was an old northwestern, he said that that was the Indian crossing place from Tennessee to St. Louis. We glided gently down stream & little before sun-sett tied our boats to the trees on the Illinois side at the mouth of the Ohio. We placed sentinels with axes, to cut the ropes in case of an attack. In the woods the marks of Buffalos was like a Cow yard. Where the Clear water of the Ohio mingles with the Mississippi, looks like scap-suds thrown into clear water, at the meeting of the two, it looks like a whirl pool, untill the muddy water subdues the clear. Before we left the Ohio water, we filled our empty vessells with its limpid stream—and when we emptied one, we then had to fill it with the muddy Mississippi, to settle for use after the clear was gone. I filled a tumbler full with the Mississippi water, & when perfectly settled, about  $\frac{1}{3}$  was sediments, but the clear was soft & sweet.

Now we entered the mother of Rivers (the next morning) Before we started from the Ohio,



we made arrangements for landing at nights as it is not possible to go in the night with safety. The middle of the afternoon, we look'd out for landing—the forward boat as a signal for landing is to fire a gun—as we were considered as friends by the Indians, when we turn down the river, so the firing gave no alarm. In the afternoon, we met with a violent head wind, which caused a heavy sea,—it became dangerous, the head boat gave the signal for landing—my boat happened to be next to the head boat—while in this apprehension of foundering, & making every exertion to land, we observed a Canoe full of Indians, seemingly in pursuit of the head boat, we were of course much alarmed; I asked my Northwestern Man, what that meant, whether they were friends or foes, he seemed much alarmed & could not tell what it meant—I charged the men to row as hard as they could—& I would load our Rifles & Pistols, (having that morning discharged them after leaving the hostile territory) I told all hands to keep a good look out when the Indians overtook the boat, to watch whether any fighting, we were some distance off—but on the boat and Canoe coming together, the Indians assisted the Rowing until they landed; & soon our fleeing were secured to the shore. We were charged to examine the banks, for it was not uncommon for acres of ground to fall suddenly into the river—we here got seemingly in a good cove. Indians were all friendly on the Mississippi the same fellows would rejoice to murder us on the Ohio. massacre us!

This day happened to be my day to see the Capt<sup>n</sup> at Dinner, When matters & things were in Order, Dinner was announced. I invitd 3 of these gentlemen of the woods, to dine with us. I happened to have a large piece of Corn'd beef for dinner—One of the Captains when he had done dinner, he carelessly pitched his fork into the beef on the Dish, in the same manner as school boys used to pitch the fork into the ground by taking hold of the points—so the 3 Indians followed the example very dextrously, perhaps supposing that to be the White faces fashion. After dinner I took a tumbler & mixed with water & lataffier (whiskey), and drank the Capt<sup>n</sup> & the 3 Indians healths, & mixt myself a glass for each Capt<sup>n</sup> all out of the same glass & all exactly alike, & each Capt drank all our healths in a very formall manner; I then mixt a glass & handed it one of Indians, he took no notice, offered to the next, no notice—to the last, he received very gracefully, shook hands & drank my health & shook hands with all the Capt<sup>s</sup> & then to his own people, & the other two followed suit & all in a graceful way I suppose the difficulty was, that I did not know the Chief in the first offer. It seemed they had a large encampment on the opposite side of the

River & we landed on the West side. When we had got through with Dinner some of our hands asked permission to go over to the Indian encampment—we gave leave—the men all took their Rifles. Our Guests saw this, they remonstrated to us, against our men taken their Rifles, saying that they left their Rifles home when they came to our assistance & our men must leave theirs. Before morning these fellows gave us much uneasiness, by some means or other, they got whiskey from some of hands—& there was much noise in their camp. Some Squaws came over & told us, “no dangers, squaws took all their knives away.”

One interesting occurrence took place on the Ohio, which escaped my recollection to mention in its proper place. One day all at once my boat stopt, I happened to be ahead—I immediately gave sign for the other boats to come between me & the shore, & for each boat to make fast to his predecessor, so as to run a Rope fastened to my boat, to run under their roofs & then to a tree in the woods—My boat happened to run on a planter, & by placing the 4 boats a breast with mine, would cause a temporary swell in the water & perhaps cast me off—this plan succeeded so far that a man could stand on the planter & with a hand saw weaken it so that the weight of the boat broke it off & released me. The planters generally are below the surface of the water. It was an awful predicament to be in had I been alone, I should soon fell a prey to the merciless Indians. Whilst we were fixing for this operation the men thought they heard a whistleing in the woods, some said it was a quail, others said no, it must be Indians, because Quails never are found in the wilderness; so that it a little difficult to get one to go in the woods to tie the rope to a tree.

The next day after our Indian neighbors visited us, we proceeded on our way & about sun set we arrived at A'Santegrass, the first Spanish Fort after leaving Ohio. New Madrid, Col<sup>o</sup> Morgan's settlement, is seperated from the Spanish Fort & Village by a narrow ravine. just as I was about to land, a sawyer liked to have tilted me over. Uncle wrote me that I must NOT pass this place without stoping & pay my respects to the Commandant. So the next morning after breakfast, and all *we Capt<sup>ns</sup>* had made our Toilets, at a suitable hour as we could. we passed the sentinel at the Gate with a tame Raccoon in his arms. I am a little too fast. Before we started, the 4 Capt<sup>s</sup> came to my boat to consult upon the call. M<sup>r</sup> Bayard, being well known to my Uncle, & partially to me, & as I had told the Capt<sup>ns</sup> that Uncle had left my name with this Com<sup>d</sup> & that I would stop when I come, Mr. B. proposed that I should be chairman of our little group, and was unanimously agreed to—we then set out & went

to head quarters—when we were admitted, I introduced myself. The Comm<sup>t</sup> with much good humor put out his hand, call'd me by name & express much pleasure &c &c I then introduced the Gentlemen, he very politely received us all. After a few observations upon such occasions we rose to retire. he stepped up to me & said call'd me by name almost every time he addressed me, "Will you do me the favor to dine with me to day one hour after 12 O'Clock & bring these gent<sup>n</sup> with you?" I turn'd to the gent<sup>n</sup> for their reply, they bowed assent, Of course I accepted for all, that we would do ourselves the honor, & then retired. We all then return'd to my boat. I then observed to Gent<sup>n</sup> that the Comm<sup>t</sup> would expect (as the terms is) his hands greased. they all give an approbatory nod. Well, what shall it consist of? will you suggest, I will—we all have a plenty of good Hams, suppose we fill a barrel of them & send up to him, perhaps would as acceptable as anything? this was agreeable to all; this was done. When the hour of "one after 12 O'Clock," arrived, we call'd on his Honor: We had an elegant dinner, but Madam was wanting, he was yet a Bachelor, I shuld think under thirty; the wine good & Liquere fine, when the Liquere cam on the table, he said to me, we always drink ladies health is the sweet Liques, I will now give you the Miss, calling their names, my cousins.—then the strong coffee without cream, the Spanish fashion. Now Gentlemen, would you like to take a walk & see our fine prairies—so he walked out with us, they were beautifull, open woods & land lay very handsome, I think he said he could drive a coach & four thro' to St. Louis. Presently a Thunder shower & lightning came—he said to me, how do you call that in English? I told him,—I then ask'd him, what it is in French, he told me—he said if you will learn me English I will learn you French. We returned to his house, & took Tea & in the evening we rose, & asked him if he had any commands down the River—Oh! he said you cannot go yet, I am so lonesome, you must come tomorrow "One hour after 12 O'Clock & dine with me." So we had to comply with his politeness. I forgot to mention when we went to dinner how very politely he acknowledged the receipt of the Hams. The 2<sup>d</sup> day "one hour after 12 O'Clock," we had the pleasure to see him—we participated with him again a fine dinner &c &c as yesterday—On taking leave of him the 2<sup>d</sup> evening, & offering our services—he stepped up to me and Oh M<sup>r</sup> (calling me by name), I am so lonesome, I don't see hardly any company, I don't know how I can spare you Gentlemen, you must come once more & dine with me,—he seemed so sincere in keeping us, that we did not know how to refuse his hospitality, so we for the

3<sup>d</sup> time repaired to this facinating Gentleman's luxurious table. In the evening, the two little Villages A Sanslegrass & New Madrid, had an annual celebration of some thing or some S<sup>t</sup> perhaps. They had a King & Queen, tolerable large collection of French Canadian, Spanish, americans, all in their dancing garbs & white Turbans. The commandant asked us if we would like to go & set a little & see them, he said he did sometimes go for amusement & look at them—indeed he said he had once played the violin a little for them. we went with him & set a little while the King came to the Comm<sup>t</sup> & asked if he would honor them in taking a partner, he declined, & each of us Cap<sup>t</sup> had the honor of an invitation—but declined of course. The Belle of the Room was a young handsome Cherokee female, too pretty to be call'd a squaw—Shuee was kept on the floor all the time, Shortly we left these happy people.

After we left this festive room, we made our acknowledgements to this excellent Gentleman for his extreme hospitality & politeness, & with much regret, shook his friendly hand & fervently bid him farewell!!! This Com<sup>t</sup> was a handsome person, elegant & easy in his manners, and a beautifull face, take him altogether, he was as facinating a person as I ever saw. He spoke English so as to be easily understood—but it seemed that he could not tell the name of hour, next to 12, but always spoke it as I have above written. It seemed a pity, that so much merit & accomplishment should be, as it were, buried alive. I am sorry that I have forgot his name. I believe we must have got the worth of our Hams back.

This place, a few years after, was destroyed by an Earth Quake, & two or three Gentlement of my acquaintance were lost in it, whether before or after the purchase of Louisiana by the U. S. or not, if it was before M<sup>r</sup> Jefferson's negotiation, then, in all probility, this noble Comm<sup>t</sup> perished at that time of the Earth Quake!!!

Nothing special occurred on our passage to the Natchez, I think it was a wilderness untill we came to the Walnut hills, distances, I don't remember, but many hundred miles. The country on either side appeared lower, in many places, than the river, & in some places a low place called bayous, would suck boats in a few Rods & give immense trouble & expence to get them back if ever—these bayoes & the Sawyers & planters have destroy'd many boats as I understand & also after boats have laid to, the banks have caved in upon them.

When our little fleet appeared in sight of Natchez, the Drum in the Fort beat to arms. About this time a strange infatuated person in Kentucky, I don't recollect his name, Gene<sup>l</sup>



some body, pretended to make a descent with armed force upon that place, & probably the Commandt thought it prudent to be cautious against a surprise. But nothing was ever attempted. We all landed at the Village—I was at my journeys end, & was happy to find all friends well, except Uncle, he was much afflicted with the gout in his elbows, On one elbow a hard bunch rose, & a kind of chalkey substance was in it, he suffered a long time. He was well acquainted with my fellow Traveller & delighted to see him so unexpectedly—Mr Bayard of Phila<sup>de</sup>—he was a very gentlemanly person. Now I had to bid adieu to my agreeable fellow Travellers, they made but a short stay & proceeded on to N. Orleans.

Uncle had hired a house in the Village of Natchez, & bought a small plantation on St Catharine Creek, about 500 acres 5 miles out from the Village. Shortly after my arrival we moved upon the farm—The Capt<sup>a</sup> with colored people went upon the farm immediately & built about a dozen logg Cabins for the blacks, in a Row on the bank of the Creek, which made quite a pretty little street For the present Uncle had built a logg house, call'd two pens & a passage, i. e. 2 bodies laid up 12 or 15 feet apart, connected with boards, for a hall, & a piazza in front of the whole, this made a very convenient & comfortable building, & answered untill he could become acquainted with Country so as to know where to purchase lands for his permanent location.

The Governor was a perfect gentleman about 35 or 40 years of age. The Fort was on a high piece of ground, with a commanding view for several miles up the river & the surrounding Country.—the military Officers all genteel, polite & affable—Among the Officers was a Major who also was a linguist, a native of New Jersey—he had a general knowledge of our family but not particularly acquainted. His Excell<sup>y</sup> & all the military Officers became pretty intimate in our family—& some of the private Citizens were extremely kind & agreeable. A Relative of mine from N. York married a lady in that Country, & was banished for some imprudent speech against the government, he died, & his widow remained—she claimed relationship on our first acquaintance, the Major from Jersey married a Sister of this widow—This family was considered perhaps, the head of the rich Planters in that District. This Major being in his Majesties service, & married in this distinguished family, was perhaps favorable to my Uncles family. So that a very good society was formed within a pleasant little ride of a few miles. But all the travelling was on horseback, no wheel Carriages of any kind was in the District, the public high ways was called bridle pathes. If a few Ladies

& gent<sup>a</sup> go from home on a visit to dine, they are all on horse back, with several female & male servants.—the ladies with broad brim beaver hats, riding skirts, their dress not long—the skirt covers all below the waist. The Gentl<sup>a</sup> wore large Cocked beavers, if the Sun is very warm, unlop the back part, and change fronts. The Country generally is pleasant. Tobacco is the staple article of exportation. The Over-seer set the Colored men to clear new lands for the purpose of raising that article—a Tobacco field in full growth look very handsome, the large full leaf has a luxuriant appearance, somewhat like a field of corn on a rich soil.

No Taverns or publick houses were in this Country—if you go so far from home as to be out all night, you will stop at a house without ceremony for the night, put your horse in a pen provided for the purpose, throw over to him as much Corn & Pumpkins as you please—go in the house & take family fare, all in a courteous friendly way, nothing to pay, nor is it expected when you go away. Corn is raised without much trouble, & grows so high, that I will not say, for it will be only a traveller's story.—it is a very light grain in comparison to Jersey corn.—the grain is long slim & dented on the head.—No wheat is growed in that District. Mills are scarce, almost every planter has a small one horse mill to grind Corn.

Horse racing was fashionable, the course was straight not circular, betting with ladies was a pair of gloves & suit of ribbons—with the Planters, Cows & Calves, in lieu of cash—for there was no circulating medium in the Country—perhaps that was the cause of free travelling. All classes of people attend Races, from the Gov<sup>t</sup> down—all on horse back.

This summer the family was much afflicted in the loss of a very estimable Lady, she was taken sick, & died after a short illness—she had lived in the family many years as house keeper & companion for Aunt, her death was much regretted & loss irreparable!—the only death, white or black in so large a family—about this time fevers & agues, & other fevers sett in—I was the only white person in the family who escaped.

My young Bruin which I brought from Louisville became troublesome and saucy, but so tame that he run at large he was about 15 months old & in good order—Uncle invited some Gent<sup>a</sup> to dine on a Cub, which was considered a great delicacy—so this was the end of the little creature. Bear Bacon was an article of trade in N. Orleans, it was an article quoted in the price current. This was a famus custom for changing plates at dinner, if you don't hold your plate fast when you lay down your knife & fork, the waiters will have it before you know it—I dined one day with a couple of Gent<sup>a</sup> formerly

from Phila<sup>a</sup>, when this occurred so often I could not help smiling—they observed it, & knew the cause, & made the same remark—At a large Dinner party, you will perhaps see in the corner of the dining Room, a quantity of Claret waiting for the time of need. At such parties after the cloths are removed, it was customary to introducing singing; when a lady has sung, the gentleman all get up & with his glass in hand, go up to the Lady & gingle glasses & drink her health. The ladies played mostly on the Guitar. Dancing was a great amusement, I was at a very large party at one time some distance from home—when it was kept up all night, no glass to the windows which was very common, & the shutters were kept closed, so that the Sun did not peep in—for we could not keep the bridle path thro' the Cane brakes in the dark—we took a cup of Coffee—and again resumed “a trip on the “light phantastic toe,” for some time, the day was broken—company good, hard parting,—took a sandwich—went through the painful duty of, bidding farewell to those we left.—mounted our horses, & each took care of his fair charge—the major & Lady, & two interesting Sisters, generally graced such happy meetings.

I was invited by some young gent<sup>a</sup> to take a Bear hunt, which they were in the habit of doing—I went one time, but was not in the fashion for that business, I was metamorphosed into an huntsman—short round-about Jacket, no hat—handkerchief tied close round my head & rifle in my hands—On our way to the hunting ground, we discovered a dead hog, perhaps it would weigh 200 lb, he was eaten from his foreshoulders into his body nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$ —we expected to have overtaken master Bruin, when we got on their path, in the Cane brakes we frequently had to get down upon our hands & knees to pass through a thick place—for some distance we alternately walked & crept in this manner, but without meeting any game; the gent<sup>a</sup> concluded that the Bears had taken their rest in some unknown retreat—so we return'd—I must say that it appeared to me that Bruin would have the advantage while upon our knees in the Cane-brakes & he upon his natural position.

All young men who emigrated to the Natchez with a view of staying, Government gives to each 240 acres of land by paying only the survey. One day Gen<sup>l</sup> Dunbar the Surveyor gen<sup>l</sup> call'd on me, & said that he had brought the survey of my land & the bill for surveying it, \$60—I was quite surprized, I told him that I had not asked for any land nor did I want any. He replied, that His Excellency Govern Gayoso, ordered him to survey Eight hundred acres of land for Don & it is the best tract in the District, & that it takes in the best Mill-site in the Country—and allow me to advise you to take it.

He urged me some time, Uncle happened to be from home, so that I could not advise with him—finally took the papers & paid the bill sixty Dollars—

The time having arrived when I talk'd of leaving that Country for the States, that was not the States then. One day His Exc<sup>y</sup> was at our house, he asked me if I was going away & what I thought of doing with my land, I replied, if I did not return in a year or two, for his Exc<sup>y</sup> to do with it as he thought best. So it dropt & I did not act very wisely, that I did not go back—but I did not repent. Uncle told me that the Colonel Commandant talked about selling his fine farm & Sixty negroes, laying near to him—and if I would stay & take it, he thought he would buy it, the place & Negroes. I told him that my Father was much opposed to my going on such a hazardous expedition, & to reconcile him I assured him that I would return after I could be spared, if I was alive & well and that I could not forfeit my word to him. Uncle said if I must go, I must let the coach-man & geet up the carriage & take two of my Consins with me, & visit all our good friends & take leave of them.

Gov<sup>r</sup> Gayoso was then a bachelor, but had a good English education, he & Gen<sup>l</sup> Wilkinson were very great friends, the General resided then in Kentucky. I dined at the Gov<sup>r</sup> one day, when two of the Chiefs of the Chicasaw tribe called on his Excel<sup>y</sup> relative to the death of one of their tribe it was said was killed by a white man. It was amusing to see how attentive the Gov<sup>r</sup> was to those Chiefs. One sit next to him on his right side & the other next to the Indian—when ever the Gov<sup>r</sup> took wine he placed all three of their glasses together & fill'd them about  $\frac{2}{3}$  full & drank each others healths—he was very mild towards the Indians—He gave us a general invitation whenever any of the family came in the Village that we would always find a plate for us at his table.

When I was ready to take leave of our good friends in the Country, the two oldest Cousins about 12 & 14 years old, lovely young Ladies, were ready to accompany me, so the Carriage was got up—and we commenced our painful duty, Our friends wished to know what day we expected to be at their house, so as to have the Road opened thro' the Cane brakes, wide enough for the Carriage, to pass, & we must be punctual to the day for fear of high winds would blow the canes across the road so that we could not get along. this being the only 4 wheel Carriage then in the Country. We were absent about a week: It was a melancholly pleasure, if this is not a contradiction—On the Sabbath that we were out, we went to a protestant meeting, held at one of our friends, the first time ever a protestant preacher was permitted to hold forth. A large number of



friends were invited after service, to stay at dinner & we among the rest & we had another young lady we took from her house to meeting—On our leaving this friend's house a number came out to the carriage to see us off,—I jocosely asked the other ladies if they would take a ride—O yes, O yes & several began to clamber over the wheels & side, I began to be afraid of breaking or the horses being frightened & was obliged to apologize to them for fear that they would get hurt. I mention these little incident to shew their ignorance about a carriage & horses in the harness; altho all of them would dauntlessly jump on any of their country horses.—

When we return'd home from our visiting tour, Uncle prepared to accompany me to N. Orleans. The first night he & I stayed at one of our most intimate friends, at my new Cousins. The next day we embarked on board of a packet boat. (I am now a little ahead of my business) The colored people flocked around me to bid a sorrowful farewell. I did not want to see them after taking leave of Aunt & family. Many of the Col<sup>d</sup> people I had known from childhood—and many supposed that I would never leave them. they were a very fine sett. At the River we again by appointment, met our old travelling companions, & one other connexion returning from Oppalucia, going to Phila<sup>d</sup>. In descending the River it is not uncommon to call at a rich French Planter in the morning & take a bowl of Chocolate. The distance by water from Natchez to N Orleans is 300 miles—and 150 by land. The night before we arrived to N. Orleans, we stayed all night at Catholic Priest, some gent<sup>n</sup> on board knew him. We were received very politely, had an excellent supper, he pushed the decanter round bountifully, He said, he pushed the *best* wine round first, & then the other, if *not* as good, went very well. I was up very early, the good Priest next, presently he came to me with a silver *plate* in his hand & 2 pears on it, asked me to accept them; pears do not grow in that Country & it was not the season for them, I eyed them very closely, but declined to take them, but he urged them on me, I suspected a trick, I weigh one in my hand, he tried to look serious, I looked up at him, he then burst out a laugh,—they were wrought marble to imitate a pear. I brought them home & gave them to a Niece, & believe they were destroyed when their house was burnt up—after breakfast we left our jovial & hospitable Priest & arrived in N Orleans safe. We took lodgings. Uncle took me with him & called on Govern Mero, & his Secretary Don Andre. We had to wait two weeks for a Brig going to Phila<sup>d</sup>, & several americans were in the same situation. When the Vessell was ready to sail, I took leave of his

Exc<sup>t</sup> & Secretary Don Andre, I ask'd the Sect<sup>y</sup> if he had any commands to the *Cape*, ah! he he said I know what cape you are going, only take good care of yourself—The Brig clear'd I suppose for Cape Franceway, but happens to run in the Capes of Delaware. Gov. Mero was an old Silver gray small pensive pale faced man—the Sect<sup>y</sup>, in person, not unlike Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington, but his face shorter. here I left Uncle for the last time! He was a fine portly looking man, neat & Dignified—always wore powder as all gent<sup>n</sup> did in those days & large cocked hat. On leaving N. Orleans I gave \$10 for a very fine one. The Capt<sup>n</sup> of the Brig had his wife on board, they I believe had no children & think she lived on board. She was as great a Vexen as perhaps a man was ever troubled with. The passengers had all to find themselves with board and bed. The Vessell dropped down stream about a mile or two, the passengers thought it prudent to add a little to our sea Stores, so we went among the farmers & laid in, Eggs, poultry &c, sufficient, the Capt said, to carry him to London after we arrived in Phila<sup>d</sup>. When we left the shore, we found no dependence was to be placed on the Capt<sup>n</sup>'s *accomplished, polite in her way if vexatiousnes*. we came to agreement that we should take turns for one to be the caterer for the day & order the Cook what to cook for the day—we found the arrangement to be a good one—for two weeks set at tamber & enjoyed our dinner & wine as well as if we had been on shore. this good weather brought us in sight of Cuba, the wind here ahead against the Gulf Stream, One night we had severe thunder & lightning & rain—the Vessell trembled at every crack of thunder & vivid lightning—Our Capt. was a most profane fellow in good weather, & at this time of danger a most mild humbled fellow that could be. I never get sea sick, most of the passengers in their births & sick—I went to my particular fellow travellers, told them our awful situation & advised them to get up if they could our danger increased, the wind a head & sea running mountain high, we were setting fast upon Florida shoals & rocks—our only safety was to try to lay as close to the wind as possible, if we attempt to beat & go about, we certainly were gone, all hands were called in counsel, in such extreme cases—the Capt<sup>n</sup> wife stood in the companion door & at last she muttered out, "*I'll go below & mak my peace*," thinks I to myself, you can't be too quick about it. Providentially we escaped the reef of rocks, & run by them all—we had no cooking for some days & we had to take a piece of bread in one hand & hold fast to something with the other. Just before we arrived to the Capes of Delaware a Sailor died, when

we enter the river his fellow Sailors took him on shore & buried him. We arrived in Phila<sup>d</sup> just about sun sett & the passengers all hurried to take their lodgings, we were 4 weeks on board. We had very agreeable Company.

After I compleated my business in Phila I re-shipped my large chest which I bought at Pittsburgh, round to N York & took the stage by land—that chest I again shipped to N. Jersey & again from there to the western part of N. York State. It has travelled about six thousand miles. It served as a table from Louisville to the Natchez.

The Summer of 1792 I visited with some relative, to New London, Norwich, Preston Groton &c—the winter of 92; 93, spent in Phila<sup>d</sup> & the 4<sup>th</sup> of March I had the pleasure to see General Washington inaugurated as President of the United States the 2<sup>d</sup> term. I went early to the State House, secured a good place, presently the house was filled to overflowing, precisely at 12 O'Clock the cry rung thro' the house, "*he's come, he's come.*" the upper hall was crowded, he walked along as if it was empty, the crowd opened and shut as easy as a boat passing through water, the crowd gave way and closed after him. He took the middle of three chairs in the Senate Cham directly opposite to the Hall, & but a little way in the Room, On his right the venerable Chief Justice Cushing set, & on his left Senator Langdon set. I looked round at the people to see whether there was an eye off the General, (or President), I could not find one person looking another way. After a short pause in total silence, Senator Langdon, a very elegant person, rose up & faced the President, & in a most respectfull manner, ask'd him if was ready to take the oath of office as President of the United States, he made some answer & rose, made a short address held a paper in one hand—when stopt speaking Judge Cushing stepped up to him, with a large Bible opened, the President laid his right hand upon it and repeated the oath after the Judge, when he spoke his own name, *I George Washington*, my blood run cold—it seemed to be more than a human voice, every countenance seemed to be affected by it. After the business of Inauguration was done, the President set down a few minutes. When he rose, he made a handsome exit out of the room,—There was no crowding, nor noise, rather quiet departure. He came in his Carriage with two horses, in a plain unaustentious manner. He was dressed in mourning, & a mourning sword, black shoe & kee buckles & when he address the public the subject, I did not hear so as to give it; his position was exactly what it is frequently seen in many houses—he was in mourning for Major Washington his favorite Newpew, who occu-

pid the Generals Seat at Mount Vernon, when he was in the War.

Whilst I was in Phila<sup>d</sup> I became acquainted with the Agent of a great Land Company. He said that he understood that I had recently returned from a Southern expedition, asked me if I would like to engage in a Northern one. He told me, that the Company had large tracts of wild Land, & that they were about to open the sales of them to actual settlers. And as I was acquainted with merchantdise they wished to open a Store for the benefit of the settlers & to give them every facility—but their grand object was to promote the sales of the land. Proposals was then made to me & accepted. I was to meet the agent in N. York who contemplated to go upon the land. I think the first of April '93 I met the agent according to agreement. He desired me to purchase every article that I thought would be wanted in an entire new place, & have them packed well for transportation,—and for me to hire a few mechanicks & laborers, by the year, if I knew them, & then ship the goods to Albany, & such hands as might be hired, to accompany me with the goods, & he would meet me at Albany, & then make further arrangements. The hired men were sent on from Albany to Old Fort Schuyler, now call'd Utica. The goods were carted across to Schenectady & stored. From Albany the Agent went by land to Utica, I preferred to go to accompany the goods from Schenectady up to Utica. I loaded two Batteaux with the goods & utensils for farming purposes, &c. The boatmen had very bad name for tapping liquors on the way up the mohawk rive. My object in preferring to accompany the boats, was to try to ascertain their tricks in drawing liquors & any other malpractices that they had— It was extream hard work to set a batteau up that river—many shoal places, & rapid water—at the Falls all the Freight must be unload & carted round the falls & reloaded. I sent on board of one boat, a keg of Five gallons of Spirits & told the Captains it was for their use, provided they did not pilfer my liquors & take good care of all the goods, & especially, that they would let me know how they tapped liquors & leave no marks we thank you Boss, we will never tap your liquors & will take good care of your goods, & if you should not be along, we will remember you, & know your mark, for nobody has ever been so kind to us: Well then Boss we will tell you—we knock a hoop one side, hammer a case knife between two staves, & draw what we want & then drive the hoop back—sometimes we knock the bung out, & then put sand in the Hogsh-head to fill it up after we take what will do, & put the tin over the bung again. At night



they stop at a Tavern & almost every house was a Tavern, or a boatman's stopping place, so the first night we stopt at a good Tavern,—now Boss, you can go to this Tavern & sleep well. I answered them in a laughing way, as I had got in their good graces; yes, & while I am sleeping, you rascalls will tap my liquors; O no Boss we will always remember the five gallon keg. I was satisfied that there was no way to prevent them from their evil practices.—In those days immense quantity of liquor was drank, & suppose to be absolutely necessary for the health in time of exposure in damp places &c &c The first Hhd of Spirits ever brought on that settlement was retailed thro' a Goose quill. The settlement progressed very fast & prosperously. There are many hardships attending a new settlements & privations, but they soon vanish, like wax before the sun, for New Englanders are a hardy race of people, indefatigable, at home every where, lively & cheerful.—in their festivities, order & precision is observed. In the winters, the Agent leaves for N. York & Phil<sup>a</sup> so that I was left without any society.—One evening the young people had a ball—I was asked to it by some of them, I agreed to attend—when I arrived at the door, I was met by one of the managers in a very handsome, manner, & introduced into the ball room, & was agreeably disappointed in seeing a collection of well dressed Ladies & Gent<sup>l</sup> & all things well conducted. I enquired of one, the name of the Manager, who so politely introduced me, I was disappointed on hearing his name, that he was one of our hired men, who I gave direction about his Ox team that very afternoon. It is astonishing to find the difference of society between the Northern & Southern people. So every winter these happy settlers had their balls. I mentioned this to the agent. When he prolonged his time of departure near the close of the year, he took much delight in attending the people's festive meeting, & very pleasing to all. As the settlement increased, those days of mirth & joy proportionably advanced—particularly the 22<sup>d</sup> of Feb<sup>r</sup>. & the 4<sup>th</sup> of July, were observed.

The Land Company generously made me a partner in Store without my knowledge—thus it went on for several years, The Company then proposed to me to take Store & a good Capital to myself, as it was but little object to them, the interest on the loan to be small, or reduced—and the Agent to manage the land concern himself, as that was the Company's object. This change was agreed to, & I continued the mercantile business several years; I had some thoughts at first to visit Natchez again, but my friends would not consent.

The Genl. Agent, had been several times at my house, an exceedingly pleasant man. At one time he proposed to me to take an Agency of

some lands, & referred me to his Sub-agent at some distance. A very particular friend of mine accompanied me & we called upon this Sub-agent for information—he shewed the maps & directed us the way—we viewed a part of them, but the badness of the way, & through a dense forest, looked too forbidding, so we concluded to give it up, The tract contained 1½ million of acres. When I went again to Phila<sup>da</sup> I did myself the pleasure to call on the Genl Agent, & informed him that the Sub-agent shewed me the map and survey of a tract containing 1½ millions of acres, the land good, but I must beg leave to decline the Agency, & thanked him for his kind proposals, well, calling me by name, you can do as you think best; but if you will take my advice, you would not decline!—I observed to him that I much regretted that it was not consistent at that to follow his kind proposal. This Gent<sup>l</sup> was a sincere friend to me, & no doubt it would have been much to my advantage—thus ended this grand land project. I have brought up in my Store a number of young men, all from good families, two where Ministers Sons (& more offered, but no room,) and am very happy in being able to say, they have proved to become good members of society, amongst them a Colonel in the army—Justice of the peace, major in the militia—member of the assembly—a President of a Bank—and all respectable in their several avocations.

The under signed, has had the honor to have been elected Town Clerk and Supervisor without knowing his name was used—his name used without being consulted, & run for a State Senator, under the old form for 5 Senators to be chosen at one election. I believe those candidates were 3 Col<sup>s</sup> & 2 Majors—but unsuccessful—refused a County Judge, was a Secretary & Treasure & Director about 30 years in a Turnpike Company & resigned—a President of another Turnpike Co—a Bank Director one year & resigned—a petty State Officer 5 or 6 years—and had the honor & liberty to spend as much money as I pleased as a Delegate to Conventions, E. W. N & S.—& without opposition, had the privilege of spending as much as I pleased, as a Militia Officer. This is a rough sketch of the Journal of life up to this, March 12<sup>th</sup> 1851.

The following occurrence, ought to have been on page 3,\* but was omitted inadvertently: I was informed that the Officers had made arrangements to meet General Washington, at Francis's Tavern in the afternoon at the Corner of Duke (now Pearl) street & Broad Street, to take leave of him. When they all had assembled, the Genl rose from his seat, & requested them to come in rotation to

\* This portion of the Manuscript is that what relates to the Evacuation of the City of New York, in 1783—page 322, ante.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

him: General Knox being the highest in command present, probably, commenced—they embraced each other, shook hands, & return'd to his seat, & so in rotation, all in perfect silence! The General then left them & went on board of a Barge waiting for him at White-Hall ferry, to convey him to Elizabeth Town Point, on his way to Phil<sup>a</sup> or Baltimore, where Congress was in Session, to resign his Commission as Commander-in-chief of the Army of the United States of North America. It must have been a very solemn scene. It is remarkable that some Limner has never notice'd it, for must have been a fine subject for the pencil.

Now perhaps, not a soul of that patriotic army lives—may the good effects of their achievements, be felt throughout Christendom, & all nations enjoy liberty without licentiousness.

In looking over the foregoing scroll, written in haste & by piecemeals from memory, & my reminiscences being deranged, which occasioned so many erasures & interlineations, that I have hesitated about parting with them—being often interrupted—I hope that you will excuse it.—but as it will be seen only by your *ownself*, & if it will afford you any amusement in a leisure moment is all that can be expected by

ANACHARSIS.

#### APPENDIX.

Whilst at Utica, Gen<sup>l</sup> Lincoln, one the United States Commissioners arrived there with 3 Bateaux, going to Prisque 'Isle, in Pennsylvania to hold a Treaty with the Indians. There was but one Tavern in that place. My Trunk, containing all the papers of the Land Company—it stood in the hall, & all the Baggage of the Commissioners were put in the same place. I had the honor to be introduced to him. When he was gone, I prepared to leave—my trunk was missing—the Land Lord conjectured that it was taken out with the Comm<sup>s</sup> baggage—I mounted my horse & headed the General in a turn in the Mohawk above Whistown & told him my errand in stopping him—he promptly stopt every Boat—and ordered a search—the Boatmen all swore that there was no other trunk but their own—and thryed to get off so—the Gen told them that every boat should be unloaded before would be satisfied—that there was no contending—the rascalls immediately took the trunk up out of the boat that the General stopt in. He gave them fellows a most severe lecture. It was evident that it was a perfect theft.

This General was taken Prisoner by Lord Cornwallis, when the British Captured Charleston S. C. and treated him ignominiously—When the British Army was captured by the American & French, at York-Town, Vir., General Washington appointed this General Lincoln to receive

Lord Cornwallises' sword—what a noble retribution.

Whilst this patriotic Gen<sup>l</sup> & I were sitting talking in the house, my hired man came to inform that his Cart was out of order, he was just going to load up for the new settlement—the Gen<sup>l</sup> said to me, I will go with you to the ware house, & see what is out of order—he immediately put the man in a way to fix his cart! I mention this trifling occurrence to shew the difference between an American Major Gen<sup>l</sup> & a British Major Gen<sup>l</sup>! the latter would think himself degraded!

#### II.—THE THATCHER PAPERS.—CONTINUED.

SELECTED FROM THE PAPERS OF HON. GEORGE THATCHER, AND COMMUNICATED BY CAPTAIN WILLIAM F. GOODWIN, U. S. A.

31.—From John Avery Jr.

BOSTON, Feb<sup>y</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1788

DEAR SIR

Your obliging Letter of the 3<sup>d</sup> Inst I received yesterday, and am much pleased to find that your Sentiments respecting the proposed Plan of Government coincides with my own, and wish, sincerely wish that the Example of Mass<sup>ts</sup> may be followed by all the States, and as you observe they stand so high in their Estimation I make no doubt they will meet with their Concurrence and that we shall have as perfect a System as can be made in this imperfect State—The Unanimity in the Convention would have been greater; but the fears of many operated so strongly on their Minds, or rather in my Opinion they were so powerfully impressed with Bugbears least these very Gentlemen delegated from among themselves should prove Rascals and rivit their chains; therefore they wished to reject the Constitution till proper amendments were made; indeed they would not run the hazard to trust any body of Men, however virtuous, least they should prove traitors—I told them, that if they were to choose the most abandoned Villains in the Commonwealth, which was not like to be the case, that they would not find one of them dare to act contrary to the general Sentiments of the People—but there was no reasoning with some of these Geniuses; they came with a determination to reject the Constitution and it must be rejected right, or wrong, and I wish that their Conduct might meet with the Approbation of their own consciences: however there appears to be an overruling Providence in the Affair and I can't but think that we shall be a great and flourishing People *with common Prudence*—I have, my friend, dreaded the Consequences of a rejection by this State, and had it have been the case, I



see no other alternative than the several States would have been disunited, the Minds of the People sowed, Anarch and Confusion have taken place and in the course of a few Years some despot would have ruled over us with a rod of Iron; how ever these gloomy Apprehensions have vanished and I feel happy that this State have adopted the proposed System, and I feel pleased upon Reflection there was no greater majority in favour of it; as it will prevent many groundless jealousy taking Place in the Minds of our Southern Brethren; for had the people of this State been united in the Measure perhaps they would have said that it was because that this State expected to reap greater advantages than the other States in the carrying trade &c (and there is another Reason I have that it will convince the Congress of the necessity agreeing to these Amendments proposed, or something like them to quiet the Minds of the People) and as there was was so fair and so generous a discussion of the Subject I think there apprehensions must be removed—His Excellency has done himself great Honor in his proposing the Amendments as they have greatly tended to reconcile all parties and dissipated many Evils from the Minds of many—he came out, after a painfull Illness to the great Hazard of his Life and he has received no disadvantage from it and I know he must feel happy upon the Reflection of having done so much good—and if Massachusetts has that influence, you are pleased to suggest, the adoption of it by this State will lay a foundation for a good efficient Government and that we shall live in Peace happiness and safety for a long time yet to come till dissipation and Ignorance be come the prevailing disposition of the People: butt while the States pay attention to instruct the Youth as they grew up and set good Examples of Morality before them and impress upon their Minds a Spirit of Industry, we shall have every blessing to attend us—We have every thing among ourselves to render us a happy People and to make us more happy I wish that the several States may lay aside all local prejudices and contracted Ideas—

I am greatly pleased with your Information that some of the most powerful opposers to the federal Constitution in the other States have altered their sentiments—they have done themselves honor and hope they will be greatly instrumental to its adoption; and indeed every good man must feel happy in promoting the General Good—

\* \* \* \* \*

Your friend & hum<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

JOHN AVERY JUNR.

HON<sup>d</sup> GEORGE THATCHER ESQ

32.—From Joseph Crocker.

BOSTON, Feb<sup>r</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> 1788

DEAR SIR,

I most sincerely congratulate you on the adoption & ratification of the new Constitution in this State, & trust, you will join me in most cordial Thanks to those of our political Fathers who have exerted themselves to the utmost in behalf of those who wish for Righteousness to be established by Law, & that we may no longer remain a dirision among the Nations of the Earth.

\* \* \* \* \*

I am Sir your sincere Friend &  
Servant

JOSEPH CROCKER

HON<sup>d</sup> GEO. THATCHER

[Addressed:]

BOSTON

Honorable GEORGE THATCHER ESQ<sup>r</sup>  
New York

33.—From Silas Lee.

BIDDEFORD 14<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>r</sup> 1788

MY DEAR UNCLE

As antifederal as you may think me, I can sincerely congratulate you on the adoption of the N. Constitution in this Commonwealth—It has ever been, as it now is, my opinion, that that is the safest of the Alternatives—Notwithstanding I have great doubts whether the Liberties of the people are not exceedingly endangered by it—and the Idea of an amendment, together with the further consideration that something Must immediately be done, & that this Country can scarcely be in a worse situation, are far the greatest arguments in my mind to Justify its ratification. From what you have heretofore wrote me, I have been led to think that you saw no imperfection at all, in the plan, & that you espoused its adoption, not with the violence & implacability of a partizan, who condemns every man to the stake, or halter, that is not of his colour; that I knew was impossible, but rather, with the *resolute warmth* of an honest Man, who was *possitive that he was right*—and I confess to you that I feel not a little flattered to find from your last letter, that my Sentiments have not been wholly opposed to yours—and that you seem to think it wants amendments—which I hope will immediately be taken into Consideration—But I hope the precedent of the late federal Convention will not be followed by the next that may be appointed; viz instead of revising or amending this in certain parts, which may be found inconvenient, they will not with one Stroke wipe the whole away, as was the fate of the old Confederation, & propose a new one; but on the

contrary provide a remedy for the inconveniences felt, without interfering with or altering the advantages already experienced—But, altho you say, that “it will ever be as easy to alter & amend, as it can be to form another, if not “more so,” you seem to think, by what follows, that every General Convention will propose a plan of their own—notwithstanding, I suppose you must mean, their commission impowers them only to amend—This I have ever understood was the fact in the late federal convention But altho composd of the first characters in the Continent I, by no means, think it the *less unwarrantable* on that account—when Officers throw aside their commissions, or Servants their orders, then the liberties of the people depend entirely upon the humour of the one, & the property of the Master on the uncertain conduct of the other, which may be good or bad as the disposition of the agent may happen to be—and then indeed all Laws or rules are wholly afut But as to the Constitution, it is established in this State & I doubt not but it will soon be through out the whole—I shall therefore find no more fault with it, but rather examine & enquire into it for the sake of information—hoping that it will prove to be not only the best in the world, but also that the people will be perfectly happy under it—In a former letter I mentioned M<sup>r</sup> Wilson—I believe I was wrong then, in part at least. At another time I may explain myself—I differ so far from the opinions of your friends with you, respecting the Opposition in this State, that on the contrary, I am surprised at the struggle that was made—I think Most of the Opposers have done honour to their places, both by the ingenuity of some of their arguments, & the liberality of their Conduct after the decision

\* \* \* \* \*

I am yours My Dear Uncle  
most affectionately  
S. LEE

[Addressed:]

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Member of Congress  
New York

34.—From Samuel Phillips Savage.

WESTON 17 Feb<sup>y</sup> 1788

DEAR SIR.

\* \* \* \* \*

I have now the pleasure of congratulating you on the adoption of the new federal Government, it was obtained by a very small Majority considering the pains taken by those in its favour. most of the leading Opponents did themselves honour when they found the yeas had prevailed, but your friend Tompson (of Topsham) had entered too deeply into the Opposition, to think

he might be mistaken. The General would, in my Opinion make a better hand to lead on a forlorn hope; than to engage a Bowdoin, a Parsons or a King in a Cabinet of Councillors, his Zeal, to render it efficacious needs the Addition of good Sense, Learning & prudence—Pray does all parts of Parade of the Convention strike you with Equal pleasure?—I have not heard one word from N Hampshire since their Convention Sat, but as the Same Spirit prevails in the the Western parts of that State I am apt to think their proceedings will be Slow and their Majority, (if accepted) but Small.

Your Observations on the Cause why so few States are represented in Congress, are just, I rather wonder, all things considered, why there are so many do it, considering the Expence and the Inefficacy of the Doings, and was it not for their Connections w<sup>th</sup> the Nations in Union with us, I believe there would be no Congress.—Would to God nine States may adopt the new Government, and then, & not till then, do I expect to See better times.

\* \* \* \* \*

Pray does not national Securities rise in proportion as States join the federal Constitution? All the little Interest I have is in publick Securities, & altho I have been frequently advised to part with them, I have hitherto kept them, in hopes that it would again be in Vogue for States to be as honest, as it is fit individuals should.

believe me Y<sup>r</sup> Fr<sup>d</sup> Affec<sup>t</sup>

SAM PHPS SAVAGE

[Addressed:]

HON<sup>l</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esquire  
Congress  
New York

FREE

35.—From Nathaniel Barrell

YORK 20<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1788

MY GOOD FRIEND

Major Nason delivered me your two last favors of 27<sup>th</sup> & 28<sup>th</sup> ultimo, the day after the Great, the Important, Question was decided—and tho I blush to think of the trouble I have given you on this subject, yet I am pleased—much gratified, to find we at last agree in sentiment on the matter, and that I have this further information of your attachment.—

Your friend, *our Eastern Cicero*, will give you more perfectly the particulars of the Convention, than this little instrum<sup>t</sup> in my hand is capable off—and save me the pain of exposing my folly—he can tell you with what zeal I push'd the opposition, till powerful reason flash'd conviction on my mind, and bore down all before it, in spite of the almost invincible resistance of deep rooted prejudice.—



I recollect with pleasure the Candour which appear'd in your conduct at the period you point at, where Whigg & Torry ran so high; and tho at that time I was branded with the opprobrious epithet of the one, my soul rejected the charge knowing there never was a time since I have been able to wield the Sword that I would not cheerfully expose my life in defence of my Country. but my friend tho there be no other reward for this, then what springs from the consciousness of the action, I can assure you I place as first among the most meritorious acts of my life, my assent to the federal Constitution, notwithstanding I see serious consequences attendant on it and that by thus doing I create in this town (at least) temporary enemies, of those I considered two months since as disinterested friends.—there are various sorts of opposers to this system; and all them dangerous.—some wish to be under a British Government, which if this takes place, they can have no chance for—some were ill treated torrys and are now ready to sacrifice all for revenge others are more in debt than they have property to discharge, and fear they shall not have paper money to cheat their creditors with—some are in debt, & tho they have property to pay, yet the fear of tender acts ceasing, cuts off their hopes—while some honest ignorant minds, whome my soul pities, become dupes to the above group, who persuade them that their libertys are in danger, and they will be made Slaves of others there are who wish for power in the persons of representatives, and join all there as the surest channel to obtain their ends—aside from all these are not a few of those Insurgents, who have neither property nor principle, consequently want no Government but that Anarchy which may in its confusion give them a chance of sharing all property amongst them—this lesson I have learnt by being in the minority, when I was oblig'd to mix w<sup>th</sup> a set of the most unprincipled of men—all these worthys are united in sparing no pains to influence the minds of all, and persuade me to believe what they themselves do not—that the proposed amendments will not take place & should this be as they wish—I dread the consequence perhaps little short of a revolution may take place—as such deceptions will not be easily swallowed—I feel for myself—there is a Something which whispers within that tho more than fifty five years has silvered my head, I should be one of the first that would sound the alarm, and call to Arms—may Heaven prevent it!

Now my dear Sir, as I like your words and the order in which they are placed, much better than any my mind can furnish—I beg leave to return them as my own beginning with “I was ‘honord with your acquaintance in the year

“eighty”—and ending w<sup>th</sup> “when we are to gether I shall not trouble myself with his God, nor his Government, any further than is agreeable, and becomes necessary to keep up “social and instructive conversation.”

I am joined by your friend, my better self, and our circle the prating Girls

Your friend & hum<sup>bl</sup> Servant  
NATH<sup>L</sup> BARRELL

[Addressed:]

PORTSMOUTH  
February 26.

The Honourable  
GEORGE THATCHER ESQ<sup>r</sup>  
Member of Congress,  
New York.

36.—From Silas Lee.

BIDDEFORD 22<sup>d</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1788

MY DEAR UNCLE

\* \* \* \* \*

I have ever wondered that there should not happen to be some few, one or two at least, men of abilities among the Anti federal—but I have been much more astonished at the opposition that was made against the *Combined* force of the whole body of the literati in the State— which opposition, I fancy, will operate exceedingly in favour of the Constitution, when connected with the Conduct of the opposers after the descision, as undoubtedly it will—Many who were opposed before, now say it has had a fair examination (whether true or not, I will not pretend to say) & been carried by a Majority, by whom they are ever willing to be governed.

You enquire about Separation—very little is said—the business of the late Convention has engrossed the whole attention of every partisan in politics.

Hampshire Convention is now Sitting the friends to the Constitution are very anxious—the Majority at present being against it—Some say it will go down, others that it will not—A Col Peabody is said to be busy against it—and a Lawyer from number four, whose I could not learn—

Yours My D<sup>r</sup> Uncle  
From S. LEE.

37.—From Samuel Nayson

MY DEAR FRIEND (or is this only a Compliment you may depend upon it it is not with me) in my last a momen<sup>t</sup> before. I left Boston I inform<sup>d</sup> you that the New plan of Government was adopted by a Small Majority of only nineteen my Name beaing in the Smallest Number if their is any Pleasur in Beaing in the Minority on Such Greate Questions I have it first in Contem-

plating that I have done my duty, and in Receiving the thanks of my fellow Citizens through the Country when I Arrived att the County of York I Received in General the Thanks of all I Mett, while our Friend Bar'el (for Such I yet Esteem him) was much Abused how far the Town will Carry their Resentment I Cannot Say I Strove as much as in me Lay to keep down the Sperite of the people and I hope that they will not hurt his person or his property he did not Return with me So that I Cannot Give any Account of him but he was Much to Blam I think not for his Voting but for Striving to Enflame the Minds of the Town and County against the then proposed Plan and by that means Got himself Elected to go to Boston as the Plan is now Adopted I make no doubt but the Eastward parts who have Ever been uniform in Support of Government will bes Still and I have not the Least doubt that when Call'd upon will Turn out Even to support this New plan when many who now appears forward will Serink back for my Part I Exp't to be like the Nicher of Bray that is Set who will be King I hope to be looked upon a Good Suggest that is I mean by my Conduct to Declare it to the World I hope that we Shall Continue Peacable and Try this New Constitution and also hope I Shall be Agreeably Supprised by finding it to turn out for the Best I am now just Setting out for Boston to attend the Generall Court My Polittical day is Just at an End for the Toun of Sanford is so poor I cannot Recomend it to them to Send any Member Next Year as you know they must Pay the Cost of Sending However my own Toun with others have offered to Assit to Send me again but I Cannot yet Say if I was Chosen whither I Should attend I have lately thought I would not and it not for any reason that I have as to the Administration or that I do not like the Life but I feel the want of a proper Education I feel my Self So Small on many ocations that I all most Serink into Nothing Besides I am often obliged to Borrow from Gentleman that had advantages which I have not this to a Greater Soul you must know is Such a Burden that Cannot bour but why Should apply to you for you Never had the Expriance. Beaing Blessed with what I want—but to Return as it will be uncertain whether I shall be at the Next Election I do now Entend to do my Best to fix my Friend Thatcher and also my Friend Oetis whom I esteem as a Honest man which one is the Greatis Charitcher this year you know is Borrowed from Pope you know there must be one Choice under the Old Constitution.

Newhampshire Convention is Setting and I hear it is with them as it was with us the Country Members Mostely against the Trailing

Towns for it how it will Turn I cannot tell hope for the best——

\* \* \* \* \*

Your Sincere Friend

& Hum Ser<sup>vt</sup>

SAM<sup>L</sup> NAYSON

SANFORD Feby 26 1788

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEO THATCHER ESQ<sup>r</sup>  
New York

38.—From Jeremiah Hill.

BIDDEFORD Feby 1788

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I can with a good deal of Pleasure anticipate the glory of this young Empire, dedicated to the fair Goddess of Liberty, a friend to his Country when he sees a fair prospect of its increase in Honor & happiness anticipates the future Grandeur naturally resulting to its inhabitants from a well ordered Government. the same as we fond parents do the fair healthy promising boy rising to maturity—I am daily making Calculations for the United States to be adorned with her new *wedding Suit*. I will give you a short account of my Calculations. by the first of April next the present Congress will receive Official Intelligence of nine States having adopted the new Constitution, they will then make the proper Arrangements for sending Official orders to the several States who have adopted it, to make the requisite Elections for organizing the new Congress—tho' they wont send out these orders untill every State in the Union has had the Constitution under debate and has either adopted or rejected it, if they meant to as either having made those necessary preresiquites Congress will adjourn leaving a Committee in the inter regnum to manage such matters & things as may be necessary during that time, as the present Confederation authorises. then I shall expect to see my old friend again: I have made these Calculations to M<sup>ss</sup> Thatcher I assure you they were not disagreeable to her. \* \* \* \* \*

To return the several States will receive these official orders by the first of August and by the first of October will have compleated the different elections, then the present Congress will all return to induct the new Congress agreeable to the Constitution, then I hope we shall all see and enjoy those Halcyon days which has been so long prognosticated, when the *Lincolni*ans and *Shaysites* shall lie down together, beat their swords into plow-shares and their spears into pruning-hooks & learn *Insurgency* no more. then peace & good orders shall invade this Asylum of Liberty where every one shall set in his Orchard in the Summer, & by his own fire in the winter, and there shall be nothing to make us afraid, only the



rod of Correction which shall slay the wicked and ungodly, who shall presume to trample on its laws or violate its Council. I made these calculations previous to seeing your Letter to brother Lee of the 10<sup>th</sup> inst, which he has favored me with the perusal of—by that Letter I fear nine States won't have acted upon the new Constitution according to my Calculation. However, a month or so in the great Scale will be but in comparison of the great whole as a mote in the great Luminary of Heaven—

\* \* \* \* \*

I am your  
friend thro all the changing sceanes of time &  
most obedient

hum<sup>e</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>  
JERE HILL

[Addressed:]

PORTSMOUTH

February 26

Hon. GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Member of Congress  
New York

39.—From Jeremiah Hill.

BIDDEFORD Feb<sup>y</sup> 28, 1788

DEAR SIR,

\* \* \* \* \*

the adoption of the new Constitution by the Massachusetts has I think cemented the parties together rather than stired up new Animosities. the federal party has taken and are taking every measure to promote & encourage Peace Union & Harmony by paying particular Attention to the Antis especially those of any Influence, which they appear reciprocally fond of encouraging, very few exceptions, Gen. Thompson did not return home after the Convention dissolved as the Gen<sup>l</sup> Court was to set in 12 or 14 days & it is rumoured that he has been very noisy during that time, but he took a Tour into the western Counties and they say further that he made it in his way to call & see the Newhamshire Convention to stir up what Strife he could there, this Convention has adjourned to sometime in June next One Reason which I have heard offered for the adjournment, and which I think is probable was this, several members who had Instructions positively to vote against it, upon hearing it discussed were in heart in favor of it, but unwilling to vote against such Instructions Joined the party for adjournment in order to use their Influence with their Constituants for different Instructions. Brother Widgery call'd on me last evening in his way to Boston he tells me they are very easy & quiet in the circle of his Acquaintance. Mr Cutts of Berwick & our friend Nason is a little noisy about it, but I believe they are only airy puffs blown out occasionally, perhaps to serve a

particular purpose, that is, it is whispered about that he, Nason, is making Interest for a Seat in the Senate the ensuing Year, & perhaps Cutts is a spare Trumpet, these things are severally committed to a friend what shall I say more or rather what shall I say next? Why, I will tell you the news of the day, a young *Cobbite* arrived into town last night but instead of *Bena & Pilly*, it has a full set of *propria qua maribus* all cleverly doubtless you remember the Minority in the Massachusetts Convention consisted of 168 Members 106 of whom belonged to the three western Counties which were in Opposition to Government the last year, and I am informed that the chief Opposers in the New Hampshire Convention were of the same Clan, that is belonged to the Circle that arose last year to oppose the Gen<sup>l</sup> Court of that State, what a pity it is that such desperadoes should be permitted to infest civil Society? or rather what a pity it is that civil Society can not be so well established as to prevent such obnoxious beings from shewing their Spite to the well disposed However we must like the industrious bee suck honey from every obnoxious weed

I am Dear, Sir,

Your friend &

Most Obedient

Hum<sup>e</sup> Servant

JERE HILL

Hon. GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>—

[Addressed:]

PORTSMOUTH

March 4

Hon. GEORGE THATCHER Esquire  
Member of Congress—  
New York

40.—From Thomas B. Wait.

PORTLAND, Feb<sup>y</sup>, 29, 1788

MY DEAR THATCHER

In your last Letter to Brother Silal you inquire concerning our Separation from Massachusetts—I do not know how your Biddeford correspondent will answer the interrogation—Nor do I care—I am determined to say something about it—

The vastness of the object that has, since your departure attracted the public mind hath left not a crack or crevice for the territory of *Sagadahock* — But when the general agitation occasioned by any Phenominon shall subside, then will an opportunity offer to contemplate its effects —

The adoption of the proposed national Constitution, which I now begin to look upon as certain, will alter the opinion of our Boston Brethren — instead of opposing, they will assuridly advocate our Separation—So will every

man on this side of Philadelphia.— The acquisition of two Senators in the northern interest, will be considered as an object of magnitude— The independence of Vermont will, also, on the same principles, be contended for—and obtained.—What say you?

I have actually written my vote for the Governor of Main; but it is for a man who I am very certain *you* would not vote for.

I think you have written to, and received Letters from Gen<sup>l</sup> Thompson — Do for God's sake write him once more—he conducts is if the Devil had possessed him. His opposition to the New Constitution continues.— When he left Boston, his last words were—*I will throw the State into Confusion*— It is true, these were great *swelling words*; but he may do a great deal of mischief.— Can not you contrive a letter that will do him good?— For I do not believe Thompson to be a man of a bad heart— Should you tell him that the Constitution with the proposed *amendments*, which will certainly take place, will operate less injuriously than many suppose—that other amendments if found necessary will certainly take place—that you admire the submissive conduct of the minority &c. &c.—(richly interlarding the whole with Republicanism)—something of this kind might be serviceable.

Yours— DICTATOR.

[*Endorsed* :]

THO<sup>s</sup> B. WAIT  
29. Feb<sup>y</sup>— 1788

41.—*From D. Sewell.*

BOSTON 4<sup>th</sup> march 1788 Tuesday

DEAR SIR

Yours of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 24<sup>th</sup> ultimo came to hand yesterday. the former after having Travelled to York, and the latter with the Paper containing m<sup>r</sup> Adams Letter and several Anti federal remarks, some of Which I think are destitute of any foundation—and in especial manner the paragraph respecting the Province of Mayne Members in our Convention. Who are said in this Paragraph to have been gained over by a promise of a Separation. no such thing, for the Persons that have been Sticklers for this Separation Voted in opposition—and tis the first time I ever heard of the Suggestion, so that your observation of its being a truly Antifederal Paper I think fully Verified and that the propagation of untruths, are a needfull Support of the cause it means to fortify. I was mistaken in my last respecting N. Hamp. but it is Suggested that the Pillar will rise there after having Seasoned a little—\* \* \*

—The Printers here have really mended the diction and some of the Sentiments of A. federal

Speakers If I may Credit some members of the Convention as well as some of the Spectators General T— you may suppose for one—The Speakers on that Side in General were really Contemptible in every Sence indeed some of them had Speeches made out of Doors which they read, but read & pronounced in an awkward manner—Who fabricated M<sup>r</sup> N. last Speech I am uncertain—one thing I am satisfied of, he never made it himself not that I conceive it an Elegant one

Your hum<sup>l</sup> Ser.

D SEWALL

m<sup>r</sup> THACHER.

[*Addressed* :]

BOSTON

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

City of  
New York

42.—*From Silas Lee.*

BIDDEFORD 29<sup>th</sup> Feb<sup>y</sup> 1788

MY DEAR UNCLE

\* \* \* \* \*

As to the Constitution, it is fixed— I have already congratulated you upon that matter.— If I have had doubts respecting the security of the Liberties of the people under it, I am by no means against it—nor have I ever been—The Arguments made use of in our late Convention, have removed almost every doubt or difficulty from my mind—But for the sake of further information, I shall make some observations upon two or three parts of your letter by the next post—as your letter did not arrive till Yesterday, & the post returns this forenoon, I have not time to do it this week—

\* \* \* \* \*

I am My Dear Uncle

Your very obliged & Sincere

Fri<sup>d</sup> & Humble Ser<sup>t</sup>

SILAS LEE

[*Addressed* :]

PORTSMOUTH

March 4

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER, Esq<sup>r</sup>

Member of Congress

New York

43.—*From Jeremiah Hill.*

BIDDEFORD March 6<sup>th</sup> 1788

MY DEAR SIR,

\* \* \* \* \*

You say that you are convinced of your former Error respecting two or three branches in legislation, when any voluntarily acknowledges an Error it is a sure index of an open mind and



in politicks of a diligent inquirer, for nothing will make a man a great Politician but a thorough examination into humane Nature, the rise and progress of different States and like wise and prudent navigators set up perches on every Rock & quick sand where others have struck, split & totally sunk—while Man is Man *Self* will be a darling favorite, and when new States are forming every one who have Ideas of Selfishness, (and if a man has nothing of that it is a sure mark he don't deserve any thing) will be planing *for one at least* and if he can plan in an honest way so as take care of one, he must sustain the character of a good Citizen, and ought to be encouraged according to his Abilities, for if he don't take care for himself and those of his own household how can the State expect he will take Care for them—the Conversation respecting the new Constitution is chiefly subsided. I believe the people in general are satisfied in favor of its adoption. Esq<sup>r</sup> Staple you know is a mighty Christian he says it is for the best for the Powers that be are ordained of God and he that resisteth the ordinance must receive a dreadful Sentence, therefore he submits not only for wrath but also for Conscience sake. You seem to predict the destruction of the State debts or rather what we call state securities I have been fully convinced of that doctrine ever since I first went to the general Court You say the impost & Excise at present does not exceed a Million Dollars a year, how do you mean; thro' the united States? does all the States have excise Laws & if they have do they operate in that uniformity they would if there were a Chain of Continental revenue Officers under the general System from Florida to Nova-Scotia where all smuggling from State to State will be prevented which it is now almost impossible to do. I never was very famous in Castle building, therefore never have planned for those great matters taking place under the new Constitution, however I dare predict it will be better than it is at present under the old rack which we are now sinking on. a general System of Revenue Laws put in operation thro' the united States will be twenty per Cent more in the Treasury than it now is, with the same duties on every Article only think how easy it is to smuggle from Rhode Island to the adjacent State, as also from New Hampshire &c &c which upon a general System will be prevented—

\* \* \* \* \*

Yours

JERE HILL

Hon. G THATCHER—

Addressed :]

PORTSMOUTH

MARCH 10

Hon. GEORGE THATCHER Esquire

member of Congress

NEW YORK

44.—From Samuel Phillips Savage.

WESTON, 7 March, 1788.

MY DEAR SIR

The little I have in the World, is in consolidated, or what is called consolidated, Notes of this Government, Loan Office Certificates and Soldiers final Settlements of all which, I never bought one, and a person with a thousand pounds, nominal value, in his pocket, may be carried to a Goal for a Debt he owes the Government, the united States, or even a private person of one-quarter of the Sum, altho they were given for money lent or Service done—Is it in the least probable the debt will ever be paid? or is there reason to hope the Sum will be funded and an Interest annually be paid thereon? If the latter, it is perhaps as much as the Creditors of Govern<sup>t</sup> can at present expect, and, if punctuality observed in payment, it may be as much as they ever wish for: for altho every body is clamoring, yet all are convinced, it is not, at present in the power of Government to pay the principal, while few, very few believe that the Int<sup>t</sup> might not be discharged as it arises. I have somewhere met with that wise Saying, “This ought ye to have done and not leave the other undone.” it is undoubtedly right that the Interest of these large sums, so generously lent us by France &c &c should be punctually paid, but to what cause can it be assigned that the poor Soldier, who stood between us and bullets wing<sup>d</sup> with Death, should be turn<sup>d</sup> off with his Ins<sup>t</sup> once in 3 or 4 years, & then paid in paper, which he sells for 3/ or 4/ in the pound.—

Every thinking man laments the want of Energy in your Body, and the mighty Clamor & Opposition to the new Government arises *chiefly* from the Enimies of all good Govern<sup>ts</sup> who wish it ever may remain so, let the pretensions be what they may, this is the sole, bottom and only reason for the Opposition with them—some there be, who really act conscientiously and if any fault there be in them, it lays not in their hearts.—the political Creed of the former is that as the Earth was given to the Children of Men, & that every man ought to go Share and Share alike, let the Industry, Services or Merit of some be what it may: this Creed I believe is not confined only to the Northern States, it seems at present to be too much the temper of the idle, the lazy and the Debtors throughout all the States, and I fear unless there be more energy in Gov<sup>t</sup> than there is at present it will ere long be the sine qua non of every one whose election is made sure among us.—blessed times these! when a Sharp or some other daring, desperate and enterprising Genius, may, with less trouble take the reins of Govern<sup>t</sup>—than a Cromwell

I said above there were two Sorts of men, who

opposed the adoption of the of the new Governm<sup>t</sup>—does not the Conduct of N Hampshire prove there are others—think you not, that selfish motives influenced some, from the hope of Commerce being forced to their ports by the wholesome Duties that will (if the Constitution be adoptd) undoubtedly be laid by Congress on those States who do adopt it. It is the narrow contracted Spirit that has led us on thus far to distruction, and which if pursued, will seal our political rising.— \* \* \*

Affectionately Yours—

SAM PHIPS SAVAGE

[Addressed :]

FREE

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esquire

Congress

Post—

NEW YORK

45.—From John Avery, Junior.

BOSTON March 10<sup>th</sup> 1788.

\* \* \* \* \*

I am exceeding glad, that the proceedings of the Convention meets with your approbation, and am in hopes, it will terminate well; the minority have discovered, as you justly observe, a magnanimous Temper, & they have acted, as far as I have heard from the several Towns, with the same good Spirit, and the People appear to acquiesce in the decision of the important Question; but there are some in our general Court that seem to wish still to shew their dissapprobation, and when the Governour addressed them upon the Subject of the adoption of the federal Constitution, they took the opportunity of considering the matter again seriously and wanted the Court to answer the Governour, that they differed from him in Opinion; but it was overruled, and the Matter has subsided—but there are some crochical Geniuses in our State that never will be easy, and its very difficult sometimes to find out the Motives that actuate them—I communicated part of your Letter to our friends Wigery & Nason, that related to them, and they were much pleased with your observations—and by the way M<sup>r</sup> Wigery said he had wrote you, and seemed to be rather uneasy that you had not answered it.—M<sup>r</sup> Nason said he had also wrote you lately that he had seen no Reason to recant his Opinion, he and I only differ in the Mode—he wanted the Constitution to be adopted conditionally which in my opinion would have damned the Constitution and I told him Yesterday that I made no doubt, as the Influence of this State was great in the Union, that we should be perfectly satisfied by and by— \*

Your friend & hum<sup>l</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

JOHN AVERY JUN<sup>R</sup>

Hon<sup>l</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

[Addressed :]

Honble GEORGE THACHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

Member of Congress

NEW YORK.

46.—From William Wigery.

BOSTON March 16<sup>th</sup> 1788

DEAR SIR

I received yours of March 5 where in you inform me what the federalists and Anti federalists say respecting the New Constitution in Stead of Sending me your Opinion respecting the Matter, I am there fore in stead of having your good Opinion on the matter, Left to form one for my Self which I hope will not be the Case when I shall have the pleasure of reading your Next, for I confes I am as modern a federalist as you or your Brother Otis, I can say but Little to you respecting the province of Maine, I hear that Judge Rice & m<sup>r</sup> Sylvester when they went home had but a kule reception on account of their Votes at Convention—but the People in that Quarter are in general very quiet.

\* \* \* \* \*

Sir I am with Sentiments of Respect

Your friend humble Servant

WILLIAM WIGERY

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq

[Addressed :]

BOSTON (19 MR)

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Delegate from  
Massachusetts now at New York

47.—From Samuel A. Otis.

NEW YORK 18 March 1788.

MY DEAR SIR

\* \* \* \* \*

I think I have not written you since the accession of Maryland to the new System—The accounts are favorable from the South and unless Virginia *does*, I hardly apprehend a negative from the Southern States.

Gore is here & goes for Philadelphia to morrow—He is going to lay hold of some of our great ones, and will mak O—I dance to the music of £3700—*sub rosa*—King & other friends frequently ask after you, But I dont let them know I have but *once* heard from you.

After several applications to Greenleaf he has paid me ten pounds & 11<sup>d</sup> currency which wants your order. It was paid in paper and the difference between that & Specie is about seven pr Cent.

In Congress we go on with seven States as usual, but I think nine are like to be upon the floor this week—The most deficient State is New York, which is very extraordinary. There is a



Doct<sup>r</sup> Williamson arrived who seems to have got with him from N<sup>o</sup> Carolina a quantum of self-consequence. Kentucky business I think must unavoidably be agitated this week—Brown who by the way improves upon acquaintance is incessant in his application. The New England members with certainly be in opposition—King tell me we are not empowered in his opinion, and if we were it is extremely improper in the present State of affairs.

I find it is the general opinion that the New wheel will revolve—N Carolina, our pompous brother Williamson thinks there will be no fear of, nor perhaps will there be of S C, and Virginia with all stateliness, will be very unwilling to stand alone; For N York will accede with the worst possible grace, I think she will be bullied into it.——

I think the people of Massachusetts, by what I have heard of their elections, are in a state of tolerable union & tranquility—This rejoices me, because N England united, will forever counterpoise any cabals & manœuvres of the South.

\* \* \* \* \*

Yours very truly

SAM A OTIS

20<sup>th</sup> May

So great a favor as yours of 9<sup>th</sup> can by no means pass unnoticed. I am glad you found all things well in Massachusetts. I think their elections shew they are in pretty good Temper. I am doubtful how it will go with Lincoln—Cochran & Gale were out of the question in the other days uproar, whether the were fortunate en<sup>o</sup> not to discover themselves or really innocent, is not easily to be determined. They however escaped censure

\* \* \* \* \*

Your most Hum<sup>l</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup>

SAM A OTIS

[Addressed:]

NEW YORK May

FREE

SAM A OTIS

The Hon<sup>ble</sup>

GEORGE THACHER ESQ<sup>r</sup>

Biddeford

Massachusetts

48.—From Silas Lee.

BIDDEFORD 20 March 1788

MY DEAR UNCLE

\* \* \* \* \*

———We have no News of any kind—Seperation, & Constitution seemed to have entirely subsided—the former for the want of Scribblers—the latter from its having been decided—Thus at present we seem to be at peace—Many who have been much opposed to the Con-

stitution are become warm advocates for it—a circumstance that will ever afford pleasure to every Friend to good Government—In my last letter you say, if our situation, which is admitted to be very deplorable & not to be worsted, is the greatest reason to Justify its adoption, it might be thought to be very bad indeed—perhaps not—there may be many good reasons besides, I think, & yet that the greatest—yes, far the greatest—indeed, I think, that that argument alone is unanswerable & sufficient, when we consider that the *worst* of Governments is *better* than none—and that our situation was such, that we might have had this, or none—The old Articles of Confederation were found totally inadequate to the purposes, & therefore very little or no better than nothing at all—and principally for the want of energy or power in the federal Head—the proposed Gov<sup>t</sup> remedies that evil, but as one extreme generally follows another, so it is said, that this Constitution errs on the other side—but as anarchy & Confusion, nay perhaps a total dissolution of the States, would probably be the consequence of a continuance in our present situation, (than which state of confusion, nothing ought to be more avoided) & as that Constitution, would probably afford immediate relief, & if prudently amended, would undoubtedly be productive of great & lasting happiness; wisdom and Self preservation would indubitably, I think, Justify its adoption had it been ten times as bad as it is—nay the worst in the world except our own—than which, I think, it would be impossible to find such a one—how then do you conclude, that, if our situation is the greatest reason to Justify its adoption, that it must be thought to be very bad?—I am My Dear Uncle yours with the highest sentiments of esteem & respect

— L —

[Addressed:]

PORTSMOUTH

March 25

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THACHER ESQ<sup>r</sup>

Member of Congress

New York

49.—From Samuel Nayson.

BOSTON Mar<sup>h</sup> 23 1788

DEAR FRIEND

I Recv<sup>d</sup> yours and Considered the Contents I much surpris'd at your Expressions Concerning a Passage in my former letter when I Say<sup>d</sup> I Gloried in being in the Smallest Number I have many reasons for my Expressions first I did my duty and Discharged my Contiance and Should I be Ashamed in doing my Duty Snrly No Suppose when I undertook to get a Note to Send you to Congress I had failed then I Should have been you know in the Smallest Number Had I

reason to have been Ashamed I think Not I Cannot tell how you would have felt for one then but I should have Gloried in my Exertions, and I now Glory in Acting the minds of my Constitutants then in Short I have told you Some of the Many reasons for my Being Glad that my Name Stands where it does and I find Nothing in all the five arguments you Mention to make one alter my mind. However I hope I Shall not affront you when I Observe to you that your Sentiments are those of a Lawyer.

You are now in post—a Wig: in Office is often a Tory out My Dear Sir, I Shall not Attempt to. Strive to alter your Mind Yet I think it will go down Corse, with the people

\* \* \* \* \*

No answer is given to the Governor's Address this Shew the Sence of the House but this uas Disagree to one I Cannot Tell how it will Please the People I Cannot Yet Say—what Sutes them Sutes me I hope allways to Live in a Republicken Government—

Your Friend and  
Hum<sup>d</sup> Server  
SAM<sup>l</sup> NAYSON

You may Depend upon it you do not Get the Truth by the papers all the Argumentall parts are left out on one Side this from the Printer I cannot Stand to the Judgment they frame of me therefore I appeal to the People who heard  
[Addressed:]

Hon<sup>l</sup> BOSTON 26

M R  
GEORGE THATCHER ESQ<sup>r</sup>  
Member of Congress  
New York

50.—From Nathan Dane.

NEW YORK Apr, 20, 1788

DEAR SIR,

Here we remain in an idle situation we had no Congress since you left this place—six States and as may half States attend—the business of the union must be neglected, because one or two gentlemen, who are in the City, must attend to their private business—

We have now collected the accounts of the elections for the Virginia Convention—it is impossible to say, with certainty, whether the Constitution in that State will be adopted or not—however, I think appearances are rather in favor of its being adopted—

\* \* \* \* \*

with sentiments of sincere esteem & friendship  
I am Dear Sir your Obed<sup>t</sup> Servant

N. DANE

Hon. G THATCHER ESQ<sup>r</sup>

51.—George Thatcher to Pierse Long.\*

BIDDEFORD 23 April 1788—

SIR

Yours of the fifteenth inst came to hand by the last Post, & would have been duly acknowledged, had not my time been taken up in some matters of Law that demanded immediate attention on my arrival home.

I assure you, Sir, I was very sorry in not finding you at home on my coming through Portsmouth; for tho' my hurry to get to York, the Court then sitting at that place, would not have prevented me to make a very long stay, yet I wanted to have enquired of many things about your late Convention, the speeches, their debates, & the prospect of the Constitution being adopted on the adjournment—And possibly might in my turn given you some information upon the subject of your queries—

You enquire about the fate & settlement of the Western Country—To be particular upon this Question would involve answers to so many others which would fall insidentally in the way as would be tedious for a Letter, & therefore for the present, I shall only observe generally—That the Companies of Cutter & Sergeant—Flint & Parker—Symms & his associates, have contracted for three several Tracts containing not more than eight or nine million of acres—to be paid for in Continental Securities at certain periods by Installments upon which payments deads are to be executed to the purchases—but if not paid for no Title is to be given—and I believe I am justified in saying that all the payments by the three Companies do not exceed half a million of Dollars—and I am not certain that it does 270,000 Dollars—For my part I must acknowledge, my faith of paying the Domestic Debt, by regular sails of the western Land, never was very great—There is Land eno' & that which is excellent—A few days before I left New York, I was in company with the Geographer General of the United States & he said, from a calculation he had made, he would warrant there was more than two hundred million of acres of good Land on the North-west of the Ohio. But to me the Idea of runing this out, & by the neat proceeds of its sails discharging any considerable part of the Debt is almost as chimerical as to count upon the number of Cod-fish, & Whales in the ocean for that purpose—Not a great many purchasers have offered themselves, & few that have could give evidence of their ability, & of those that could, still a small number have, & probably ever will, freely comply with their contracts—

\* This is copied from Thatcher's retained copy. Pierse Long was a resident of Portsmouth, N. H., and a member of the Convention of that State, which ratified the Federal Constitution. W. F. G.



Continental Securities have been for several years very low—perhaps lower than they ever will be hereafter should the proposed Constitution, or any other with energy enough to discharge the Interest be adopted—Hence if purchasers have found it difficult to discharge their Contracts while public Securities have been sold from 6/ to 3/ on the pound—what probability is there of their being enabled after the adoption of a Constitution that shall secure their Redemption, & make them equal to Silver & Gold—

As to the negotiation of public Treaties, it appears to me the *existing articles of Confederation* have exhibited to all Europe too evident marks of incompetency for any national purposes to induce foreign Powers to trust to Treaties made under them—The Queen of Portugal has shewn a disposition for negotiations of Friendship & Commerce—But here difficulties arise on the part of America—And perhaps if I were to say that Congress cannot command Cash or credit sufficient to support a negotiator at the Court of Lisbon, to promote & improve any overtures of this kind—I should not be far from the truth—Money is universally acknowledged to be the Sinews of war—and I think it cannot be doubted, to be equally necessary to the support of Civil Government, & the formation of foreign Treaties—

*The Importance of the Navigation of the Messeseppee is a matter* I am not sufficiently informed to say much about—But from the general state of that Country there can be but little doubt, that if the navigation of the Messeseppee should be beneficial to the American Settlements, they will enjoy it—The Idea of Spain's interrupting it is almost inadmissible—within 20 Years and upon the Settlement of a good Government the Danger will be on the side of Spains Losing her possessions on the Western Waters—rather than the Americans loosing the Navigation But the navigation of that River will ever be attended with difficulty from its rapid Current From the mouth of the ohio to the mouth of the Messesipi as the River Runs, is one thousand miles—and on a right Line not more than five hundred A vessell or boat, may go down this River in less than three weeks, but three or four months are required in ascending the same distance

“Will all the Southern States agree to the proposed Constitution?”

The Convention in Maryland meets this day for the purpose of considering the new plan of Government. When I came from new York, which will be four weeks to-morrow morning, it was the general opinion there, that the Constitution would be adopted in maryland by a large majority of the Convention There being three fourths at least of the people warmly in favour

of it—and that this was matter of fact, I have no doubt, since both parties, antifederal as well as federal joined in this general opinion—

South Carolina meets on the twelfth of May—from the best information we could get respecting the sentiments of that State upon the great Question the Federalists entertained no doubt—they were secure in the idea of its being adopted—But so we were last winter with regard to New Hampshire—'tis almost impossible that disappointment should be greater than ours was on hearing the result of your Convention—However, I have faith—Can you strengthen it?—

There now remains Virginia & North Carolina—the former meets in June, I think towards the last, and from many accounts from various parts of that state wherever the Federal & antifederal parties seemed to agree there was at that time a decided & large majority in that State against it.

52.—From Joshua B. Osgood.

BROWNFIELD May 5<sup>th</sup> 1788

DEAR SIR

\* \* \* \* \*

The present Topic of Conversation is whether the proposed federal Constitution will be adopted or not, as you have the best means of Information should be glad you would in form how you think it will terminate—

\* \* \* \* \*

Your Friend & humble Servant

JOSH B. OSGOOD.

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

[Addressed:]

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

Biddeford

53.—From Silas Lee.

PENOBSCOT 9<sup>th</sup> May 1788

MY DEAR UNCLE

\* \* \* \* \*

The new Constitution is scarcely named here—the people in general appear to be totally unacquainted with it. & equally indifferent as to its Establishment—The Votes in this County, from the best information that I have been able to get have been for M<sup>r</sup> H. for Gov<sup>r</sup> & M<sup>r</sup> L. for Lieut Gov<sup>r</sup>—This I think is a circumstance much in their favour—But they care very little about these matters—The Greatest & almost only objects of their concern, are the Sheriffs & Justices of the peace—these are often looked upon with dread—more especially a new made one of the latter order, who is of this place—prejudices run high & very general against him—a very unhappy circumstance in this new Country—

and has already occasion'd much uneasiness & will no doubt occasion more— — \* \* \*

Your Obliged  
Friend & humble Ser<sup>t</sup>

SILAS LEE

[Addressed:]

The Hon<sup>ble</sup>

GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

Biddeford.

54.—From Samuel A. Otis.

NEW YORK 17 July 1788

DEAR SIR

\* \* \* \*

and first I in form you That we have had Thirteen States frequently upon the floor & have been very industrious—What have you been about? Look at the Journal—One thing seems to be agreed, that new government is to take place about mid winter—Next week perhaps the Time will be agreed upon—The *place* will be a bone of Contention, Southern people are opposed to N Y, & I think the Yorkers hang back in such manner am rather of opinion it will not be here—For my own part I am in present sentiment for N York but we are all in suspense for the doings of Convention—Probably the question will this day be taken *therein*—I am of opinion it will not be a favorable decision—Clinton is popular has a majority at command & is very violent—They may possibly adjourn which is the best expectation I form—The Yorkers are determined however to have their frolic, & I dont know but we are in danger of runing into excess in regard to processions—Perhaps my gravity & aversion to parade may have induced this opinion—It is an implied triumph over minority which always irritates—I think the movements of the new Gov<sup>t</sup> should be mild discreet & attended with great circumspection.

Enclosed is Greenleafs which details pretty fairly, To which referring you I am

With regard & esteem

Your Hum<sup>e</sup> S<sup>t</sup>

SAM. A. OTES

FREE

SAM. A. OTIS

[Addressed:]

The Hon<sup>ble</sup>

GEORGE THACHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

Biddeford now

Boston Massachusetts

55.—From Jeremiah Hill.

BIDDEFORD Aug<sup>t</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,

Political Intelligence keeps still in Circulation, the important news that the Convention in

the State of N. York have adopted the new Constitution arrived at this place the day before Yesterday, the Bells in every federal Heart in this village rang a peal of Joyful Congratulation and then listened with attention to hear the same Intelligence echo from our dear Sister N. Carolina, and as soon as that is announced we shall like the good prophet of old turn over thoughts towards poor Rhode Island, in Lamentations, thus,

"How! can we give the up poor R Island"

"How! can we set thee as port Roseway, or"

"make thee a Bochim! my heart is turned"

"within me, my repentings are kindled"

"together, we will not destroy thee, for"

"thou art our sister, bone of our bone"

"return! return! O poor Rhode Island! and"

"we will heal all thy Backslidings, we"

"will receive thee graciously, & love thee freely,"

"and thou shalt rock in the Cradle of Independence with thy elder sisters and thy"

"Younger sisters, and shall eat the bread of"

"Liberty with them, and with them also"

"shall drink the Cup of Peace"—————

\* \* \* \*

I am, dear Sir, with every  
Sentiment of Esteem, under  
the Guidance of humane  
Perfection, yours  
everlastingly  
JERE HILL

Hon. GEORGE THATCHER

[Addressed:]

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esquire

Member of Congress

New York,

56.—From Samuel Freeman

PORTLAND August 7 1788

DEAR SIR

I heartely contratulate you—and our dear Country on the adoption of the Federal Constitution by the State of New York—as all the other States

When we reflect on the Commencement and process of this great Matter in its several parts the conduct of our Delegates, the termination of the Debates in the several States—and on the glorious prospects that are before us—how do our Hearts swell with Joy with Rapture—what thanks do we owe to those worthy Patriots who have plead our cause, especially what obligations are we under to that Great first Cause, who governs all y<sup>e</sup> Nations of the World who has in many Instances wonder fully appeared for this Country & whose hand must be acknowledged in this great Event—May we so behave ourselves as to merit (and then, I think,



as a nation we shall still be favored with) his protection—

\* \* \* \* \*

I am with much respect  
Your Honors most obedient  
& very hum<sup>bl</sup> Servant  
SAM<sup>L</sup> FREEMAN

[Addressed:] FREE  
Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq  
One of the Delegates of the  
Honorable Congress  
New York

57.—From Thomas B. Wait.

PORTLAND, Aug. 21. 1788

MY DEAR THATCHER,

\* \* \* \* \*

Why, my friend, do you contend so warmly for New York, as the seat of Government? Do you, in this, act the part of a *true Federal Philosopher*? We should remember the question is not, what will be most convenient or best suit the interest of New England—But what does the interest of the Union require? How shall that be accommodated?—But this last I suppose would be an odd question in Congress—There, it is the *Southern*, interest, or the *Northern*; and every man of them ranges himself upon one side or the other, and contends with as much earnestness and warmth as if at an Olympic Game.

Well, fight it out; and I will have the pleasure of standing aloof, looking on and making *now and then* an observation on the squabble—One remark now, if you please—or rather a Query—Will not this clashing of interest produce a creation of *new*, and a division, and subdivision of the *old*, States? A *diminution* of State influence will follow—in exact proportion to *which* the power and Consequence of Congress will be increased—Curse on the prospect—it does not please me—so I will say no more about it.

\* \* \* \* \*

Your ever lasting friend  
THOMAS B. WAIT.

58.—From James Sullivan.

BOSTON 22<sup>d</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1788

DEAR SIR

A Squadron of french Ships fourteen in the whole are Entering our harbor

We are generally attentive in this Town to the question where the Seat of the federal Government is to be the General opinion is, that you ought by no means to agree upon Philadelphia for the first meeting of the new arranged Con-

gress, because the Government if it meets in a large City will take a Stile instead of giving one, if it meets there it will not be easily removed to a more Central & convenient place, but if it meets at New York a removing will be easily effected—when we cast our Eye on the Map of the union & consider the extent Westward we should I think conceive the Potomack the Central place, a River Navigable into the Country two hundred miles including the Chesapeak will I believe invite to the building a metropolis where Packets may have access & where an Army or fleet cannot reach in hostility before the whole Country is subdued—Why the members of the Southern States vote for Philadelphia unless they intend to fix Congress finally there I do not conceive

They are all talking here of Washington for President and Hancock Vice President. There is some doubt whether the former will accept—but I believe there is no doubt as to the other

I am Dear Sir with  
regard your H<sup>ble</sup> Se<sup>t</sup>  
JAMES SULLIVAN.

Hon M<sup>r</sup> THATCHER

[Addressed:]

Hon GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Member of Congress  
New York.

59.—From Jere Hill.

BIDDEFORD August 29<sup>th</sup> 1788.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Yours of the 17<sup>th</sup> inst: has arrived in safety, and a bright Cloud overshadowed my Soul at its first sight, but the evil tale from N Carolina interposed a Malignant ray, and like Joy and Sorry contended for the pre-eminence, at length it burst forth in Indignation. What, shall the rebellious Soul of N Carolina marr the Happiness & Prosperity of her Sister States! shall the Seeds of this degenerate vine cause brambles to spring up among the wheat! No, she hath lost her first Love, she hath gone a whoring herself by her abominations, she hath lapsed from her original, primitive purity, let her alone, let her wallow in her filth, let her eat her swine-lusks till her poverty & Starvation cause her to look back to her federal Fathers, & sing The prodigal Song, saying, let us arise & go to our fathers and say unto them we have sinned against heaven & before the face of our dear Country, for why should we starve with Hunger where you have bread enough and to spare, except of us on your own Terms, & we will show our repentance by our future Obedience to your united, federal 'Ordinances. but away with this Stuff it deserves pity as well resentment, and I can heartily bewail her degeneracy and pity the faithful few, while I resent the Con-

duct of those unskilful Pilots. Well page is pretty well filed up, let us turn over.

Prosperity and adversity are so nearly allied that the former would in a long Series of time loose all its pleasing Sensations without its kinsman once in a while whet its appetite with a dose of its relishing qualities on the Contrary a long series of the latters Company would so enure the mind to its essential qualities, that the mind would be lost as to any opposite Condition, & would perhaps enjoy such a state of quietude as to amount to a State of perfect Contentment if this be true the latter if pursued *ad infinitum* would satisfy its possessors with the Same degree of pleasurable Sensations as the former upon the same principle but the United States all unanimously adopted the Constitution, they would at first set down in ease & safety & in time loose the very Idea of Liberty & Independency by not having a Something to rouse the mind to watchfulness,—This Stage in which we exist is of such Composition that a series of any thing is not pleasurable, but vicissitudes is delightful, an old warrior or Sailor will often please himself in rehearsing over the difficulties Trials, hardships, fatigues, Battles, ship wrecks & Starvations they have gone thro' & we are often pleased with the mournful tale. Query, is it not best that one of the southern States should reject the Constitution, in order that the Ballance of power might be kept in a proper Equilibrium, this evenness in governmental power is as necessary for its existance as for an Assay Master to have honest Weights & Measures to do Justice in the Market among the Sellers and buyers.

\* \* \* \* \*

Your friend & most

Hum<sup>l</sup> Servant

JERE. HILL

Hon. GEO. THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

[Addressed:]

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esquire

Member of Congress

New York

60.—From Jeremiah Hill.

BOSTON Sept<sup>r</sup> 6th 1788.

MY DEAR SIR,

\* \* \* \* \*

At first hearing the news of N. Carolina rejecting the Constitution it seemed sensibly to hurt my feelings, but upon looking over the Matter, it had a very different Appearance, & that which at first appeared to be a Misfortune, now appears to be a favorable Circumstance, for seeing we had lost a nothern State, it appears best in order to keep the ballance of power to have a Southern one last too. if N. Caro-

lina had accepted the Constitution it might been a material disadvantage to us at the northward in the arrangement of Matters under the new Government, & as matters now Stand we are upon par. & I make no doubt but that both of them will soon find it for their advantage to acced to the wishes of their Sister States, & become worthy members of the great whole—we are impatiently waiting for orders to work on the great wheel, tho' we allow it in many Cases to be but to make haste slowly, still the mind is rambling forward into futurity after the glittering Toys that play before the Eyes of our Imagination, and that pleasing Something never fails to cheer the heart & make the present Toils & Fatigues less burdensome. Hope that is ever on the wing of Imagination is always looking out for something to ballance the difficulties of the day, having a few little matters to attend too before I fix my face East I must conclude at present, make Bro. Otis Sedgwick &c accept my good wishes & believe me to be your affectionate friend

& must Obedient very

humble Servant

JERE: HILL

Hon. G. THATCHER

[Addressed:]

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esquire

Member of Congress

New York

61.—From Jeremiah Hill.

BIDDEFORD Sept<sup>r</sup> 9. 1788

DEAR SIR,

\* \* \* \* \*

Am mad, that is, politically disordered in mind, to find the Congress so obstinate, as to keep that Government *the People* their Constituents have adopted out of Motion—they ought to shew their Exordium's on less momentous Occasions, not when their best Friends have their Eyes Lifted to Heaven, their hearts sending forth ejaculations, and heaving, with every Shoulder while their Petitions are ascending, for their spirited exertions, when the wheels of Government are as it were stuck in the mud—

The friends of the new Government are alarmed to find Congress so dilatory, they say one party—(that is, the smallest) ought upon every political Principle to give way to the great Object in view, the good of the whole: for while they are dallying along in this way the Enemy is sowing tares among the Wheat—Anti federalism is a common enemy we ought all to guard against and Obstinacy is a *ditto*. but true Genuine political qualities are an open Mind, a clear head, and an honest heart—this minute (Sept<sup>r</sup> 10<sup>th</sup> 10. O.C.)



the post has arrived and brought me yours of the 2<sup>d</sup> inst.—went immediately to see Mrs Thatcher delivered your enclosed Letter, kiss'd Madame & return'd by the by all well, Janey Laugh'd, Sally smiled, Rachel seemed pleased & Sam<sup>l</sup> wanted me to praise his little wheel Carriage &c —Am now at Home, my harpes Upon the willows, lamenting the imprisonment of the new Constitution. You Inquire after the politicks of the Times &c—I tell you, my friend, the Politicians in general blame the Carpenters for not launching the Hull of the new Ship and say it will be time enough then to procure Helmsmen, Navigators &c. However I will give you an extract from the *Teltale*, “Yesterday set out from “his Seat in B——n B——n H——n Esq<sup>r</sup> Solicitor extraordinary from his E——y J——H “Esq<sup>r</sup> to the S——S——s to negotiate for a “Lieutenancy on board the new Ship *federal* “*Constitution* now on the Stocks, it is said the “Commission is a Secret and all things must be “conducted under the Rose”

The newspapers will tell you much more about electioneering than time will permit me to tell in the Letter way. all hands seem to give the Presidency to Gen<sup>l</sup> Washington the Second is a matter of doubt here, I wish you to tell me who they have in view at the Southward, wont Mr Adams stand a fair Candidate. You know his political Reasoning has prejudiced me in his favor *Simili simeli gaudet* is an old Motto and it is as true as that two & two makes four, the old feds of '86 are calculating for the dons of that day to take the helm of affairs, when the new Constitution is put in Motion, and the Antis are for those who can shift sides *upon Occasion*. Our General Court stands adjourned to Oct<sup>r</sup> 8<sup>th</sup> as soon as they have received Congressional Orders for the organization of the new Government we shall begin to talk strong about Districts for Representation as that mode is generally supposed will be adopted, if these Counties should make a district I think my Friend G—— will stand a fair chance. but I wont say any more about constitution Matters, but wait with patience till deliverance comes—

\* \* \* \*

Adieu——

JERE. HILL

Hon. G THATCHER

[Addressed:]

PORTSMOTTH

SEPTEMBER 15

Hon<sup>ble</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

Member of Congress

New York.

62.—From William Widgery.

NEWGLOCESTER September 14<sup>th</sup> 1788,

HONoured SIR

I received yours of August 14<sup>th</sup> Observed the Contents I am very Sorry to hear of the Conduct of North Carolina rejecting the Constitution, not but that I think it ought to be Amended, but as it is already adopted by eleven States I think there can be no Danger but that the amendments would take Place as Soon as the New Congress is organized. I am sorry to hear that the Minority of Carolina are not possessed with that Noble Republican Principal of Adhering to the voice of a Majority in Political Matters. for two Reasons the Minority are rong in Showing any resentments first because if the Majority are the most Sensible part of the State as well as the most numerous in vain will the minority Strive to force, but if they are the more ignorant part it is much better to Draw than Drive, for you can better Draw ten ignorant men than Drive one. I am therefore in hopes they will rather Strive to Draw than Drive, as I think that will be the most likely way to unite the whole. Some men think it Degrading to them to Stupe to a man who Does not know so much as they Do, but Let me Tel you it is Victory that Crowns the Day. thus much for Constitution.

I hope Sir you have not forgot the Province of Maine I wish to know the Sentiments of the Other States respecting our Speration from the old part of this State. Sir we are all wishing for the Time to Com that we may have the Pleasure of Electing my worthy friend for one of the Senators of the Province mane. You can Tel me whether our hopes are well founded or not. we are in a very Poor Situation with respect to our Taxes in this quarter for Money is so Scarce here that even in the Sea ports no Country produce will fetch cash at any Rate.—and I never Expect Times to any better in this part of the world Til we can have the Seate of Government placed at a less Distance from us than Boston. Sir I would not be understood to Set forth my own Situation but that of the Peoples at Large, and I think I understand the Situation of the yeomanry of this Country as well as most men in this quarter, as I hold a corrispondence boath East and West and I find it very very advantages to me on many accounts.

Sir I wish you to Let me Know the Situation of the yeomanry of the State of Newyork and the neighbouring States there to, as nearly as you can without putting your Self out of the way, what provisions they have made to pay their Domestic Debts or whether any or not and what proporsion there Taxes beares with ours how they Tax the Poles or whether they Tax them attal or not, and what is the Situation of Trade

in Newyork what Crops of Corn and grain they are like to have—Corn in our quarter is very backward, I wish to know how Matters Stand with us on account of our foreign Debts!

\* \* \* \* \*

Your Friend and Humble Servant

WM WIGGERY

To the Honourable GEORGE THATCHER

[Addressed:]

PORTLAND Sep. 19

Hon<sup>le</sup> GEORGE THATCHER Esquire

Delegate in Congress from the

State of Massachusetts

to be left at the Post Office  
in Portland—

63.—From Samuel A. Otis.\*

DEAR SIR

In making up my weekly packet should I omit to direct a Letter to you it might be attributed to a cause very far from reality, a want of esteem & attention Not with any credit of saying anything new, or communicating entertainment, but merely to cover a letter & a New York paper & evince my wish by every oppo<sup>r</sup> to cultivate a correspondence on any side very agreeable is the design of this my N<sup>o</sup> 2. I have a wish to hear from you, to know what *communications* you made to the House, How you get along—What the temper of my Countrymen is—Who is to be in & who out—We are here in the old Style, Six States only. Reed & Wadsworth gone home about the time or since your departure; yet it will not do to abdicate the Government. I have reason to fear no adoption will take place this year, and I am informed the people of Massachusetts are very uneasy, That R I have & N Hampshire certainly will reject. At this moment all hands are parliamenteering. By the time you wish the result may be known. Detail every circumstance, For Trifles are important in connexion with our Country. \* \* \*

Your friend & Hum Ser<sup>t</sup>

SAM A OTIS

Present me to friend Hill  
Nason Coney Wiggery &  
all my friends federal & Anti }

[Addressed:]

The Honorable

GEORGE THATCHER Esq<sup>r</sup>

BIDDEFORD

Massachusetts

FREE

SAM A OTIS

\* This letter is not dated. Chronologically, it evidently should have had a different place in this series.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.

### III.—SALEM VILLAGE — ITS PARSON- AGES AND THEIR OCCUPANTS.\*

BY HON. CHARLES W. UPHAM.

The First Parish of Danvers is the representative, in our day, of the original Salem Village. It is known as Danvers Centre; and was the centre and heart of Salem Village. Here were the first Meeting-house, the Parsonage, the Watch and Block-house, the Ordinary and licensed Inn, the Training-field, and the homesteads of Haynes, the Holtens, Hutchinsons, and other leading founders of the village, including, among their number, Jonathan Walcott, the Captain of the Train band, and his Lieutenant and brother-Deacon, Nathaniel Ingersoll, the liberal patron and constant benefactor of the infant settlement. An extraordinary occurrence, on these grounds, constitutes one of the most terrible and portentous passages in our history. The scenes, actors, and sufferers in the dark and dreadful day of the Witchcraft Delusion of 1692, render this neighborhood a point of interest forever memorable, the world over. Intelligent and thoughtful travellers, from all parts of this and other countries are, and will always be, drawn hither. No place in America is surrounded by such startling traditions; and of none is the early period of its annals more fully and conspicuously brought to light. We know the boundaries of every original Grant and farm, and the sites of almost all the first houses. It is, in itself, an attractive spot; on a beautiful swell of land, presenting to the eye lovely fields, the surface rising to considerable elevation, all around, under different names—Reed, Felton, Fair-maid, Hathorne, and Whipple, Hills—and terminating with Governor Endicott's Orchard Farm; it opens a refuge from crowded cities, which, when horse-car facilities are added to natural charms and historic associations and suggestions, will make it a favorite summer resort, and a most desirable place of abode.

Over this territory, Governor Winthrop passed when he travelled, on foot, to and from Ipswich, following the "Boston Path," through the woods; and at "Nathaniel Ingersoll's corner," as it was called, where the present Parsonage stands, all, making their way through forests and over streams, found refreshment, shelter, and rest. No house ever welcomed more distinguished guests, in those days—Military Officers, Magistrates, and eminent Ministers, including both the Mathers. Its owner

\* The following article, written for the *Salem Village Gazette*, the Fair paper of the First Church in Danvers, was unfortunately received too late for insertion in that interesting publication.—*Salem Gazette*.



and host was one of the best and noblest of men; and his name must be held by us in perpetual honor.

In this paper I propose to touch but one class of the objects and characters that render this locality interesting and memorable. The PARSONAGES of the village and the MINISTERS who dwelt in them, in previous generations. Precision of dates and details of transactions will not be attempted, but left to local antiquaries, whose care it should be to let nothing more be swallowed up in oblivion; but, by putting in writing and in print whatever can be learned, make more complete, what, as has been stated, is already the most fully preserved history of any old locality in the country.

Salem Village, now Danvers, was incorporated, as a Parish and semi-municipality, on the eighth of October, 1672; a Meeting-house was built; and shortly after a Parsonage, with a barn, garden, and well. There resided the first regular preacher of the village, James Bayley, whose ministry lasted about seven years. After relinquishing the Parsonage with his office, he seems to have lived, for some time, in a house of his own, built on land given him by Nathaniel Putnam and Joseph Hutchinson, situated to the West of the late residence of Dr. Braman, almost on the identical spot now occupied by the house of Benjamin Hutchinson; commanding a fine view of the village. The ministry of the next occupant of the Parsonage, George Burroughs, lasted but two years. That of Deodat Lawson was equally brief. That of Samuel Parris about seven years. During all this period, the Parsonage was the scene of extraordinary domestic trials and bereavements, and the centre around which the passions of a heated and bitter Parish controversy were incessantly beating; while within its walls the seeds were sown that grew into the most prodigious results—the Witchcraft Delusion—in many of its features standing without a parallel in history; and that will forever remain among topics arresting universal attention.

After that dark day had passed, the Parsonage was occupied, for the same period of time that covered the combined pastorates of his four unhappy predecessors, by Joseph Green. Throughout those eighteen years, it was the scene of beneficent influences, and the focus from which the beams of peace, forgiveness and love, were constantly irradiated. The Diary of Mr. Green, now in process of publication by the Essex Institute, under the editorial care of Samuel P. Fowler, Esq. will give a picture of the minute daily occurrences of a household and ministry of a rural and simple character; presenting the commonest details, recurring day after day, and as the seasons re-

olved; the care and productions of the garden; the supplies and order of a family; and the minute incidents of the life of a faithful, genial, and useful Pastor, neighbor, and citizen. It will exhibit a social spirit and a hospitality to friends and strangers, that made the Parsonage a favorite place of resort for the best company from Salem, Cambridge, Boston, and elsewhere.

Mr. Green was succeeded by Peter Clark, who died in 1768, after a ministry of fifty-one years, useful and honored in its proper sphere and through all the country. He was a learned scholar and eminent theologian—the author of valuable and elaborate works. Like all his predecessors and successors in this ministry, he was a staunch supporter of the general system of Divinity held by the Fathers of the New England Churches; but he combined with orthodoxy a comprehensive charity. In a volume in defence of Infant Baptism, equal to any on that subject, in force and fulness of argument, he says—"There are many errors in matters of religion, which yet are consistent with a good temper of mind, with humility, meekness and love; and while they are but errors of judgment, not joined with an obstinate will and perverse affections, and men are open to divine light and ready to admit the evidences of truth, as soon as they discern them, it is to be believed that God, in compassion to the frail and fallible mind of man, will graciously overlook them; or else, woe to the best man living, who knows but in part, and consequently must be liable to error."

Mr. Clark's ordinary preaching bore the stamp of that erudition, as a Divine, which marked his publications. Exchanging pulpits, on one occasion, with the Minister of the First Church in Salem, he took his text from the Song of Solomon, and being conversant with all such matters, went at large into a discussion of the views of various commentators, pointing out the difficulties that beset the theories of them, severally; and concluded by declaring, as his opinion, after weighing them all, that the *Key* of that part of the ancient scripture was *lost*. It happened that the Minister of the Middle Precinct, Benjamin Prescott, preached in the same pulpit, a Sunday or two afterwards, and not knowing what his Brother Clark had discoursed about, took his text from the same Book; and as his attention had not been particularly turned to the questions theologians had raised about it, inculcated an interpretation, without misgiving or intimation of any difficulty whatever; announcing his views with absolute assurance; and representing its meaning and language as perfectly clear, and easy to be understood throughout. Upon coming

out of Meeting the word was joyfully passed round among the people, as a piece of joyful intelligence and to the amusement of all, "Father Prescott has found the Key."

My impression is, that, in the latter part of his ministry, Mr. Clark occupied a house of his own, still standing, a two story building, facing the old Meeting-house road, painted white; and not far to the East of the site of the original Meeting-house, which stood where Mr. Hook now has his residence.

Benjamin Wadsworth, D. D., terminated by death, a ministry, in this Parish, of fifty-four years, on the eighteenth of January, 1826. During his long service, he was beloved and esteemed throughout the Churches and in all circles; as often as any Minister of his period, he was called to act and preside at ecclesiastical Councils; and many of his discourses, on those and other occasions, were published. His dignified aspect and bearing, in and out of the pulpit, his amiable spirit, and his style of writing,—free, fluent, and glowing—gave him great and just influence. In an Address to the Bible Society of Salem and the vicinity, on the nineteenth of April, 1815, he uttered these admirable sentiments. The reference to "errors and delusions" is significant, coming from a Minister of the Village Parish:

"When the alternatives are the Christian and an antichristian religion, unessential sectarian distinctions scarcely deserve a name. The recollections, in Heaven, of pious exertions to enlarge the Kingdom of the Redeemer on earth, must yield a sublime satisfaction. O, how transporting to meet souls in glory, who owe their salvation, under Providence, to our united charity! Grateful posterity will look back and bless the memory of those who contributed to deliver their fathers from antichristian errors and delusions, and establish among them the religion of Jesus."

It is not improbable that Dr. Wadsworth resided at first in the old Parsonage. But its accommodations, and condition from the ravages of a hundred years, proving insufficient, he took lodgings, for a time, in a private family, and subsequently built a house of his own, still standing, not far from the present Parsonage, a little to the North of it, on the same side of what has always been the main street of the Village. It had a superior aspect, and must have been, indeed yet is, a handsome edifice.

Dr. Braman, who succeeded Dr. Wadsworth, resided in the present Parsonage, which occupies, as has been stated, the site of Nathaniel Ingersoll's house.

The old Parsonage, having become untenable, was taken down and carried off in the second half of the last century. The spot

where it stood is indicated by the lines of its foundation and old broken bricks. It is pointed out to strangers, by the kind and most obliging antiquary of the Village, Mr. Moses Prince. It ought to be made, and preserved forever, the property of the Parish; and a pathway to it be provided and kept open.

So much of the building as could be removed, passed into the hands of one of the Endicott family, who lived at "the fork of the roads," where the street that leads to Tapleville leaves the "old Ipswich road;" and was placed on the opposite side of that road. It is not far from the famous Collins House, the head-quarters of the last British Governor, when the Revolution broke out, and now the residence of Francis Peabody.

Mrs. Elizabeth Gray, a direct descendant of Governor Endicott, in the sixth generation, and who was born on the Orchard Farm, is now living in Salem, in her ninety-ninth year. The venerable lady distinctly recollects hearing much said, in her childhood, about the removal of what was then well known as, and called, the "Parris House;" and its being placed on the grounds of her relative.

There it stands to day. If its beams and rafters, after the lapse of two centuries from their construction, were endowed with memory and a voice, and should relate all that has passed within and beneath them, the story, in the scenes it would present, at different periods of its history, of the distressful, marvellous, and malefic, and of the pleasing, instructive, and benignant, would be such as no other house could tell.

#### IV.—A MILITARY VIEW OF PASSING EVENTS, FROM INSIDE THE CONFEDERACY. NO. II.

*THE CAMPAIGN IN WEST VIRGINIA, 1861 AND 1862.*

BY FREDERICK W. B. HASSLER, OF THE XXII. REGIMENT, VIRGINIA VOLUNTEER MILITIA.\*

In the course of the Summer of 1863, while I was Orderly-sergeant of my Company, my Regiment, the Twenty-second Virginia, was assigned to the command of General Imboden, who, with a body of Cavalry, made a raid through the adjoining Counties of West Virginia, to gather horses and cattle for the Confederacy. I remember we passed through Beverly, where we had a slight skirmish, Buckhannon and Weston. Thence we returned

\* This paper has been communicated for publication in THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, by General J. Watts de Peyster, of Tivoli, New York.



to Green Brier. Afterwards, we encamped within three miles of Lewisburg, where our Colonel received the independent command of his Regiment.

In the latter part of July, Colonel George S. Patten, our immediate commander, was reinforced by the Forty-fifth, and Edgar's Battalion of Virginia Troops, likewise a Battery of Artillery. With these, we had an engagement with Averill's Federal troops, at Dry-creek, within a mile of White-sulphur Springs. Although the engagement lasted twenty-four hours, the loss was very trifling on both sides. Nevertheless, Averill fell back to New Creek Station, and we resumed our camp near Lewisburg.

I may as well mention here, I was repeatedly offered a Commission in the Rebel service, but steadfastly refused to accept it, because it would have necessitated my sitting on Courts-martial, to inflict punishment on recusant Union men, which punishments I deemed no better than atrocities, under the circumstances—I cannot recall them without a shudder. I have known dozens of men to be shot for refraining to serve against their convictions, and many to be whipped with a hickory switch, and then branded with D upon the hip, as deserters, for refusing to fight against the "old Flag." It was reported in the newspapers, that Lee and Bragg had caused many to be shot for unwillingness to fight, in consequence of their Union sentiments. It was well known that Lee had quite a number shot, at Fredericksburg, just on this account. I, myself, was threatened with transmission as a prisoner, to Richmond, for condign punishment, for disloyalty, in consequence of my remarks, one evening, that "I doubted if the Confederacy would ever gain 'their independence.'" This was deemed more particularly disloyal, because there were a number of desertions, next morning, which were attributed to this expression of my opinion. The Rebel Officers never showed any mercy to those who held opinions contrary to their version of the Confederate cause. Had I been willing, I could have witnessed many executions of Union men, who had deserted, from unwillingness to fight for the Rebel Government.

And now, to resume our Military operations. Our first movement, of any consequence, was in the ensuing November, of 1863, when we again advanced to oppose General Averill, making another raid on Lewisburg. We met him on Droop Mountain. He whipped us badly; in fact, routed our whole command. Our own Major Bailey and a large number of men were killed; many were taken prisoners; and the rest scattered and took to the woods. What remnants could be collected fell back to Monroe-county, to be reorganized.

When Averill had completed his raid and fallen back to the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, we returned to our old camp, near Lewisburg. There we remained, inactive, during the Winter of 1863-4, chiefly because the roads had been rendered impassible by the weather.

In May, 1864, the former Vice-president, Breckenridge, assumed the command of our Brigade, and took it down to Staunton. Thence he advanced some forty miles down the Valley; and there, at New Market, he encountered Sigel. On this occasion, he gave Sigel a sound thrashing and drove him down the Valley, to Winchester. After this, we did not think it much to pitch into Sigel. We did not consider Sigel anything of a General; and the Rebels looked upon a fight with him as sure to pay, in the stores which we greatly needed, especially Shoes, Clothing &c.

After this, we were ordered to reinforce General Lee. We marched back to Staunton, and thence took the cars to Hanover Junction, where we formed part of the "Army of 'Northern Virginia,'" opposed to Grant. My first fight, on this line, was at Cold Harbor. Here nearly the whole Brigade to which I belonged was captured; but the prisoners and works were retaken by Finnegan, who lay in reserve. Towards the middle of June, when Hunter made his raid upon Lynchburg, my Brigade, under Breckenridge, was ordered back to Staunton, in the Shenandoah Valley. The cars which carried us could not get nearer than the Blue Ridge Tunnel (say thirty miles from Staunton) because Hunter had already passed that way, and destroyed the Rail-road. From the Blue Ridge Tunnel, we marched across the country, to Lynchburg, and arrived there one day in advance of the Union expedition. This was on the sixteenth of June. That night, Early's Corps arrived by rail from Lee's Army. The next morning, we advanced out from Lynchburg to meet Hunter; and, as we had largely superior forces, we repulsed him. Hunter retreated to the Kanawha Valley, but not before he had so completely destroyed the Virginia and Tennessee Rail-road, that it took the Rebels over a month to repair the damage. This was a hard lick for Lee, for it deprived him of all supplies from the South, by the road, until it was restored. I never saw a completer destruction. The rails were bent around trees, ties all burnt, bridges burnt—some very fine long ones, especially that across the New-river. The damage was incalculable, because he swept everything clean that could be of use to the Rebels; and when he fell back, he carried almost every negro out of the country. Nevertheless, Hunter only escaped by the skin of his teeth. We pursued, hot foot, until we turned off, down the Shenandoah Valley, for a raid on Washington. We made a rapid

march, after we turned aside from running Hunter, and drove the Federals before us. I may say that the Federals showed no fight until we met them at Monacacy Junction, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, in Maryland. I was in the reserve in the battle, but I know that we whipped them, and encamped, that night, on the battlefield which we had won. Next day, we made a forced march upon Washington; and, on the eleventh, were within thirteen miles of the City proper. I was in none of the skirmishes around the City; but, after remaining there a day or so, we left Maryland, by the way of Edward's Ferry. From the Potomac, we fell back, through Leesburg, to Winchester.

I was in none of the skirmishes which ensued; but I know that there was considerable desultory fighting. It was astonishing how much these combats reduced our Army. They were invariably unprofitable to us; for our losses did not consist in killed, wounded, and prisoners, alone—desertions were very numerous, because the men began to think the game was up.

After our retreat from Washington, the men had very little confidence in Early. When he entered Maryland, he had as fine an Army, for its size, as the Confederates possessed. We estimated his force at twenty-five thousand men; and he so used them up, by forced marches, and wasted them in profitless skirmishes, that his force dwindled apparently, in comparison, down to nothing. We thought him a very brave man and a very hard fighter; but he did not appear to display any generalship. Our men said that "he used up altogether too much liquor; and he always had a good lot with him."

Although there was a good deal of fighting going on, I recollect nothing of importance, until the Battle of Winchester, on the nineteenth of September. My Regiment was on the extreme left of the Rebel Infantry line, upon the turnpike, where the Federal Cavalry made their charge. We had no entrenchments, but were posted in an open field, although our front was protected, in a measure, by a pond or swamp. Nearly the whole of my Regiment was captured; and I know I escaped by the skin of my teeth. Notwithstanding Early said he had so few men, I think he must have had from twelve to fifteen thousand. Whether he had few or many, he was completely routed; and his troops fled from the field, no better than a mob. I do not think that General Sheridan pursued as he should have done. I thought, at the time, that if he had pressed us hard, he would have captured every man. I know I was so used up, I wanted to be taken; and I lingered all the next night, within a mile of Winchester, hoping to be captured. The best proof that Sheridan did not pursue as

he might have done is, that Early was able to gather up his troops and, with comparatively few reinforcements, make another stand at Fisher's hill. Early deserves every credit for reorganizing his Army for another battle, since what escaped from Winchester was nothing better than a complete wreck. I never saw a worse stampede.

We certainly got another good licking at Fisher's-hill. I was in the center, and had a good chance to see what took place. We did not leave this field as we left that at Winchester. The Army, when it retired, was held well in hand. It was not disorganized; and I do not think this would have been the case if Sheridan had profited to the full extent, by his tremendous success at Winchester. They say he is a great General, and I suppose they know better than I do; but if he had comprehended our condition and "gone in," as the Federals bragged that he did "go in," there would have been no Army left in the Valley, to fight him, after he knocked all the hoops off the barrel at Winchester.

After the Battle of Fisher's-hill, Sheridan was complete master of the Shenandoah Valley. As is well known, his Cavalry advanced, way up beyond Staunton.

When he fell back, he made a complete sweep of everything; but I think that the charges brought against him of cruelty are altogether unfounded. Indeed, I never heard any reports to that effect, either at that time or since. It was a military measure, and nothing more; but it was thoroughly carried out.

Our (the Rebel) forces continued to retreat until they reached the Blue Ridge Mountain. There they reorganized and replaced everything, as far as possible. I know we got a great deal of new artillery, for it was a common joke among my comrades, when they saw a fresh battery arrive, "There comes some more guns for 'Sheridan.'" How many men Early had, it was impossible to discover, for all these things were kept a secret from the men and the discipline was very strict.

Finding Sheridan had fallen back upon Winchester, after having effectually laid the region waste, we got the idea, and so it was reported, that he had left the Valley for good. I believe that General Early thought that he had got rid of Sheridan, altogether. Whether this was his actual opinion or not, we advanced down the Valley to Fisher's-hill, where we were reinforced by Division. The next thing we heard, Sheridan was advancing against us and was at Cedar-creek. After Early's Army had been augmented by this new Division, he resolved to surprise Sheridan, at Cedar-creek, and sent a portion of his command, under Major-general Gordon, to get around Sheridan's left, and take him



by surprise, I was not with these troops, but I heard they advanced along the flank of Massanuttan Mountain. The ground was very rough and hilly, but they marched under cover of a very dense fog, which screened every movement. They crossed Cedar-creek; stampeded Sheridan's left; captured his works; and turned his artillery upon him. My Regiment was with Early's center, which advanced down the turnpike. We could hear the fighting, but could see nothing; and when we got to where Sheridan's line had been posted (I should think it was ten o'clock before we got up) not only the fighting but even the plundering was all over. The fog did not clear until about noon. I said the fighting was over; but we heard artillery firing in our front, at a distance. It is hard to measure time in a battle or calculate the distance moved over; but I should think it was about three o'clock, and about three miles beyond the creek, when Early formed a new line of battle, because we heard that Sheridan was coming back to attack us.

The position of my Regiment was all the time upon the turnpike; and it seemed to me as if our line of battle was at right angles to that road. Shortly after, we were attacked along our whole line. We had marched all the previous night, and our men were completely played out; and it took but a very short time to send everything to the rear, in a perfect rout. My Regiment lost very few men; but it first went to pieces, and this was exactly the case with the whole Army. There was no fight left in them. The men wanted to surrender and go home. There is no use in disguising the fact, that there was no Army left in that region, that is any Army worthy the name or capable of making any fight. We had lost all our artillery; the horses were used up; forage was exhausted; provisions very scarce; and the men so completely demoralized that the troops availed themselves of every chance to desert. Early took up his Head-quarters at Staunton; and nothing but his severity kept up even a show of an armed force together. I may say that he became reckless in his severity; as if his last defeat had made him ferocious. He showed no mercy, and never was very amiable; and, as may well be imagined, he was not an agreeable man to be near to, at this time. Our Sergeant-major having been killed at Cedar-creek, I was promoted into his place. Thus favored, by a piece of stratagem I succeeded in getting a furlough; and by means of it I made my escape, through the rebel lines, to my home in Ripley, Jackson-county, West Virginia. There I took the oath of allegiance, having lost the four best years of my life as a rebel conscript, but having escaped without a wound.

FRED<sup>K</sup>. W. B. HASSLER.

Jackson Court-house, W. V.

# V.—SELECTIONS FROM PORTFOLIOS, IN VARIOUS LIBRARIES.—CONCLUDED.

168.—*Fisher Ames to William Ely.\**

DEDHAM, April 13th, 1801.

DEAR SIR,

I beg the favor you w<sup>d</sup> get a dozen or half a dozen trees of proper size grafted with Mr Burt's fine Long Meadow pear, and Col Dwight will at some future day send them round to me and pay any expense you may be at.

You was so good to offer this piece of service, I wish you may live fifty years to eat of the fruit and that I may offer you some of my own growth with my thanks for your procuring it.

I am, d<sup>r</sup> Sir, yours with esteem, &c.,

FISHER AMES.

Mr. WM. ELY, Springfield, Mass.

169.—*John Adams to Thomas Barclay.*

AMSTERDAM May 24, 1784.

DEAR SIR,

I am here to collect together the Bills and send them to you by Express. When this Express returns, I pray you to send by him my Trunk and all my Cloaths. The Books you will deliver also to him or his order to be sent to me. Will you be so good as to pack the Trunk yourself, and see that the Books, Papers, and Plate are well placed and fixed so that they may not shake too much. You will send the key, by him too; if the Trunk is not sufficient he must purchase another. If Mr Ridley has the Trunk, he will consider this letter as to him. Upon a second Thought, perhaps it would be better to take out the Plate and bring it in a small Box in the Carriage with the Express. There are 96 pieces of it. There are of the Bills 169 which I received of Messrs Fizima & Co, formerly and 375 which I received yesterday. As I have given them a Receipt for these Bills it will be necessary for you to give me one. You have only to sign a Receipt at the Foot of the Lists enclosed, which is a copy of the one I gave them.

The 169 amount to 186472 florins

The 375 amount to 290780:13

Total 544

477252:13.

I am with great Respect, Sir your  
Friend and Servant

JOHN ADAMS

P. S. Our worthy Friend Mr Jay returns to his Country like a Bee to his Hive, with both Legs loaded with Merit and Honor. He has no doubt announced to Congress his Intention of re-

\* This and the next letter are from the originals belonging to Ferguson Haines, Esq., Biddeford, Maine.

turning, and this I presume will occasion some Changes in their arrangements, so that I dont think it probable I shall have occasion to go to Paris at all; at least I shall wait at the Hague their ultimate Directions. It is necessary for some one to be here, or our Credit will be in danger of running down so low, that we shall not obtain Money Enough to pay the Interest of what we have had,

J. A.

HON. THOMAS BARCLAY.

170.—*John Jacob Astor to John Bullers.\**

WASHINGTON 23 March 1814

DEAR SIR

Tho there is nothing new nor anything of Importance to communicat yet I writ to you to show you that I will not be forgotten by you—I see not the Smalest chance of any Peace before next fall & to me its Doubtfull whether we shall have it then but whether we have it or not teas must Rise & I should not be surprizd to see Huyson in the cours of this year at 4 \$ lb.—tho I have ben here rather unexspectedly these some Days I have not meet with our friend Mr Ringgold & as I think of Remaining only a few days longer I Doubt whether I shall see him — your friend Graham & Forest are well & so is your Secretary Jones as fat as a Pig Mr Madison is quite well & says the war is very poplar he Certainly knows more about it than I Do —and I believe you have had a hand in making him believe it for my part I wish I could See it there is no time fixd for adjurnment Some think that it will be soon & that there will be an earley Session for there next Proceedings — I wish I could be of use to you here or elsewhere if you see any way in which I can be of servis please to Inform me & believe me to be most

Resptfully Dear Sir your obd servt

JOHN JACOB ASTOR

JOHN BULLERS Esq }  
New York }171.—*John Jay, President of Congress, to Governor Clinton.†*PHILADELPHIA 24<sup>th</sup> Aug<sup>t</sup> 1779.

SIR.

You will receive herewith enclosed a copy of an Act of Congress of the 17<sup>th</sup> Inst. on the Subject of further provision for the Army—

So many Reasons point out the Justice & Propriety of this measure that there can be no room

to doubt its receiving all the attention due to the Importance of it.

I have the honor to be  
with great Respect

Your Excellencys Most Obedient Servant,

JOHN JAY  
Presid<sup>t</sup>172.—*Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, to Governor Clinton.*PHILADELPHIA, Nov<sup>r</sup> 18<sup>th</sup> 1779.

SIR.

You will receive herewith enclosed two Acts of Congress of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Instant for reforming the eleven companies of Artificers raised by the Quarter master general, making provision for and granting certain benefits to that corps in particular that they be considered as part of the quotas of the Eighty Battalions apporioned on the several States to which they respectively belong.

Also another Act of the 12<sup>th</sup> Instant requesting the aid of the several States for obtaining witnesses and depositions in the trial of cases before Courts martial.

I have the honor to be

with Esteem and regard

Your Excellency's

Humble Servant

SAM<sup>l</sup> HUNTINGTON

Governor of New York.

President.

173.—*Henry Laurens, President of Congress, to Governor Clinton.*YORKTOWN 9<sup>th</sup> Febr'y 1778.

SIR.

I troubled Your Excellency the 3<sup>d</sup> Inst. with a few Lines by Mr Webber a Messenger passing to Albany.

Your Excellency will be pleased to receive under Cover with an Act of Congress of the 3<sup>d</sup> Inst. & 5 Copies, for obliging persons who hold Commissions & appointments under Congress to qualify themselves by taking & subscribing to certain Oaths therein prescribed & to cause the said Act to be published in the State of New York.

I remain with very great Esteem, Sir,

Your Excellencys Most Obedient Serv<sup>t</sup>

HENRY LAURENS

President of Congress.

174.—*Jeremiah Wadsworth to Governor Clinton.*NEW WINDSOR, August 9<sup>th</sup> 1779.

DEAR SIR.

Our flour is almost exhausted and comes in so slow we are in danger of being out I will

\* From the original belonging to R. Wade Bleeker, Esq., of New York.

† The letters from No. 171 to the end of the series, are from the originals, communicated by Charles I. Bushnell, Esq., New York.



thank you to give the necessary orders for the delivery of the flour you intend for the army as soon as Possible—

I am with the greatest esteem  
& regard Your

Excellencys most

Obedient, hum. Serv<sup>t</sup>

JERE<sup>M</sup> WADSWORTH.

175.—*Benjamin Tallmadge to Hon. Samuel M. Hopkins.*

LITCHFIELD, May 27<sup>th</sup> 1820.

DEAR SIR:

I have delayed to execute the deed to M<sup>r</sup> Curtiss until this time, in the prospect that I should be in the State of N. Y. & there make the acknowledgment. My son, Henry F. Tallmadge, who resides at Rhinebeck, is now here, who is a Witness to my signature, & will take the Deed before a Comm<sup>r</sup> in the State of N. Y. for the purpose of having the same approbated for record. It will be enclosed herein.

I am very respectfully

Your Obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

BENJ<sup>N</sup> TALLMADGE.

Hon. S. M. HOPKINS.

[Addressed:]

SAMUEL M. HOPKINS Esq.

Postmaster,

Moscow,

Genesee County,  
N. York.

176.—*P. Gansevoort to Richard Varick, Esq.*

ALBANY 5<sup>th</sup> May 1791.

DEAR SIR.

Yours of the first Instant Just came to hand, and am sorry to find that my sudden departure has given you cause of uneasiness which I am in hopes will be removed before this comes to your hand, as the Money was left in the hands of M<sup>r</sup> Dudley Walsh, with whom I suppose you are acquainted. He lodges with Mr. Strong on the Albany Pier

I am Sir  
with respect

Your Hum Serv<sup>t</sup>

RICHARD VARICK Esq<sup>r</sup>

P. GANSEVOORT—

[Addressed:]

RICHARD VARICK Esq<sup>r</sup>

New York.

167.—*General John Eager Howard to Mr. Gilmor.*

D<sup>R</sup> SIR.

I have received your card of invitation for

dinner on tuesday. I had determined in my own mind not to dine out again this winter with large parties, and at late hours. But I will have the pleasure of waiting on you with General Lafayette, if the weather should not be bad.

The General renounced the title of Marquis at the time of the French Revolution, and it is understood that it is not agreeable to him to be called Marquis.

I am y<sup>r</sup> obed<sup>t</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

J. E. HOWARD.

Decem<sup>r</sup> 25, 1824.

[Addressed:]

Mr. GILMOR

Water Street.

178.—*Colonel D. Humphreys to Richard Varick.*

NEW YORK May 8<sup>th</sup> 1789

SIR

I am commanded by the President of the United States to inform you that he has this day received the Answer of the House of Representatives to his Speech; and that it will be convenient for him to receive the Address of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City of New York, to morrow at 12 O'Clock—or on any other day, at the same hour, provided the time shall be notified to him in season for making his arrangements accordingly.

I am, with great esteem,

Sir,

Your most Obedient and  
most humble Servant

D. HUMPHREYS.

RICHARD VARICK Esq<sup>r</sup>

Recorder of the City  
of New York.

179.—*Henry Sewall to Richard Varick.*

To Lieut. Col. RICHARD VARICK, D. Com<sup>y</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>  
of Musters, Head Quarters.

WEST POINT May 30<sup>th</sup> 1779.

Permit me, dear Sir, to return my grateful acknowledgments for your agreeable favor of the 18<sup>th</sup> Inst.

It has been strongly talk'd that the Enemy are meditating an Attack upon this Post—and so far believ'd that all the light Troops have been call'd in & rejoin'd their Regiments. The light Infantry of Nixon's Brigade, under the command of Major Hull, maintain the ground yet as far as Croton river. Huntington's Brigade in the Highlands, together with Nixon's at Peekskill, lay ready to reinforce us, as soon as it is certain the Enemy are approaching.—Parson's Brigade, it is said, are also on their march this way. The

troops are all on duty here, rendering the works as defensible as possible. If they dare to come, I believe they will meet with a *warm reception*.

Congress have lately consider'd the Q. M. Gen's department & made their pay liberal. I could wish they would do the same by ours.

I seem to hang in suspense:—not only ignorant of the footing on which my *Staff employment* stands, but at the same time uncertain whether I am allow'd to hold *two* Offices,—inasmuch as Congress have not made particular provision for it.

I am, dear Sir,  
with the sincerest Respect  
Your's Affectionately  
HENRY SEWALL.

P. S.

No Private conveyance offering, I am oblig'd to send by the Post—and have enclos'd this in Col<sup>o</sup> Ward's letter for portability sake

180.—*Baron Steuben to Captain Stagg.*

WEDNESDAY, NOV<sup>r</sup> 18<sup>th</sup>

SIR.

Captain Wendell late an officer in the first New York Regim<sup>t</sup> sometime since applied, as I am now informed, to be admitted a Member of our State Society of the Cincinnati—through the neglect of Major Farlie, this application has been delayed near a twelve month the Captain is now in the City and is very anxious to have his Diploma, before his return to the Country—though this would not be very regular, yet as he is unquestionably entitled from his military services to be a Member of our Society—I have no objection to your making out his Diploma.

STEUBEN  
President.

Cap<sup>n</sup> STAGG—Sec<sup>y</sup>  
State Society Cincinnati.

[*Addressed .:*]  
Captain STAGG  
War Office.

## VI.—FLOTSAM.

[These scraps have been picked up in various places and brought to this place, "as they are," without any voucher for their correctness and with no other object than to secure for them the attention of our readers.

We invite discussion concerning each of them; and if any of them are incorrect or doubtful, we invite corrections.—EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.]

### THE DEATH OF COLONEL DAHLGREEN.

To the Editor of the *London Times*:

SIR,—In answer to a letter of Mr. Benjamin, the former Confederate Secretary of State, as to the treatment of Federal prisoners, H. A. Wise, United States' Navy, accuses the Confederate authorities of having forged and falsely publish-

ed papers found on the dead body of Colonel Ulric Dahlgreen. Having, besides my convictions that neither Mr. Davis nor Mr. Benjamin could ever have committed so base an action, the positive knowledge of their perfect innocence in this matter, I regard it as my duty and a proud privilege to appear publicly for their defence, and to announce the accusation untrue and unjust. Disabled by wounds, I found myself in Richmond at the time of the Dahlgreen raid, and was the very morning after Colonel Dahlgreen's death in company with General Fitz Lee, when, about 10 A. M., Lieutenant Pollard, of the Ninth Virginia Cavalry, who, with a party of his own and several volunteer Regiments, had opposed Colonel Dahlgreen's movement, arrived from the fight and entered the General's room, making the following Report:—

"Knowing of Colonel Dahlgreen's approach, "with far superior numbers to my own, I put "my men in ambush, awaiting the enemy. Col- "onel Dahlgreen was riding a short distance "ahead of his men. He had gotten quite near "to us, when I called out to him to surrender. "Instead of doing so, the Colonel turned to his "command, giving the order to charge, where- "upon my men fired a volley, by which the Col- "onel was instantly killed, pierced by several "bullets, as nearly all the shots had been aimed at "his person. The soldiers under his command, "turned to rapid flight. On the Colonel's dead "body I found a memorandum-book and some "loose Orders and papers, the contents of which "I regarded as important enough to deliver them "in person."

The Lieutenant then handed Fitz Lee the documents in question, the contents of which were read by both of us with feelings of the greatest indignation, and half an hour afterwards carried by the General personally to President Davis. The papers afterwards published by the Confederate authorities are identical with those which I read a few hours after they had been taken from Dahlgreen's body, and which documents, under the circumstances, must be supposed to have been written by the Colonel's own hand.

General Fitz Lee, who is still alive in Virginia, will, if desired, duly corroborate the above statement.

Your obedient servant,

HEROS VON BORCKE,

Lieutenant-colonel, and Adjutant-general  
of the Cavalry of the Army of Virginia.

No. 3 Cork-street, Burlington-gardens, Sep-  
tember 19.

OPENING AND CLOSING OF THE RIVER AND  
CANAL.—As we are approaching the period when  
navigation will close, the following table, show-



ing the dates of opening and closing of the Hudson-river and Erie-canal, from the year 1823, will be read with interest :

YEARS.	HUDSON RIVER.   STATE CANALS.			
	Opened.	Closed	Opened	Closed
1824...	Mar. 3	Jan. 5	Apr. 30	Dec. 4
1825...	6	Dec 13	12	5
1826...	Feb. 26	24	20	18
1827...	Mar. 20	Nov 25	22	18
1828...	Feb. 8	Dec 23	Mar. 27	20
1829...	Apr. 1	Jan 14	May 2	17
1830...	Mar. 15	Dec 25	April 20	17
1831...	15	6	16	1
1832...	15, 25	21	25	21
1833...	21	13	19	12
1834...	Feb. 29	15	17	12
1835...	Mar. 25	Nov 30	15	Nov. 30
1836...	Apr. 4	Dec 7	25	26
1837...	Mar. 27	14	20	Dec. 9
1838...	19	Nov 25	12	Nov. 25
1839...	25	Dec 18	20	Dec. 16
1840...	Feb. 25	5	20	3
1841...	Mar. 24	19	24	Nov. 30
1842...	Feb. 4	Nov 28	20	28
1843...	Apr. 13	Dec 10	May 1	30
1844...	Mar. 18	17	Apr. 18	Dec. 17
1845...	Feb. 24	3	15	Nov. 29
1846...	Mar. 18	14	16	25
1847...	Apr. 7	25	May 1	30
1848...	Mar. 22	27	1	Dec. 9
1849...	18	26	1	5
1850...	10	17	Apr. 22	11
1851...	Feb. 25	14	15	5
1852...	Mar. 28	23	20	16
1853...	23	21	20	20
1854...	17	8	May 1	3
1855...	27	20	1	10
1856...	Apr. 11	14	5	4
1857...	Mar. 18	27	6	15
1858...	20	17	Apr. 28	Nov. 30
1859...	13	10	15	Dec. 12
1860...	6	14	25	12
1861...	5	23	May 1	10
1862...	Apr. 3	18	1	10
1863...	7	16	1	8
1864...	Mar. 11	12	Apr. 30	8
1865...	17	19	May 1	12
1866...	20	15	1	12
1867...	24	9	6	8
1868...	20	9	Apr 23	5

—*Albany Argus.*

#### CONFEDERATE POSTAGE STAMPS.

THE mania for collecting postage stamps has added a new word to the language, "philatel-  
"ist," which is "the last new cognomen for

"those engaged in the interesting study of  
"stamp-collecting." So, at least, says a Mr. J.  
M. Stourton, who has lately published a volume  
entitled, *Postage Stamp Forgeries, or The Collect-  
or's Vade Mecum*, the object of which is to en-  
lighten the English collector in regard to the  
differences between real and bogus postage  
stamps, or fac-similes, as the vendors of the last  
prefer to have them called. With the excep-  
tion, perhaps, of Spain, the late Confederate  
States have suffered most in the forgery of their  
stamps. Mr. Stourton gives, among other  
things, a description of the true and false head  
of Jefferson Davis, which is amusing in its way.  
Here it is :

#### GENUINE.

"Davis has a short  
"beard, which is seen  
"very clearly.

"Top of the coat is of  
"much the same color as  
"the back-ground.

"Very little of the  
"front of the shirt is  
"shown.

In the inscription, the  
"C" of "*Confeder-*  
"*ate*," and the last  
"A" of "*America*"

"are on a line with the  
"mouth.

"The portrait of Davis  
"is like, and has a fixed  
"and stern expression  
"about it."

#### FORGED.

"Beard scarcely visi-  
"ble.

"Top of the coat con-  
"trasts strongly with  
"the background.

"A great deal of the  
"front of the shirt is  
"shown.

"The "C" of "*Con-*  
"*federate*" and the  
"last "A" of "*Ameri-*  
"*ca*" are on a line

"with the nose.

"The face is *not at all*  
"*like Davis*, and has a  
"very *stupid expression*  
"about it."

PIATT ON SHERIDAN'S RIDE.—At a recent Re-  
union of the Thirty-fourth Ohio Infantry, Col-  
onel Don Piatt, in response to "The Day we  
"celebrate," thus went for that place of fiction  
known as "Sheridan's Ride," written by T.  
Buchanan Reade. We quote from a correspond-  
ence: "The day being the anniversary of the  
"Battle of Cedar-creek, he gave the popular and  
"poetic version of the affair, and then said, 'That  
"is the way poets sing and people who never  
"saw a fight write up a battle. We who have  
"been there, know better. We know that  
"twenty thousand men surprised, driven in full  
"and disorderly retreat over miles of country,  
"are not to be gathered up in an hour by one  
"man and hurried back into battle. Yet this is  
"Sheridan's ride! On this occasion, he galloped  
"into glory on the back of Buchanan Reade's  
"Pegasus (laughter), gingered by Murdoch, the  
"tragedian; and I would let him gallop on but  
"for the rank injustice to the brave men who  
"stood their ground, and the gallant officers,

“Wright, Custer, Emory, and others, who formed them into line, and were sweeping back upon the enemy, who had stopped to plunder the camps, when Sheridan and his black horse appeared. The result would have been the same had that officer not appeared at all. His friends and admirers had better drop the fustian and fringe-work of that famous ride.”

THE FAME OF WASHINGTON.—Taxille Delord concludes an article, written in commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of the death of Washington, for the *Paris Siècle*, as follows: “The detractors of the American Republic sometimes ask, with a sneer, what it has done for the progress of the human mind; what types in literature or the arts it has created. The great Republic can answer: ‘I have given to the modern world its ideal citizen in the person of Washington. When this great man was descending into the tomb, mourned by free men, leaving in its cradle a nation destined to grow in influence daily, a belated Cæsar was getting ready to mount the Throne of France. Napoleon fell in the midst of the bloody ruins which his ambition had accumulated, leaving his country in the hands of foreigners. The glory of Napoleon grows paler and paler, while Washington’s grows constantly more lustrous. It is the same with the ideas of the two respectively represent. Cæsarism is disappearing; the Republic is taking possession of the world.’”

AN INTERESTING RELIC.—An Albanian has in his possession the pistol of the redoubtable Captain Miles Standish, of old Pilgrim days. The weapon is an excellent specimen of the fire-arms of two hundred and fifty years since. The barrel is about six inches in length, and provided with the old-fashioned flint-lock. It is ornamented with brass and steel mountings; and in shape is the same as the old-fashioned English “horse-pistol.”—*Argus*.

SCRAPS.—Type-founding was commenced in Philadelphia, in 1796, by Archibald Binney and James Ronaldson, who were natives of the city of Edinburgh, where Mr. Binney had been engaged in the same business. This firm was succeeded by Richard Ronaldson, who conducted the foundry until 1833, when he retired and left it in the hands of Lawrence Johnson and George F. Smith. To the business capacity and energy of Mr. Johnson the reputation of the establishment at the present day is largely due. He introduced stereotyping into Philadelphia, and

largely extended the business. In 1833, Mr. Smith retired; and, in 1845, Mr. Johnson associated with himself Thomas McKellar, John F. Smith, and Richard Smith. Mr. Johnson died in 1860, and was succeeded by his junior partners, who, with Peter A. Jordan, constitute the present firm of McKellar, Smiths & Jordan. Under their management, the reputation of the foundry has been more than sustained, and the business has been increased greatly.

—The ancient elm tree which shaded the old Warren estate, on Warren-street, Roxbury, Massachusetts, during a period of a century and a half, has at length “passed away,” having been cut down recently, by the city workmen. This is supposed to be the tree upon which General Warren hung his scythe, when, while mowing on the family estate, he responded to the call for volunteers in the early part of the American Revolution by mounting his horse and galloping to the field of operations. The tree has recently become so much decayed, near the trunk, as to be unsafe, hence its removal.—*Albany Argus*.

—It is a singular but not less true remark, in a late work, that Jefferson was born just eight years after his predecessor, Adams; Madison eight years after Jefferson; and John Quincy Adams eight years after Monroe. Another curious fact to be observed is, that Adams was just sixty-six years old when he retired; Jefferson was sixty-six; Madison was sixty-six; Monroe was sixty-six; and John Quincy Adams, had he been elected to a second term, would have been sixty-six. Adams, Jefferson, and Monroe all died on the fourth of July.—*Boston Transcript*.

—Henry Bird, living in Clinton-street, above Ninth, Philadelphia, originated the system of numbering houses, which is followed in that city.

## VII.—NOTES.

AN OLD COIN.—John Beasley writes to the *Raleigh Sentinel*, from Plymouth, N. C., in regard to a very ancient coin recently found by him. He says: “I purchased an old abandoned farm, formerly owned by a Scotchman by the name of Stewart, and while cleaning away the old rubbish, a small colored boy of mine found the coin.”

Mr. Beasley gives a description of the coin as follows: “The coin is pure silver and about the size of a Spanish quarter of a dollar. On one side is written, *NO ARG CIV GRONINGÆ*, dated plainly 679. At the bottom of the coin, is a wreath and a hole through the coin, to be worn around the neck. On the opposite side is *CORDE RAS PARVÆ GRESVÆ*, with two almost indistinct female figures, with bushy hair. I



"have submitted it to a great many for inspection, but none know of its nationality. One side is Latin, the other unknown. I think it must be a Roman coin, made in the reign of Concordia, a Governor of one of the Roman Provinces, in 650, and carried to England, when the Romans conquered and held it many centuries, and was brought to this county by old man Stewart; and, no doubt, has been worn around the necks of 500 generations, as children in old times wore silver around their necks to keep off evil spirits."

With regard to the antiquity of the alledged old coin, we think the claim more than doubtful. The word GRONINGÆ, is the Latin form of Groningen, a modern Town and Province of Holland; and one of the seven United Provinces of the Dutch Republic, of 1597. The name does not occur on any ancient Atlas in our possession—it is not on Keoppen's *Atlas of the Middle Ages*, giving the divisions of Europe in six different periods—I. Toward the close of the fourth century; II. After the downfall of the Western Empire, A. D. 476, to the reign of Justinian I. A. D. 527; III. In the times of Charlemagne and Haroun ar-Raschid, A. D. 800; IV. At the death of Otho the Great, A. D. 973; V. In the times of the Crusades, A. D. 1095-1291; VI. In the close of the fourteenth century. Groningen then, has risen to importance since that time, and is comparatively a modern Town and Province; it could not have existed and coined money as early as A. D. 679. The Romans were compelled to give up their remote Provinces long before that date. Their dominion in Britain ceased about A. D. 410; and the Western Empire fell in A. D. 476. There was no such Roman Governor known, we presume, as Concordia; and the fact that the inscription is in Latin words, does not show it to have been a Roman coin. The first part of the inscription on the obverse of the coin, *o no*, seems to be a fragment of a word—and with a letter missing between the *o* and the *n*; it probably denoted the purity or the value of the coin. The rest of the inscription is evidently, *ARG[entum] CIV[itatis] GRONINGÆ—Silver of the State or Province of Groningen.*

The legend on the reverse is probably to this amount (with the first word, *CONCORDIA*, in the ablative case)—"By concord, small States grow." *Concordiâ parvæ res cresunt.* And there seems to be in this, an allusion to the meaning of the word "GRONINGEN," connected with the word *grow*, and *green*; and on one old Map in the possession of the writer, it is put down *Greeningen*.

The date, 679, is probably 1679, with the 1 corroded and erased, in some way, or rendered indistinct by defect in the die—we have a copper coin of U. S., struck since 1800, on which the date is read with great difficulty.

But we need no other argument to show that the figures 679 could not be the true date, than that those characters were not in use as early as that. Brande's *Encyclopedia of Science and Art*. NOTATION, says: "The epoch at which the denary numerals were introduced into Europe is uncertain; but it appears to have followed, at no great interval, the Saracen conquest in Spain, which began about A. D. 710. Vossius places this epoch about the year 1250; Ducange thinks they were unknown before the fourteenth century; and they are very rarely found in the dates of any writings before the year 1400." The same author, in the *ART*. ARITHMETIC, says: "The Indian numerals, on which the modern system of practical Arithmetic is founded, were received from the Saracens of Spain, and appear to have been partially introduced into the other countries in Europe, in the fourteenth century; but there is no evidence of their having come into general use before the invention of printing." This was about 1440.

STATESVILLE, N. C.

E. F. R.

DIRECT TAX OF 1813.—There have been two direct taxes laid by the United States Government, previous to our own day, one in 1796 and the other in 1813. I have before me a receipt for a tax under the Act of 1813, of which the following is a copy:

"Received this 1st day of August 1814 from Mr. John Temple, Jr., the sum of Four dollars & 41 cents for direct tax upon the property of Heirs of Wm. Temple in the State of Massachusetts, under the Act of Congress passed the 2d August 1813, to lay and collect a direct tax within the United States.

"\$4.41.

J. CHILD.

"Dep. Collector of the tenth Collection

"District in the State of Massachusetts."

BOSTON, MASS.

J. W. D.

CANIADERAGO-LAKE.—Now Schuyler's-lake, Otsego-county, means, literally, *Big-lake*, from *Caniatare* (lake) and *goa* (big.) O'C.

## VIII.—QUÉRIES.

JANE McCREA.

MR. EDITOR: During a rustication of a few days, in Northern New York, nearly twenty years ago, I tarried a day and night in the village of Fort Edward, on the Hudson-river. Knowing that the murder of Jane McCrea took place near that village, during the Revolutionary War, I made some inquiries concerning the affair, and also visited the scene of the massacre at the

spring on the hill, near the village, as well as her tomb in the neighboring cemetery. On my return to the hotel, I made the acquaintance of Colonel Sherwood, a gentleman somewhat advanced in life, whose history of the young lady, and of the reasons or motives that induced the savage to kill her, differed materially from the accounts we generally find in the books. Having spent most of his life in that vicinity, and having been, in his youth, the cotemporary of those who lived there at the time of the sad occurrence, and manifesting a good degree of candor, I was led, at the time, to credit his statements; but *wherein* it differed from our histories, I am at present unable to state. Being near train-time for Saratoga, I was hurried away and made no notes of his statements before leaving.

Do our histories give a true relation of the affair or not? Will you, Mr. Editor, or one of your correspondents answer?

NEWARK, OHIO.

ISAAC SMUCKER.

OLD PENNSYLVANIA.—Can any of our antiquarians answer the following queries?

Which island in the Delaware was called *Alrick's Island*, before Penn's arrival? It was probably above Bristol.

Where was "The King's Path" through the lower end of Bucks-county?

There was a "Manor of Grimstead," on the Delaware, before Penn's arrival. Who can tell where it was situated?

DOYLESTOWN, PENN.

D.

"TURN TO THE RIGHT AS THE LAW DIRECTS."  
—In England, vehicles, in meeting, pass each other "to the left"—obviously the proper usage, since the reinsman sits on the right hand side of his carriage. Whence came our custom? And to what date must it be referred?

PHILADELPHIA, PENN.

VIATOR.

# IX.—REPLIES.

THE "UNPUBLISHED" LETTER OF FRANKLIN TO MISS E. HUBBARD. (*H. M.* II. vi, 247).—Pretty good joke for a man like you to print a letter of Franklin, as newly discovered, which is familiar to every reader and admirer of Franklin! I recognized it before I got through the second sentence. You are so inclined to catch others, that I almost have a little of the wicked feeling of satisfaction, that you yourself are now caught.\*

JOHN LANGDON SIBLEY.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY.

\* Our valued friend, Mr. Sibley, evidently overlooked the

## X.—BOOKS.

### RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

[Publishers and others sending Books or Pamphlets for the Editor of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, are respectfully requested to forward the same, either direct to "HENRY B. DAWSON, MORRISANIA, N. Y.," or to MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER & Co., Booksellers, 654 Broadway, New York City, as shall be most convenient for them.]

### A.—OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS.

1.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of New York.* Transmitted to the Legislature, January 8, 1861. Albany: C. Van Benthuyssen, Printer. 1861. Octavo, pp. 183.

..... Transmitted to the Legislature, January 15, 1862. Albany: C. Van Benthuyssen, Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 7-5.

..... Transmitted to the Legislature, January 27, 1863. Albany: Comstock & Cassidy. 1863. Octavo, pp. 1181.

..... Transmitted to the Legislature, February 1, 1864. In two volumes, Albany: Comstock & Cassidy. 1864. Octavo, pp. (I.) 402, (II) 672.

..... Transmitted to the Legislature, January 12, 1865. Volume I. Albany: C. Van Benthuyssen, 1865. Octavo, (two volumes in one) pp. 461.

..... Transmitted to the Legislature, January 17, 1866. In two volumes. Albany: C. Wendell. 18-6. Octavo, pp. (I.) 356, (II) 528.

..... Transmitted to the Legislature, January 9, 1867. Volume I. Albany: Van Benthuyssen & Sons. 1867. Octavo, pp. 590.

..... Transmitted to the Legislature, January 31, 1868. In three volumes. Albany: C. Van Benthuyssen & Sons. 1868. Octavo, pp. (I.) 432; (II) 576; (III) 436.

*Annual Report of the Commissary General of the State of New York.* [for 1865] *Sine loco, sine anno.* [1866?] Octavo, pp. 168.

.....  
*Annual Report of the Quartermaster General of the State of New York, for the year 1865.* Albany: C. Wendell, Printer. 1866. Octavo, pp. 42.

.....  
*Annual Report of the Inspector General of the State of New York.* [for 1863.] Albany: 1864. Octavo, pp. lxxxviii. (Appendix) 76.

.....  
*Annual Report of the Paymaster General of the State of New York.* Transmitted to the Legislature, January 23, 1866. Albany: C. Wendell. 1866. Octavo, pp. 36.

.....  
*Annual Report of the Surgeon General of the State of New York.* Transmitted to the Legislature, January 27, 1863. Albany: 18-9. Octavo, pp. 72.

fact that this "unpublished" letter was published by us as "FLOTSAM," preceded with the remark that it was published, "as it is, without any voucher for its correctness and "with no other object than to secure for it the attention of "our readers"—as the standing Note, at the head of that department of the Magazine, expressly describes it.

This item has accomplished our purpose in publishing it—although we were not aware, when we printed it, that it was an old acquaintance of Franklin's admirers—our good friend's "attention" to it has been "secured" and we have "secured" his very welcome good-natured reply.

EDITOR HISTORICAL MAGAZINE.



*Report of the Board of Managers of the New York State Soldiers' Depot, and of the Fund for the relief of sick, wounded, furloughed, and discharged Soldiers. Transmitting the Report of the General Agent of the State.* Albany: 1864. Octavo, pp. 160.

*State of New York: Annual Report of the General Agent for the Relief of Sick and Wounded Soldiers of the State of New York.* Transmitted to the Legislature, April 14, 1865. Albany: C. Wendell, Legislative Printer. 1865. Octavo, pp. 144.

*The State of New York. Communication from the Governor transmitting the First Annual Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Military Statistics, of the State of New York.* Transmitted to the Legislature, January 29, 1864. Albany: Comstock & Cassidy, Printers. 1864. Octavo, pp. 212.

*Second Annual Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Military Statistics, of the State of New York.* Transmitted to the Legislature, February 2, 1865. Albany: C. Wendell, Legislative Printer. 1865. Octavo, pp. 199.

*Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Military Record, of the State of New York.* Transmitted to the Legislature, February 2, 1866. Octavo, pp. 576.

*Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Military Statistics, State of New York.* Submitted to the Legislature, February 11, 1867. Albany: Weed, Parsons, & Co., Department Printers. 1867. Octavo, pp. 679.

*A Record of the Commissioned Officers, Non-commissioned Officers, and Privates of the Regiments which were organized in the State of New York and called into the service of the United States to assist in suppressing the Rebellion caused by the Secession of some of the Southern States from the Union, A.D. 1861, as taken from the Muster-in Rolls, on file in the Adjutant-general's Office, S. N. Y. Volumes I-VIII.* Albany: 1864-1868. Quarto, pp. (I) 887, (II) 739, (III) 865, (IV) 729, (V) 727, (VI) 667, (VII) 663, (VIII) lxiii, 650.

*State of New York: Presentation of Regimental Colors to the Legislature.* 200,000 copies ordered published by Joint Resolution of the Legislature. 1863. Octavo, pp. 52.

*State of New York. Proceedings attending the presentation of Regimental Colors to the Legislature, April 20, 1861.* Albany: C. Van Benthuyzen, Printer. 1864. Octavo, pp. 82.

18-5. *State of New York. Presentation of Flags of New York Volunteer Regiments and other organizations, to His Excellency, Governor Fenton, in accordance with a Resolution of the Legislature, July 4, 1865.* Published under direction of the Chief of Bureau of Military Record. Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Company, Printers. 1865. Imperial Octavo, pp. 249.

*Instructions for the Soldiers' Voting Law. s. l. [Albany ?] s. a. [1864 ?].* Octavo, pp. 6.

*State of New York. No. 169. In Assembly, March 19, 1866. Communication from the Governor transmitting papers and documents relative to the Antietam Cemetery. s. l. [Albany ?] s. a. [1866.]* Octavo, pp. 29.

We are indebted to his Excellency, Governor Hoffman, Colonel J. B. Stonehouse, Assistant Adjutant-general, Henry A. Homes, Esq. State Librarian, and other friends, for this tolerably complete series of the records of New York's services in the War.

*The Adjutant-general's Reports*, like those of other States, are of the first importance. That containing the record for 1860, is very complete as to the then condition of the State; and "the 'present imperiled condition of the Union,' the possible 'demand even on our State of an 'independent and vigorous policy;' and 'the

"recent heavy orders for the South which have 'perhaps completely drained the market of fire-arms, of every pattern,' which we find in it, are terms of the full meaning of which we are no longer ignorant. The Report for 1861 commences the terrible record of New York's sacrifices—ninety-nine Regiments of Infantry, eleven of Cavalry, two Regiments, two Battalions, and nine Batteries of Artillery, a Rocket Battalion, and a Regiment of Engineers, embracing an aggregate of one hundred and twenty thousand three hundred and sixteen men, having been her contribution to the fighting force of the country during those twelve months. A Roster of the Commissioned Officers in the Volunteer service is also in this volume. The Report for 1862 added one hundred and sixteen thousand eight hundred and three to the record of those who entered the service under the authority of this State; and the Roster of officers in the field was continued in this Report. The Report for 1863 shows an addition of sixty-nine thousand five hundred and thirty-one to the New York forces during the year. It also contains detailed Reports, by the Division Commanders, of the Riots in New York and of the Campaign in Pennsylvania—both very important as materials for history—and the statistics of the Volunteer service are minute and valuable. The Report for 1864 is less voluminous but not less important—one hundred and fifty-six thousand four hundred and thirty-six men went from New York into the active service of the country, during these eventful twelve months, besides five thousand one hundred and seventy-eight of her Militia. It should be noticed here, that although the title-page describes this as "Volume I.," it is complete in itself—Volume II., seems to have referred to a portion of the Appendix, which is included in this volume. The Report for 1865 continues the record of former years, to the close of the War; that for 1866 possesses little historical importance;\* but that for 1867 contains a series of historical sketches of Regiments which will be exceedingly important, as material for the judicious use of those who shall look into the history of the War.

These Reports are less complete than those of several other States; although they far exceed, in value and completeness, those of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and many which are among the leading States of the Union. They are scarcely passable as specimens of book-making—the printing is wretched; and the paper is in keeping with the workmanship.

*The Commissary-general's Reports*, we may

\* This Report, like that for 1864, is complete in one volume, notwithstanding the title-page describes it as only "Volume I."

reasonably suppose, are also of very great importance; but we have been able to find only that for the year 1865; and we may, therefore, possibly over-estimate the value of those of other years.

*The Quartermaster-general's Reports*, also, are necessarily important to those who would ascertain what New York did in the cause of the Union; but, as in the case of the Commissary-general's, we have not succeeded in finding more of them than the single copy referred to at the head.

*The Inspector-general's Reports*, if we may judge from the single number which we have found, are little less important to the student of the history of the War, than are those of the Adjutant-general; yet so little attention was paid to their preservation that we have found only one of the series, that for 1863.

In the volume before us are to be found the most perfect description of the way in which the City of New York was treated, during the most trying period of the War, and the manner in which she acted; and it presents, also, the most appalling exhibit of the oppression which was exercised in some portions of the State, in order to relieve other portions of the State, and which led to the celebrated Riots in New York City, of which, too, it gives the most perfect history which we have yet seen. There is no more important volume than this, illustrative of the villainous conduct of those in authority, in the Federal service, unless it may be the Report of the Commissioners, in Maine, for re-imbursement to Towns the expenses incurred in enlistments, which is reported to exceed all others in the exposure of barefaced rascality on the part of those wearing Federal shoulder-straps.

*The Paymaster-general's Reports*, involving as they do, all that relates, ever so remotely, to money—including bounties, drafts, etc.—must also be of great importance, in an examination of the details of the history of this War; yet, as in other cases to which we have alluded, we have not succeeded in finding them, except in one instance, which we have noted at the head. The single number of the series which we have found leads us to wish for more of them, since it treats of subjects of the gravest importance, in a manner which reflects the highest credit on the hand which wrote it.

*The Surgeon-general's Reports* are of that class which, while they are very necessary to the very few who are fond of going "to the bottom," in every thing which they undertake to write about, is not generally looked at by the great body of those who pretend to write Histories. We have found only one of this series of Reports, too; but it contains very much that we hope to call into the service, before many months.

The two *Reports of the State Agent for the Relief of the Sick and Wounded*—we have not ascertained that more than two were printed—are very important and most honorable to those who established the Agency, to those who discharged its arduous duties, and to the noble old State which paid for them. The *Reports* are handsomely illustrated with views and maps of the hospitals, etc.; and they will be turned to, hereafter, for the information of those who shall then be cursed with the horrors of War, in their efforts to alleviate the sufferings of their fellow men.

The four *Reports of the Bureau of Military Statistics* are of the first importance to every student of our military history. The organization of such a department, during the War, was a happy idea admirably carried out; and the result has been, we think, a most welcome addition to the large stock of materials for history which had been previously gathered into the Capitol of this State.

The first Report, that for 1863, opens with an exposition of the plan of operations adopted by the Chief of the Bureau, followed by biographical sketches of deceased Officers; historical sketches of Regiments in the service; statistics of State, County, and Town expenditures, etc., in the cause of the Union. The *Report for 1864* contains a very elaborate account of the action of Orange-county—a paper which will serve to make some poor fellow happy, years hence, while turning over the files of the empty newspapers, etc., in search of something, on this subject, which he can write about. Elaborate tables follow, illustrative of County and Town action, throughout the State. The *Report for 1865* opens with a *resume* of the history of the War, from January to July, 1861; followed by a long series of Regimental sketches; another series consisting wholly of County histories, from the beginning of the War, to the Battle of Bull-run; an elaborate Chapter on the military prisons of the South, in which is a very interesting *Diary*, written by a prisoner at Andersonville; a chapter on the Naval services rendered by New York, in which are lengthy biographies of Admirals Farragut and Stringham and histories of the frigate *Brooklyn* and monitor *Catskill*; and a variety of other papers, relative to the work of the office, during the year. The *Report for 1866* embraces narratives of the work of the office, during the year, together with a series of Regimental histories, many of them embracing Reports, Diaries, Narratives, etc., of the highest importance; sketches of the action of Towns and Counties; specimens of individual memoirs, filed in the office; a long account of the sufferings of New York soldiers in Southern prisons; a number of biographical sketches, in which



are also documents of much interest; a collection of Naval statistics, etc; from which will be seen the fact that these Reports possess great value to the student of the history of the War. We believe that no Report has been made from this Department since that for 1866, last referred to.

The *Record of Officers*, etc. is exceedingly voluminous and exceedingly unsatisfactory. It embraces simply the Muster-rolls of the original New York Regiments, stretched out in their original forms, embracing many items which were necessary in Muster-rolls but not in a Record, and omitting very many items which a Record should contain, although they could not possibly appear on the original Muster-rolls. It has been, therefore, a prodigal waste of money, for some overpaid printers' benefit, without affording the good which it might have secured, by a more judicious expenditure of it. With such excellent examples before him as those of Maine, Rhode Island, etc., it is to be regretted that our Adjutant-general was so forgetful.

The three volumes narrating the *Presentation of Regimental Colors to the Legislature* are interesting and not without value, since they embrace statements of many facts concerning the Regiments whose Colors were thus presented, which may not be readily found elsewhere. As a whole, however, these volumes were evidently gotten up for "Buncombe;" and they are admirably adapted for that questionable service.

The minor tracts referred to at the head are interesting mementoes of the times which tried men's souls as they were never tried before, in this State; but we need do no more than refer to their title-pages, as fully illustrative of their contents.

2.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of New Jersey for the year 1861.* Trenton: 1862. Octavo, pp. 58.

....., *for the year 1863.* Trenton: 1864. Octavo, pp. 27.

....., *for the year 1865.* Trenton: 1866. Octavo, pp. 42.

....., *for the year 1866.* [Trenton: 1867.] Octavo, pp. 12.

....., *for the year 1867.* Trenton: 1868. Octavo, pp. 29.

....., *for the year 1868.* Trenton: 1869. Octavo, pp. 25.

*Register of Commissioned Officers of the New Jersey Volunteers, in the service of the United States.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, N. J., July 1, 1862. Octavo, pp. 21.

....., Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, N. J., October 23, 1862. Octavo, pp. 42.

....., Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, N. J., January 1, 1863. Octavo, pp. 45.

*List of promotions, appointments, and casualties in the*

*New Jersey Regiments, in the service of the United States, since March 1, 1863.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, April 1, 1863. Octavo, pp. 12.

....., *since April 1, 1863.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, May 1, 1863. Octavo, pp. 6.

....., *since May 1, 1863.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, June 1, 1863. Octavo, pp. 8.

....., *since March [June?] 1, 1863.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, July 1, 1863. Octavo, pp. 6.

*Register of Commissioned Officers of the New Jersey Volunteers, in the service of the United States.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, N. J., July 1, 1863. Octavo, pp. 31.

*List of promotions, appointments, and casualties in the New Jersey Regiments, in the service of the United States, since July 1, 1863.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, August 1, 1863. Octavo, pp. 4.

....., *since August 1, 1863.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, September 1, 1863. Octavo, pp. 4.

....., *since September 1, 1863.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, October 1, 1863. Octavo, pp. 8.

....., *since October 1, 1863.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, November 1, 1863. Octavo, pp. 6.

....., *since November 1, 1863.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, December 1, 1863. Octavo, pp. 8.

....., *since December 1, 1863.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, January 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 4.

*Register of Commissioned Officers of the New Jersey Volunteers, in the service of the United States.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, January 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 38.

*List of promotions, appointments, and casualties in the New Jersey Regiments, in the service of the United States, since January 1, 1864.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, February 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 2.

....., *since February 1, 1864.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, March 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 4.

....., *since March 1, 1864.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, April 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 6.

....., *since April 1, 1864.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, May 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 4.

....., *since May 1, 1864.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, June 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 4.

....., *since June 1, 1864.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, July 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 4.

*Register of Commissioned Officers of the New Jersey Volunteers, in the service of the United States.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, N. J., July 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 38.

*List of promotions, appointments, and casualties in the New Jersey Regiments, in the service of the United States, since July 1, 1864.* Adjutant General's Office, August 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 6.

....., *since August 1, 1864.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, September 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 4.

....., *since September 1, 1864.* Adjutant General's Office, October 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 10.

....., *since October 1, 1864.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, November 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 9.

....., *since November 1, 1864.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, December 1, 1864. Octavo, pp. 7.

....., *since December 1, 1864.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, January 1, 1865. Octavo, pp. 8.

*Register of Commissioned Officers of the New Jersey Volunteers, in the service of the United States.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, N. J., January 1, 1865. Octavo, pp. 40.

*List of promotions, appointments, and casualties in the New Jersey Regiments, in the service of the United States, since January 1, 1865.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, February 1, 1865. Octavo, pp. 6.

....., *since February 1, 1865.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, March 1, 1865. Octavo, pp. 7.

....., *since March 1, 1865.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, April 1, 1865. Octavo, pp. 8.

....., *since April 1, 1865.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, May 1, 1865. Octavo, pp. 6.

....., *since May 1, 1865.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, June 1, 1865. Octavo, pp. 6.

....., *since June 1, 1865.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, July 1, 1865. Octavo, pp. 14.

*Register of Commissioned Officers of the New Jersey Volunteers, in the service of the United States.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, N. J., July 1, 1865. Octavo, pp. 36.

*List of promotions, appointments, and casualties in the New Jersey Regiments, in the service of the United States, since July 1, 1865.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, August 1, 1865. Octavo, pp. 6.

....., *since August 1, 1865.* Adjutant General's Office, Trenton, January 1, 1866. Octavo, pp. 6.

We are indebted to our friend, General William S. Stryker, Adjutant-general of the State, for the above complete collection of the official military history of New Jersey during the War; and we notice it, in its place, in order to preserve the order of our undertaking, and to record the various issues on this subject, rather than because of its fullness as "materials for history."

We are informed by General Stryker, and on his authority we repeat, here, in order that others may know how useless it is to look further, for what never existed, that there was no Annual Report for 1860; that, before the War, the Governor of the State, for a long time, was his own Adjutant-general, the details of the labor incident to the office being attended to by a clerk, in the office of the Secretary of State; and that, during the War, the Reports were made only during every second year—"that of '61, giving an account of the early stages of the War; that of '63, including also '62; that of '65 relating entirely to '64 and a few months of '65."

These Reports, as will be seen, are very limited in extent; and in the amount of information which they contain, they are mere skeletons, contrasting strangely with the ample records of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and New York. As the only official Records of the services of New Jersey, however, they cannot be safely overlooked by those who are studying the history of her services in the War.

3.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant-general, [of Pennsylvania] transmitted to the Governor in pursuance of law, for the year 1860.* *Sine loco, sine anno.* Octavo, pp. 38.

....., *for the year 1861.* *Sine loco, sine anno.* Octavo, pp. 23.

....., *for the year 1862.* *Sine loco, sine anno.* Octavo, pp. 38.

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....., *for the year 1863.* Harrisburg: Singlerly & Myers, State Printers. 1864. Octavo, pp. 675.

....., *for the year 1864.* Harrisburg: Singlerly & Myers, State Printers. 1865. Octavo, pp. 269.

....., *for the year 1865.* Harrisburg: Singlerly & Myers, State Printers. 1866. Octavo, pp. 319.

....., *for the year 1866.* Harrisburg: Singlerly & Myers, State Printers. 1867. Octavo, pp. 1221.

....., *for the year 1867.* Harrisburg: Singlerly & Myers, State Printers. 1868. Octavo, pp. 36.

....., *for the year 1868.* Harrisburg: B. Singlerly, State Printers. 1869. Octavo, pp. 42.

We are indebted to our earnest friend, Doctor W. H. Egle, of Harrisburgh, for what, above named, he describes as "a more complete set of 'the War Records of the State of Pennsylvania' than the State itself contains in any one Department of its Government, unless in her 'Executive Documents.'" What a contrast there is, however, when these meagre papers are placed beside the voluminous Reports of Maine, Massachusetts, or New York; and a comparison with those of Michigan, Iowa, or Indiana should bring a blush on the cheek of any Pennsylvanian.

The Reports for 1860, 1861, and 1862, are nothing more than skeletons, and practically useless; and that for 1863 is little better; but it has an Appendix, in which is published a Roster of all the Commissioned Officers of the Pennsylvania line, arranged by Regiments, which adds something to its usefulness. The Reports for 1864 and 1865 were quite as defective as those which preceded them; and the Roster of Officers which is published in the Appendix of each, was curtailed so far as to refer only to the Field and Staff-officers. In the Report for 1866, there are the same defects which distinguished the earlier productions of the Adjutant-general; but the Appendix contains a complete Roster of all the Officers, embracing, in Regimental order, the Field, the Staff, and the Line, throughout the line. The Reports for 1867 and 1868 are mere skeletons, containing nothing of general interest.

These Reports, as a record of the war-services of a great and patriotic State, are disgraceful to the officers by whom they were written; and the typography is in keeping with the shabbiness of the Reports.

4.—We have the authority of both the Secretary of the Delaware Historical Society and the officers of the State Government, for saying that Delaware has printed no documents concerning any portion of the War of Secession.

5.—*Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland. January Session, 1860.* Octavo, pp. 734, 30.

[*Documents of the Senate. January Session, 1860.* An-



napolis: 1860.] Octavo. pp. (A) 18, (B) xvi, 40, (C) 16, (D) 4, (E) 145, 20, (F) 6, (G) 4, (H) 6, (I) 6, (J) 77, (K) 8, (L) 360' (M) 11, (N) 58, (O) 4, (P) 4, 4, (Q) 7, (R) 43, (S) 6, (T) 7, (U) 6, (V) 3, (W) 27, 24, 31, 126, (X) 8, (Y) 79, (Z) 4, (AA) 7, (BB) 3, (CC) 4, (DD) 4, ( ) 8, ( ) 35, (Index) 8.

*Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates' January Session, 1860.* Annapolis: 1860. Octavo, pp. 1026.

[*Documents of the House of Delegates. January Session, 1860.* Annapolis: 1860.] Octavo. pp. (A) xvi, 40, (B) 18, xv, 40, (C) 145, 20, (D) 16, (E) 6, (F) 8, (G) 5, (H) 5, (I) 7, (J) 4, (K) 35, (L) 77, (M) 6, (N) 5, (O) 9, (P) 4, (Q) 4, (R) 6, (S) 80, (T) 7, (U) 360, 31, 126, (V) 13, (W) 5, (X) 37, (Y) 27, (Z) 189, (AA) 4, (BB) 5, 1, 48, (CC) 7, 5, (DD) 6, (EE) 7, (FF) 8, (GG) 4, (HH) 24, (II) 5, (JJ) 5, (KK) 4, (LL) 4, (MM) 4, (NN) 19, ( ) 12, ( ) 35, (Index) 28.

*Journal of Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland. In Extra Session, April, 1861.* Frederick: 1861. Octavo, pp. 365, (Secret Proceedings) 6, (Rules) 8.

*Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates. In Extra Session, [April 16, until September 20, 1861.]* Frederick: Octavo, pp. 1—384, 1, 385—468, (Appendix) 11, (Rules) 12.

[*Documents of the Senate and House of Delegates. Extra Session. April 26 until September 20, 1861.* Frederick: Octavo. pp. *House Documents*—(A) 24, (B) 4, (C) 4, (D) 8, 48, (E) 16, (F) 22, (G) 8, (H) 8, (I) 5, (J) 5, (K) 42, (L) 37, (M) 26. *Senate*—(A) 24, (B) 4, (C) 4, (D) 4, (E) 5, (F) 8, (G) 4, (H) 24, (I) 8, (J) 4, (K) 4, (L) 42, (M) 26.

*Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland, at a Special Session, December, 1861.* Annapolis: 1861. Octavo, pp. 1—60.

*Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland, of the State of Maryland. January Session, 1862.* Annapolis: 1862. Octavo, pp. 61—569.

*Executive Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland, January Session, 1862.* Annapolis: 1862. Octavo, pp. 28.

[*Documents of the Senate. Special Session, December, 1861, and January Session, 1862.* Annapolis: 1861] Octavo. pp. (A) 15, (B) 11, (C) 15, (D) x, 37, (E) 6, (F) 92, (G) 16, (Rules of the Senate and of the House, Special Session) 22, (Rules of the Senate, January Session, 1862, 10.)

*Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates, at a Special Session, December, 1861.* Annapolis: 1861. Octavo, pp. 1—117.

*Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates, of the State of Maryland. January Session, 1862.* Annapolis: 1862. Octavo, pp. 119—992.

[*Documents of the House of Delegates, Special Session, December, 1861, and January Session, 1862.* Annapolis: 1861—2.] Octavo. pp. (A) 15, (B) 11, xii, 39, (C) 12, (D) 5, (D\*) 4, (F-E?) 15, (F) x, 37, (G) 16, (H) 14, (I) 8, (Report of State Chemist,) 92, (Rules of the Senate) 1—9, (Rules of the House) 11—2.

*Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland. January Session, 1864.* By Authority. Annapolis: 1864. Octavo, pp. 564.

*Executive Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland. January Session, 1864.* Annapolis: 1864. Octavo, pp. 33.

[*Documents of the Senate of Maryland, January Session, 1864.* Annapolis: 1864.] Octavo. pp. (A) 38, (B) xxiii, 48; (C) 7, (D) 14.

*Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates. January Session, 1864.* By Authority. Annapolis: 1864. Octavo, pp. 1144.

[*Documents of the House of Delegates. January Session, 1864.* Annapolis: 1864.] Octavo. pp. (A) 33, 196, (B) xxiii, 43, (C) 31, (D) 32, (E) 6, (F) 8, (G) 34, (H) 23, (I) 14, (J) 103, (K) 6, (L) 6, (M) 5, (N) 7, (Rules) 15.

*Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland.*

*January Session, 1865.* By Authority. Annapolis: 1865. Octavo, pp. 1—393, (Executive Proceedings) 395—411, (Index) 413—468.

[*Documents of the Senate. January Session, 1865.* Annapolis: 1865.] Octavo. pp. (A) 32, 140, (B) 15, (C) 5, (D) xv, 48, (E) 31, (F) 4, (G) 7, (H) 8, (I) 7, (J) 8, (K) 10, (L) 12.

*Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates. January Session, 1865.* By Authority. Annapolis: 1865. Octavo, pp. 863.

[*Documents of the House of Delegates. January Session, 1865.* Annapolis: 1865.] Octavo. pp. (A) 32, 140, (B) 15, (C) 15, (D) 19, (E) xv, 43, (F) 3, (G) 6, (H) 4, (I) 24, (J) 35, (K) 4, (L) 16, (M) 19, (N) 4, (O) 3, (P) 128, (Q) 8, (R) 42, (S) 4, (T) 8, (U) 22, (V) 285, (W) 8, (X) 8, (Y) 12, (Z) 4, (AA) 7, (BB) 3, (CC) 6, (DD) 14, (EE) 50.

*Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland. Extra Session, 1866.* By Authority. Annapolis: 1866. Octavo, pp. 333.

*Executive Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland. In Extra Session, January, 1866.* Annapolis: 1866. Octavo, pp. 23.

[*Documents of the Senate of Maryland, Extra Session, January, 1866.* Annapolis: 1866.] Octavo. pp. (Rules) 9, (A) 26, (B) xii, 54, (C) 4, (D) 87, (E) 10, (F) 4, (G) 6.

*Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates. Extra Session. 1866.* By Authority. Annapolis: 1866. Octavo, pp. 552.

[*Documents of the House of Delegates of Maryland. Extra Session, 1866.* Annapolis: 1866.] Octavo. pp. (Rules) 16, (A) 25, (B) xii, 54, (C) 16, (D) 123, 251, 35, (E) 87, (F) 30, (G) 10, (H) 14, (I) 14, (K) 40, (L) 124, (M) 7, (N) 6, (O) 3.

*Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of Maryland. January Session, 1867.* By Authority. Annapolis: 1867. Octavo, pp. 1—815, (Executive Proceedings) 817—853, (Index) 855—1066.

[*Documents of the Senate of Maryland, January Session, 1867.* Annapolis: 1867.] Octavo. pp. (A) 40, (B) 43, (C) xii, 66, (D) 117, (E) (F) (G) 7, (H) (I) 33, (J) 7, (K) 4, (L) 6, (M) 7, (N) (O) 54, (P) 32, (Q) 15, (R) 5, (S) 12, (T) 4, (U) 109, iii, (V) 18, (W) 31, (X) 26, (Y) 8, (Index to Public Documents, 1861 to 1867, inclusive) 30.

*Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Delegates. January Session, 1867.* By Authority. Annapolis: 1867. Octavo, pp. 1248.

[*Documents of the House of Delegates, January Session, 1867.* Annapolis: 1867.] Octavo. pp. (A) 40, (B) 43, (D) 16, (E) xii, 66, (F) 8, (G) 7, (H) 4, (I) 7, (J) 7, (K) 264, lxx, (L) 18, (M) 32, (N) 51, (O) 12, (P) 6, (Q) 22, (R) 54, (S) 6, (T) 15, (U) 4, (V) 5, (W) 12, (X) 4, (Y) 7, (Z) 21, (AA) 12, (BB) (CC) 4, (DD) 109, iii, (EE) 5, (FF) (GG) (HH) 8, (II) 4, (KK) 14, (LL) 8, (MM) 26, (Index to Public Documents, 1861 to 1867, inclusive) 30.

*Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Maryland, for the year 1867.* Annapolis: Wm. Thompson of R., Printer. 1868. Octavo, pp. 39.

In this series of volumes, we have, we believe, a complete collection of the records of Maryland, from the beginning of 1860 until the close of 1866—embracing the entire series of Reports made to the Legislature, by the various Executive officers of the State, during that eventful period, which included the entire period of the War.

We need not say to our readers that we consider this series of volumes as exceedingly important, as authentic materials for history, both that of Maryland and that of what we are told was the constitutional Government of the Repub-

lic. It exhibits, with the utmost minuteness, the action of the authorities of Maryland, in their most trying position as the Government of a border State, during the recent insurrection; and it exhibits, too, the most glaring outrages, on both individual and State rights, which were committed, over and over again, in the most insolent and law-defying manner, by underlings, wearing shoulder-straps, in the name of the United States. Indeed, the outrages which were committed in Maryland, during the period referred to, by the Federal troops and those who immediately commanded them—inspired, we have no doubt, by those, higher in authority, who are not noticed on the official records—were such that those who were subjected to them would, at any other time, have been justified, by every candid man, before God and all honest men, in rising for their own defence and that of their heritage, as members of an independent Republic; and their forbearance is made peculiarly manifest in the quiet which was maintained, even in the face of the most studied insults and the most outrageous usurpations, by the entire population of Maryland.

It will become our duty, in the presentation of the Constitutional History of Maryland and of the part which that State took in the recent War, to present the facts to which we have referred, in detail, to the notice of our readers: in the meanwhile, we must forbear.

As we have said, we believe we have, in this series of volumes, a complete collection of the records of Maryland, from 1859 until 1867; and we have reason to believe, also, that few others, even in Maryland, have been as fortunate as ourself, in securing so thoroughly perfect a set.

The Adjutant-general's Report for 1867, particularly noticed at our head, is the only one of the Reports of that officer which we have found put up in an independent form, apart from the volumes of legislative and executive documents,

With the exception of one Report, which we have not yet found and the existence of which was unknown to the State Librarian until we submitted the evidence of it, the above is a complete collection of the war-documents of West Virginia.

The Report for 1864 is brief, but there are five Appendices which extend the volume considerably. Of these, "Appendix A" is a Roster of the Field, Staff, and Company Officers of each of the Regiments of the West Virginian line; "Appendix B" is a complete Record of each man, officer and private, in the same line, arranged by Companies and Regiments, together with "Memoranda" of the history and services of each of the Regiments, to the date of the Reports; "Appendix C" is a list of Independent Companies of Scouts in the State Service, organized in the different Counties for the protection of such Counties against Guerillas; "Appendix D" is a statement of the enrollment of the State, under the Act of Congress; and "Appendix E" is a statement of the account of the State with the United States. The Report for 1865, is also brief; but, like that for 1864, it is greatly enlarged by the Appendices which are added—A is a Roster of the officers, corrected to date; B is a list of all recruits, substitutes, and drafted men mustered into the service, since the last Report, together with a list of deaths, special discharges, and desertions from the various Regiments; C is a statement of the organization and discharge of the several Companies of Scouts, referred to before; D shows the enrollment, by Counties, as revised and corrected; and E shows the amount levied and paid by the several Counties, as bounties and relief for families. An "Addenda," with Returns of several Companies which reported too late, close the volume. The Reports for 1866, 1867, and 1868 are very brief, containing nothing of general interest, beyond the limits of the State.

The typography of these volumes is excellent; and, in every respect, they are highly creditable to the young State whose services and sacrifices are therein recorded.

6.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of West Virginia, for the year ending December 31, 1864.* Wheeling: John F. McDermott, Public Printer. 1865. Octavo, pp. 730.

....., for the year ending December 31, 1865. Wheeling: John Frew, Public Printer. 1866. Octavo, pp. 444.

*Annual Reports of the Adjutant General and Quarter-master General of the State of West Virginia.* [for the year ending December 31, 1866.] Wheeling: John Frew, Public Printer. 1867. Octavo, pp. 24.

*Annual Report of the Adjutant General and ex-officio Quarter-master General of the State of West Virginia.* [for the year ending September 30, 1867.] Wheeling: John Frew, Public Printer. 1868. Octavo, pp. 14.

....., [for the year ending September 30, 1868.] Octavo, pp. 16.

7.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant-General, to the Governor of the State of Ohio, for the year 1861.* *Sine loco, sine anno.* [Columbus: Richard Nevins, State Printer, 1862.] Octavo. pp. 198.

....., for the year ending Dec. 31, 1869. Columbus: Richard Nevins, State Printer. 1863. Octavo, pp. 140.

*Annual Report of the Adjutant and Inspector-general, to the Governor of the State of Ohio, for the year ending December 31, 1863.* Published by authority. Columbus: Richard Nevins, State Printer. 1864. Octavo, pp. 208.

*Annual Report of the Adjutant General, to the Governor of the State of Ohio, for the year ending December 31, 1864.*



Published by Authority. Columbus: Richard Nevins, State Printer. 1865. Octavo, pp. 283.

....., *for the year ending November 15, 1865.* Columbus: Richard Nevins, State Printer. 1866. Octavo, pp. 196.

....., *for the year ending November 15, 1866.* Columbus: L. D. Myers & Bro., State Printers. 1867. Octavo, pp. 67.

....., *for the year 1867.* Columbus: L. D. Myers & Bro., State Printers. 1868. Octavo, pp. 153.

....., *for the year 1868.* Columbus: Columbus Printing Company, State Printers. 1869. Octavo, pp. 36.

We are indebted to the kindness of His Excellency R. B. Hayes, the Governor of the State, for this exceedingly important series of the Adjutant-general's Reports of Ohio.

The Report for 1861 commences with a minute account of the formation of "the Ohio "Army," and of its services during that year; and it closes with a complete Roster of the Officers of the several Regiments comprising that "Army." The Report for 1862 continues the record of the preceding year. The Report for 1863 continues the record, but evidently with less spirit, occasioned by the extraordinary action of the Legislature, in sending to the table a proposition to collect material and provide for the printing of a Register of the Ohio troops. It was, however, a very valuable Report, inasmuch as it noticed, more or less fully, nearly every conceivable branch of the service. The Report for 1864 is somewhat more complete; but it, nevertheless, confines itself to the affairs of the year. The Report for 1865 closes the brief record of the War. The Report for 1866 contains a very excellent synopsis of the forces sent to the field from Ohio and their cost; together with a list of sufferers in "the Morgan Raid." The Report for 1867 contains the record of the ordinary business of the office, together with additional matter concerning "The Morgan Raid," and a list of interments, in Ohio, of the dead of both the Union and the Confederate Armies. The Report for 1868 relates to nothing more than the current business of the office.

The entire series displays a most unaccountable niggardness on the part of the Legislature, in failing to keep up even the written records of the soldiers' services, much more the printing of those records. Even the Muster-rolls which are in the Adjutant-general's office, are not transcribed in the Records at Columbus; while those which are in the hands of the Federal authorities have not been copied nor the means provided for copying them. As a necessary consequence the archives of Ohio are imperfect; and her published records are still more incomplete. Such negligence is disgraceful to a State

like Ohio; and it is to be hoped that she will speedily remedy the defect.

The typography of these Reports is not at all respectable.

8.—*Message and Reports to the General Assembly and Governor of the State of Ohio: for the year 1861.* In two Parts, Columbus: Richard Nevins, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, [Part I.] 136, [Part II.] 582.

....., *for the year 1862.* In two Parts, Columbus: Richard Nevins, State Printer. 1863. Octavo, pp. [Part I.] 692, [Part II.] 667.

....., *for the year 1863.* In two Parts, Columbus: Richard Nevins, State Printer. 1864. Octavo, pp. [Part I.] 856, [Part II.] 528.

*Message and Annual Reports for 1864; made to the Fifty-sixth General Assembly of Ohio, at its Second Session, begun and held in the City of Columbus, January 3, 1865.* In two Parts. Columbus: Richard Nevins, State Printer. 1865. Octavo, pp. [Part I.] 1:65, [Part II.] 1064.

*Message and Annual Reports for 1865, made to the Fifty-seventh General Assembly of Ohio, at the regular Session, begun and held in the City of Columbus, January 1, 1866.* In two Parts. Columbus: Richard Nevins, State Printer. 1866. Octavo, [Part I.] 917, [Part II.] 975.

We are fortunate in having secured, for our own use, in our projected work, this complete collection of Ohio's Executive Documents, during the period of the War; but the record is not such an one as Ohio may reasonably be proud of.

These volumes contain, besides the Annual Reports from the various Public Institutions of the State and those of the Comptroller, Commissioner of Common Schools, Treasurer, &c., the Annual Reports of the Commissary-general, the Quarter-master-general, and the Adjutant-general—all essential in a collection of historical material, relative to the recent War—and that of the Commissioner of Statistics.

Besides these, the volumes for 1862 contain four distinct collateral Reports on Military Affairs, and those for 1864, an elaborate Report on "the Morgan Raid" into Ohio, all of which possess very considerable importance to those who are studying the history of the War.

The typography of these volumes is only passable.

9.—*Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana.* To the Governor. Indianapolis: Joseph J. Bingham, State Printer. 1863. Octavo, pp. 343.

*Doc. No. 12. Part II. Report of Laz. Noble, Adjutant General of Indiana, embracing a period from January 1, 1863, to November 12, 1864.* To the Governor. Indianapolis: W. R. Holloway, State Printer. 1865, Octavo, pp. 473—505.

*Communication from W. H. H. Terrell, Adjutant General, to the General Assembly of Indiana, Extra Session, November, 1865.* Submitted with the Governor's Message as an accompanying Document Indianapolis: W. R. Holloway, State Printer. 1865. Octavo, pp. 18.

*Biennial Report of the W. H. H. Terrell, Adjutant General of Indiana—1867-68.* Submitted with the Governor's Message as an accompanying Document. Indianapolis:

lis: Alexander H. Conner, State Printer. 1863. Octavo pp. 35.

*Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Indiana.* In eight volumes. Indianapolis: W. B. Holloway, State Printer. 1865—1869. Octavo, pp. (I) xx, 466, 372; (II) xx, 691; (III) xxiv, 687; (IV) iv, 680; (V) iv, 698; (VI) iv, 699; (VII) iv, 781; (VIII) viii, 831.

*Indiana in the War of the Rebellion.* Official Report of W. H. H. Terrell, Adjutant General. Indianapolis: Douglass & Conner. 1869. Octavo, pp. xx, 466. [Statistics and Documents.] 372.

*Operations of the Indiana Legion and Minute Men, 1863-4.* Documents Presented to the General Assembly, with the Governor's Message, January 6, 1865. Indianapolis: W. R. Holloway, State Printer. 1865. Octavo, pp. 104.

*Report of Indiana Military Agencies.* To the Governor. Indianapolis: W. R. Holloway, State Printer. 1865. Octavo, pp. 76.

This series embraces a nearly complete collection of Indiana's war record.

The *Report of the Adjutant-general*, first named above, "embraces the period from April 15, '1861, up to the present date"—January 8, 1863—and includes a narrative of the proceedings of that State, in the organization of the one hundred and two thousand, seven hundred, and ninety-eight men whom she had enlisted during those twenty eventful months; rosters of the several Regiments which she had sent to the field; tables exhibiting the organization, strength, commanding-officer, etc., of her several Regiments; documents relating to the Draft; a description of the organization of the active Militia of the State, under the title of "The Indiana Legion;" and various other papers of merely local interest. The *second* volume named on the list covers the period between the date of the last Report and "November 12, 1864"; but it is very meagre and of little importance beyond the necessity which exists for it, in order to complete the series and to exhibit how little there is in it—the Reports on the "the Morgan raid" and other kindred subjects having been presented in separate papers. The *third* of the volumes named at the head, embraces a mere glance at the doings of the Adjutant-general, from the date of the last Report, until November 13, 1865, being merely suggestive and containing little that is important. The *next* Report of the Adjutant-general was dated on the twenty-sixth of January, 1867, but we have not yet found a copy of it; and we proceed to the *fourth* of the series named at the head, which covers the biennial period embraced in the years 1867 and 1868; and relates to the merely routine affairs of the office. The *fifth* of the series, however, surpasses, in extent and historical importance, any other work of this class which we have ever seen, no matter where published. Opening with a Report showing what Indiana did, in carrying on the War, sustained by elaborate Appendices, it

next supplies Rosters of the Governor's Staff; of the officers from Indiana, in the Regular, Volunteer, or Reserve service of the United States; and of those of the several Indiana Regiments, from the Sixth to the One hundred and fifty-sixth, the Twenty-eighth Regiment of Colored Troops, the First to the Twenty-sixth Batteries of Indiana Light Artillery, the Indiana Legion, and the Navy, in each case accompanied by historical sketches of the services, campaigns, and battles of the Regiment or Battery itself, and followed, at their close, with an elaborate index containing over eighteen thousand names of officers. Next to these are given the Rosters of the enlisted-men, with the rank, residence, date of muster, date of discharge or death, etc., of each individual member of the one hundred and seventy-eight Regiments and Batteries of Indiana Troops; and one portly volume is filled with supplementary corrections of former entries; a list of twenty-four thousand, four hundred and sixteen officers and enlisted men, who had lost their lives in the service; and one of ten thousand, eight hundred and forty-six *Deserters*, who are thus posted in infamy. This magnificent record fills eight large octavos; and, as we said, it surpasses, in extent and completeness, everything of the kind which we have hitherto seen.

The *sixth* work named, *Indiana in the War of the Rebellion*, is the first volume of the preceding series—the general history of the State's relation to the War—with a different title-page, making it a complete history in itself, without the seven supplementary volumes.

The volume concerning *The Operations of the Indiana Legion* relates, principally, to the Morgan raid; and the *Report on the State Agencies* relates to the measures which were adopted by the State, for the relief of such of her troops as needed her assistance.

This brief recapitulation of the contents and character of the Reports of Indiana's Adjutant-general will convey to our readers some idea of their character and of their great importance to every student of the history of the recent War. The men of Indiana took part in so many actions and they behaved so honorably, that it is absolutely necessary, in numerous instances, to consult these Reports, in order either to correctly and fully describe a Battle or to narrate, with minuteness and accuracy, in all their extent, important movements. They are honorable to the State, therefore, not only because of the important subjects to which they relate, but because Indiana has had the good sense to relate them, so fully and so authoritatively.

10.—It has not been our good fortune to obtain any of the documents published by Illinois,



although we have not failed to employ all known means to secure them.

11.—*State of Michigan. No. 12. Legislature, 1861. Annual Report of the Adjutant, Quarter Master, and Inspector General, [“embracing the years 1859 and 1860.”] Sine loco, sine anno. [1861.?] Octavo, pp. 39.*

*Annual Report of the Quarter Master General of the State of Michigan, for the year 1861. By Authority. Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State. 1861. Octavo, pp. 16.*

....., *for the year 1862. By Authority. Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State. 1862. Octavo, pp. 24.*

....., *for the year 1863. By Authority. Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State. 1864. Octavo, pp. 19.*

....., *for the year 1864. By Authority. Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State. 1864. Octavo, pp. 38.*

....., *for the year 1865. By Authority. Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State. 1865. Octavo, pp. 15.*

....., *for the year 1866. By Authority. Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State. 1866. Octavo, pp. 16.*

....., *for the year 1868. By Authority. Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State. 1868. Octavo, pp. 20.*

*Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Michigan, for the year 1861. By Authority. Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State. 1861. Octavo, pp. 47 and a folding sheet.*

....., *for the year 1862: together with a Supplementary Report, containing the Casualties in Battle, Deaths by Disease, Discharged from Service, and Cause of such Discharge, of the Private Soldiers in the Military Service of the United States, from this State, from the beginning of the War to the 31st day of December, 1862. By Authority. Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State. 1863. Octavo, pp. 96 and one folded sheet; [Supplement.] 309.*

....., *for the year 1863. By Authority. Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State. 1864. Octavo, pp. 503.*

....., *for the year 1864. By Authority. Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State. 1865. Octavo, pp. 233, [Appendix.] 947.*

....., *for the years 1865-6. In three volumes. By Authority. Lansing, Mich.: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State. 1866. Octavo, pp. [I.] 253, [Appendix.] 371; [II.] 895; [III.] 927.*

....., *for the years 1867-8. By Authority. Lansing: John A. Kerr & Co., Printers to the State. 1868. Octavo, pp. 18.*

We are indebted to General Robertson, the Adjutant-general of the State, for the foregoing very complete series of the war-record of Michigan—a record of which Michigan may very justly be proud; both because of its substance and of the admirable manner in which it has been presented to the world.

The *Quarter-master-general's Reports* are brief; but they seem to occupy the entire ground—that “for the year 1868,” containing the Re-

port of transactions of the Department for both 1867 and 1868.

The *Adjutant-general's Reports* for 1860 and 1861 are brief; yet the latter contains a sketch of the organization of the older Regiments of the line, and a Roster of their officers. The Report for 1862 continues the general narrative of the labors of the Department; and, in addition, commences a series of historical sketches of the several Regiments from that State, in which are displayed their services, losses, lists of their Commissioned Officers, their condition at the dates of their last Returns, the changes in their Officers during the year, etc. A Supplement is appended to this Report in which are noticed all the casualties of every kind, among the troops from that State—a terrible record of the stubborn defence of their country by the men of Michigan. The Reports for 1863, 1864, and 1865-6, continue the grim Record, in steadily increasing completeness—more complete indeed than any other similar annual Record which we have seen, save that of Maine. The Report for 1867-8 is only a general record of the ordinary operations of the Department.

As we have said, this series of Reports is honorable to Michigan, both because of the character of its material and of the mode of presenting it. There is really very little to be desired by a student that is not there, unless we shall regret that, unlike those of Vermont, the original Reports from commanding officers in the field to the State Government of Michigan, have not found places in her official Record.

Although not well printed, the great superiority of these Reports over nearly all others causes us to excuse their want of typographical beauty.

12.—*Annual Message of the Governor of Wisconsin, delivered to the two Houses of the Legislature, in Joint Convention, at the Assembly Chamber, in Madison, January 10th, 1861. S. l., s. a. Octavo, pp. 26. (Document B) 172, (Document C) 40, (Document D) 62, (Document E) 85, (Document F) 224, (Document G) 72, (Document H) 23, (Document I) 20, (Document J) 61, (Document K\*) 47, (Document L) 35, (Document N) 40, (Document O) 29, (Document O) 52 (Document S) 4.*

*Annual Message of the Governor of Wisconsin, and Reports of the State Departments, for the fiscal year ending Sept. 30th, 1861. Madison, Wis.: Smith & Cullaton, State Printers. 1861. Octavo, pp. 35, 304, 48, 58, 120, 196, 43, 16, 21, 38, 57,† 52, 27, 18.*

*Governor's Message and Accompanying Documents, of the State of Wisconsin for the year A. D., 1863.† By authority Madison, Wis.: J. D. Carpenter, State Printer. 1863. Octavo, pp. xxviii, 1788, 9.*

*Message of the Governor of Wisconsin. Together with the Annual Reports of the Officers of the State, for the*

\* *Report of the Adjutant-general, for 1860.*

† *Annual Report of the Adjutant-general of the State of Wisconsin, for the year 1861.*

‡ *The Adjutant-general's Report for the year ending December 31, 1862, occupies pp. 1581-1789 of this Volume.*

year, A. D., 1863.\* Published by authority of the Legislature. Madison, Wis.: William J. Park, State Printer. 1864. Octavo, pp. xiii, 1230.

....., for the year A. D. 1864. Published by authority of the Legislature. Madison, Wis.: Atwood & Rublee, State Printers. 1865. Octavo, pp. xx, 991.†

....., for the year A. D. 1865. Published by authority of the Legislature. [In two volumes.] Madison, Wis.: William J. Park, State Printer. 1866. Octavo, [I.] pp. xxix, 1—682; [II.] 683—1726.‡

*Governor's Message and accompanying Documents of the State of Wisconsin, for the year A. D. 1867.* By Authority. Madison, Wis.: Atwood & Rublee, State Printers. 1867. Octavo, pp. xxiv, 790.§

*Annual Message of the Governor of Wisconsin delivered to the Legislature, in Joint Convention, Thursday, January 9, 1868, together with the Annual Reports of the State Officers, for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1867.* Madison, Wis.: Atwood & Rublee, State Printers. 1868. Octavo, pp. xvi, 1030.¶

We do not know that we ever handled a series of documents which displayed less taste or good judgment in their appearance and arrangement than these. The State of Wisconsin is too important a member of the sisterhood to be thus handed down to the future; and we have no doubt her tax-payers pay enough to have their work done more creditably. But we take them as we find them; and here they are—an inside picture of Wisconsin, from the beginning of 1860 until the beginning of 1868, as that picture has been drawn in her Governors' Messages and in the Reports of her Secretary of State, her State Treasurer, her School and University Land Commissioners, her Bank Comptroller, her Superintendent of Public Instruction, her Regents of the University, her State Prison Commissioner, her Trustees of the Blind Institute, her Trustees of the Institute for Deaf and Dumb, her Adjutant-general, her Trustees of the State Hospital for the Insane, her Managers of the State Reform School, her Regents of Normal Schools, her Geological Surveyor, her Commissioners for locating State Reform School for Juveniles, her Quarter-master-general, her Surgeon-general, etc.

All these are important to every one who desires to examine Wisconsin State history, in all its intricate minutiae, since 1859: to us, at this moment, her Adjutant-general's Reports are most important, illustrating, as they necessarily do, very much that others did in the service, who were not in the Wisconsin line.

\* It will be seen that this bears the same title, in substance and date, as the preceding one.

† "DOCUMENT N.," pp. 877—1213, is the *Annual Report of the Adjutant-general*, from January 1, to October 1, 1863.

‡ Pages 443—558 are devoted to the Adjutant-general's Report for 1864.

§ Pages 683—1699—more than one-half of this volume—are filled with the Adjutant-general's Report for 1865.

¶ Pages 783—789 only are occupied by the Adjutant-general's Report.

‡ Pages 435—579 are occupied with the Adjutant-general's Report.

The first of the volumes named at the head, contains the Adjutant-general's Report for 1860—a production which is interesting to the student of the times only because it shows the condition of the State when she was pushed into the recent War. The second contains the Report for 1861, occupying just five pages, exclusive of the Schedules, in one of which are sketches, very brief in extent, but yet very important, of the various Regiments of Volunteers in the field. In the first of the two volumes of Documents "for the year 1863," is found the Report for 1862, in which the brief history of each Regiment, commenced in 1861, is continued; and to these are added the General Orders issued during the year, Rosters of the several State uniformed Companies and of the various Regiments of Volunteers in the field, Statistics of the latter Regiments, the dates of their departure from the State and how they were armed, Statistics of the Draft, etc. The second series of Reports "for A. D., 1863," referred to at the head, is generally what it purports to be—for 1863; but the Adjutant-general's Report contains no more of the year's record than was included in that of the first nine months of the twelve—until the first of October. The Regimental sketches are made very much more complete in this than in the preceding Reports; the General Orders of the year are continued, *in extenso*; and the Roster of the State Militia, the Statistics of the Militia enrollment and those of the Draft, the Roster of the Volunteers in the Field, and the Statistics of the latter, are also continued from the preceding volumes. The Report for 1864, continues the historical sketches of Regiments in the field, the General Orders, and the various tables and Rosters hitherto referred to; and the Report for 1865 completes the record of the War, not merely with a continuation of the Regimental sketches, previously alluded to, but with the addition of a record of the dead of each Regiment, in all its gloomy minutiae, a list of Federal Commissions bestowed on Wisconsin Officers, a brief review of the general history of the War, as far as it concerned Wisconsin, an alphabetical list of officers, with references to the pages of the particular Reports where their several individual records may be found, and the usual Rosters, General Orders, etc. The Reports for 1866 and 1867 are mere skeletons—the Roll of the Wisconsin dead who are buried in the various Cemeteries, which is appended to the last-named, being the only article of general interest which we see in them.

In all these Reports by the Adjutant-general, from that for 1860 to that for 1865, the records of the services in the field of the men of Wisconsin are very complete; and the general list of officers, alphabetically arranged, is highly



important because it is so widely useful and thoroughly labor-saving.

Typographically, as we have said, these volumes reflect no credit on the good taste and skill, as workmen, of the mechanics of Wisconsin. They are, in fact, disgraceful to both, in these our days.

13.—*Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Wisconsin, with Reports from the Quarter-master General and Surgeon General, for the year ending December 30th, 1865.* Madison, Wis.: William J. Park & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. 1053.

....., Madison, Wis.: William J. Park & Co., 1866. Octavo, pp. 1268.

We have already alluded to this Report while noticing the Governor's Message and the State Reports for 1865; and we return to the subject, in order to notice the two dissimilar versions of the same document, both with exactly the same title-page, which, in independent forms, are now before us.

It is due to writers and students of Wisconsin's history in the War, that they should be informed that there are *two kinds* of Reports from her Adjutant-general's office; and that, as in the case of Bancroft's uncertain *History*, it will be necessary, in order to avoid mistakes, to quote the Edition which has been employed.

The first of these is the official Report, as originally presented and printed: the last is known, informally, as "The Consolidated Report;" and was subsequently prepared, under a special Resolution of the Legislature (*Joint Resolution, No. 6, A.*) It contains, beside the contents of the regular Report for the year, "a reprint of so much of the Adjutant-general's Reports for the years 1863 and 1864, as pertained to the regimental history, for the purpose of giving a connected narrative of each organization, during the entire term of service;" and, if the regimental Histories which were embraced in the Reports for 1861 and 1862 had been included, it would have truly presented a compact and useful record of *all* the Wisconsin forces, instead of a part, and for their "entire terms of service," instead of a portion, only.

We do not object to these books, nor to their contents, as a whole: we only regret that the stupidity of some underling should have imposed on two dissimilar volumes exactly the same title-page, and have thus exposed the plodding galley-slave who shall hereafter undertake to write Wisconsin's history, honestly, to the mortification of being charged by some upstart with having cited from a volume and page which tell an entirely different story. All this could have been avoided by telling the entire story on the title-page of "The Consolidated Report," without injury to any one.

14.—*Report of the Adjutant General and Acting Quartermaster General of Iowa, made in accordance with the Laws of the State, to Hon. Samuel J. Kirkwood, Governor of Iowa, by Nathaniel B. Baker, Adjutant General and Acting Quartermaster General.* January 1, 1863. In two volumes. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer, 1863. Octavo, pp. (I.) 1080, (II.) 910.

*Report of the Adjutant General and Acting Quartermaster General of the State of Iowa.* January 1, 1863, to January 11, 1864. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer, 1864. Octavo, pp. 799.

....., January 11, 1864, to January 1, 1865. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1865. Octavo, pp. xx, 1502.

....., January 1, 1865, to January 1, 1866. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer, 1866. Octavo, pp. 536.

*Report of Brig. Gen. Nathaniel B. Baker, Adjutant General and Act'g Q. M. G. and Act'g As. P. M. G. to Hon. William M. Stone, Governor of the State of Iowa, in accordance with Chap. 82, (Laws of the Eleventh General Assembly) approved March 30th, 1866.* January 1, 1867. In two volumes. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer, 1867. Octavo, pp. (I.) xix, 795, (II.) 695.

*Report of Nathaniel B. Baker, Adjutant-General of Iowa, to Hon. William M. Stone, Governor of Iowa.* January 1, 1867, to January 14, 1868. Des Moines: F. W. Palmer, State Printer. 1868. Octavo, pp. 114.

We have not yet been fortunate enough to find copies of the Reports of Iowa's Adjutant general for the year 1860 and 1861; and our collection, referred to at the head of this notice, begins with the Report for 1862.

That Report was a special one, prepared under a special Resolution of the Legislature; and it evidently embraces a summary of those which preceded it, as far as the War was concerned. A statement of the enlistments in each of the forty-one Regiments of Infantry, six of Cavalry, and minor organizations, Company by Company, opens the narrative; and this is followed by one relative to the movement of troops from the State to the field, during the year 1862, and by references to the schedules attached to the Report. The Quartermaster-general's Report follows, with a statement of the arms which had been received from the United States and how they were disposed of; one of the arms in possession of the State; one of clothing on hand; and one of the monies received and paid out. The *Paymaster's* Report describes the very important operations of that very important officer, during the year. The *Appendix* to this Report is a pattern of order and intelligence; and it reflects honor on the good sense of the officer who directed its preparation and on the ability of those whom he employed to do the work. Had the same good sense prevailed in all other States, the blessings of every student of American history, the wide world over, would have followed the official annualists of the War, throughout all time. But it did not. The Roster of the Governor and his staff opens the series, in which the age, residence, birth-place, rank, date of commission, and remarks are included. Rosters of each Regiment

follow, in order, in which are the name of *every man*, officer and private, with his age, residence, nativity, rank, date of going into quarters, date of muster into the Federal service, and yearly record; and similar Rosters follow, of the "Northern Border Brigade," and the "Southern Border Brigade." Appendix D. embraces the President's Proclamations and those of the Governor, Orders of the Secretary of War, etc.; Appendix E. has extracts from General Orders of the War Department; Appendix F. has similar extracts from the General Orders of the State authorities; Appendix G. the Orders relative to promotions; Appendix H. has Reports of some of the Battles, Skirmishes, etc. in which Iowa troops were engaged; Appendix I. Reports of movements for the protection of the frontiers from the depredations of the Indians; Appendix K. Reports of movements on the Southern border; and Appendix L. a statement of expenditures on account of the troops, by the State. A good Index closes the work.

The Report for 1863 continues the record which was commenced in the preceding yearly Report, with very little variation of order; Appendices A—E consisting of Rosters, as complete as those before noticed, of the Governor and his Staff; of the field and line officers on duty, January 1, 1864; of Regiments raised in 1863, of recruits sent to the older Regiments of the Iowa line, and of other enlistments during the year; Appendix F. embraces Reports of Battles and Histories of Regiments; Appendices G. and H. relate to the operations on the borders of the State; Appendix I. relates to disturbances in Keokuk-county; Appendix K. includes Proclamations and General Orders, both Federal and State; Appendix L. a list of Aliens claiming exemption from drafts; Appendix M. relates to the Draft; and Appendix N. contains the Report of Doctor Maxwell, who had made an official visit to the Iowa Regiments, in Mississippi and Louisiana.

The Report for 1864 is exceedingly minute, following the same general plan, which had been employed in previous Reports—the Reports of Battles and Histories of Regiments being exceedingly complete and valuable;—and that for 1865, although less bulky, is similarly arranged, and very little, if any, less important, as material for history.

The elaborate Report for 1866 contains extended lists of casualties to the Iowa troops, man by man, throughout the War, together with extended Reports of Battles and regimental Histories, and a continuation of the Reports, which had preceded it, of Proclamations, General Orders, etc.

The Report for 1867 is brief, and contains little of general interest.

As a whole, Iowa has reason to be proud, both

of the services which she has rendered to the Union and of the manner in which those services have been recorded. In every respect, both in the material and in its arrangement, these Reports are entitled to a prominent place in the first rank of such papers; and General Baker has earned for himself, in their preparation, a well-deserved honor, which historical writers will always gladly recognize.

15—*Annual Report of the Adjutant General, to the Legislature of Minnesota. Session of 1862.* Printed by Authority. Saint Paul: William R. Marshall, State Printer. 1862. Octavo, pp. 300.

*Annual Report of the Adjutant General to the Governor of Minnesota, 1863.* Printed by Authority. Saint Paul: Wm. R. Marshall, State Printer. 1863. Octavo, pp. 392.

*Annual Report of the Adjutant General to the Legislature of Minnesota. Session of 1864.* Printed by Authority. Saint Paul: Frederick Driscoll, State Printer. 1863. Octavo, pp. 211.

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*Annual Report of the Adjutant General of the State of Minnesota, for the year ending December 1, 1866, and of the Military Forces of the State from 1861 to 1866.* St. Paul: Pioneer Printing Co. 1866. Octavo, pp. 805.

*Annual Report of the Adjutant General, to the Legislature of Minnesota. Session of 1868.* Printed by Authority. St. Paul: Press Printing Company. 1868. Octavo, pp. 8.

..... *Session of 1869.* Printed by Authority. Saint Paul: Press Printing Company. 1869. Octavo, pp. 20 and a folded sheet.

We have not yet found the Report of the Adjutant-general of Minnesota, for 1860; and our collection and notice of the series necessarily begin with that for 1861.

The Report for 1861—presented to the Legislature in 1862, and the first-named at the head of this notice—embraces the operations of that young State, from the twenty-fourth of April, 1861, until the fifth of December of the same year.

While preparing this Report, the Adjutant-general appeared to have been seriously afflicted with a great desire to display his abilities, as he understood them, as a constitutional lawyer; and it seems, also, to have been of the first importance, in his opinion, to promulgate, in this document, his conclusions of the powers and duties of the Congress of the United States over the Militia of the individual States; while he appears to have forgotten that graver subjects then demanded his attention and should have secured the earliest services of his head and his pen. What was "granted" to the Congress and what was not, mattered little while a large portion of the Union was then in insurrection and needed every energy of every man, especially of every public officer, to oppose the disaffection; and whether or not the local organization of the Militia was as important, relatively, as he seemed to suppose, it required we submit, very little time



and attention for the determination of its status, much less, indeed, than were here devoted to it.

As a kind of Supplement to Schedule E. appended to his Report,—which Schedule is devoted to a Report of the issue of arms to the troops—and in no other portion of the document, as far as we have seen it, the Adjutant-general was pleased to thrust in all he had to say about the organization of the State troops for service in the field; and we seriously doubt if this was not an afterthought which burst in, uninvited, after he had printed *Schedules A-D*, in which he had exhausted his pet subjects. *Schedule F.* shows the list of casualties which the First Minnesota Regiment sustained at Bull-run, Company by Company. *Schedule G.* embraces Rosters of the Officers of the First Regiment,—the privates were not included because of known errors in the rolls on file—of the Companies of Sharpshooters and Artillery, the first three Companies of the First Regiment of Light Cavalry, the Second, Third, and Fourth Regiments of Volunteers, and two or three minor organizations. *Schedules H-K* relate to the purchase and distribution of stores and clothing. An *Appendix* follows the *Schedules*, in which are found the Governor's General Orders, Nos. 1-28; various Circulars issued by the State authorities; the Report of the Colonel of the First Minnesota Regiment on the Battle of Bull-run, and a Supplement thereto; General Franklin's Report on the same Battle; two Reports on the action at Edwards's-ferry; and, having come in while the Report was passing through the press, a Roster, complete, of the First Regiment of Volunteers.

The Report for 1862, presented "to the Governor, 1863," is much better made up than that for 1861, although it is not, by any means, very complete in its presentation of details. It is followed, however, by a very elaborate narrative of the Sioux War of 1862; and that is followed by *Schedules*, elaborately naming the receipts and disposition of arms and stores, the number of troops raised under the several calls, etc.; and an *Appendix* contains very complete copies of Muster-rolls of all the Regiments organized during the year; Rosters of all the Officers, from Minnesota, who were then in the Federal service; all General Orders, etc., issued during the year; Returns of troops serving against the Indians, and of all deceased Volunteers; a Roster of all Officers in the Indian War; a list of sufferers who fled for safety from the Indians, to Fort Ridgeway; etc.

The Report for 1863 is superior, in the arrangement of its material, to those which preceded it. Appended to it are a Roster of the Officers of the local Military force of the State; an official Register of the Officers of "the Volunteer Army"

of the State, in the Federal service; lists of casualties among the Officers; General and Special Orders issued during 1863; Reports from the Minnesota Regiments in the field; etc.

The Reports for 1864 and 1865 have escaped us, thus far; and we have not found copies in any other library, public or private, in this vicinity.

The Report for 1866 is not very full; but its Appendix is very minute, embracing "Final "Records" of the Officers and Privates of each Regiment of Minnesota Volunteers, in which are the rank, name, age, birth-place, dates of Commission and Muster-in, residence, and official record, of every Officer and Private, belonging to that State, throughout the War.

The Reports for 1867 and 1868 are unimportant.

[Having thus brought down the descriptive-list of our own Collection of Official Reports, through the Middle and North-western States, we leave, until a more convenient opportunity, the description of that portion of the Collection which relates to the Western, Southern, and South-western States.

We shall be grateful to any one who can make still more complete, no matter how little, any of the series of Documents which we have herein referred to.]

## X.—MISCELLANY.

THE BOARDMANS, IN AMERICA.—Our friend, SAMUEL L. BOARDMAN, the excellent Editor of *The Maine Farmer*, is busy on "a record of the "descendants of William Boardman, eldest son "of Stephen Boardman (born 1718) who came "from New Ipswich, Mass.;" and he wants the friendly co-operation of the Boardmans throughout the country.

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THE POST-OFFICE AUTHORITIES construe the law for transmitting *book-manuscripts* as not applicable to MSS. for *periodical* publications, thus defeating the main purpose of the act. The astute official who so understands matters ought to be promoted to the department in Barrataria, and his place filled by some one intelligent enough for the position.—J. W. T.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES

CONCERNING

The Antiquities, History, and Biography

OF

# AMERICA.

July, 1869.

MORRISANIA, N. Y.:

HENRY B. DAWSON.



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## NOTICE.

The number for August is now well advanced and will be ready very soon. Among its contents will be found the previously unpublished Report of General Buford, concerning the Cavalry operations around Gettysburg, in 1863; the Diary of a tourist through New England, in 1795, from the original MS.; a paper by Colonel De Voe, on the rise of Unitarianism in New York; one by Professor Rockwell, on the early ecclesiastical history of North Carolina; and a great variety of other and shorter articles.

We have pleasure, also, in informing our readers that we have just received from Hon. CHARLES W. UPHAM, of Salem, Mass., a very elaborate article on "SALEM WITCHCRAFT AND COTTON MATH-ER," which will appear in an early number of this work. It is the result of a life-time of research concerning that notable subject; and, as the learned author has thoroughly examined his subject and exhausted all known repositories of information, we promise our readers and the historical world, generally, one of the rarest of literary treats—possibly, too, at the expense of the good nature of some of our pretentious contemporaries, and not unlikely at the expense of some of New England's well-settled historical "notions."

We have in preparation a paper—on "MAINE AND THE WAR OF SECESSION"—the first of a series of such papers concerning the services and sacrifices, during the War, of the individual States, North and South. We intend in that paper, to give a complete and authentic synopsis of what Maine did and endured in the recent struggle; and we will thank our readers for any assistance which will make it more complete—especially will we thank them for close bibliographical descriptions of any volume, large or small, which treats of this particular subject or of any portion of it—Town, or County, or State; Regimental, or Company, or Individual.

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## NOTICE.

I. The September and October numbers will be issued together, in one cover, at an early day. We have been obliged to adopt this course to accommodate Mr. Upham's masterly article on *Salem Witchcraft and Cotton Mather*, which will make upwards of seventy pages and cannot properly be divided. The readers of THE HISTORICAL MAGAZINE have not often been favored with so complete and exhaustive an article; and we are sure they will heartily concur with us, in our purpose to publish it entire, under one cover.

II. Our supply of *complete Sets* of the New Series of the Magazine is very rapidly diminishing; and as we do not stereotype the work those who intend to secure sets for their libraries will do well to do so at an early day.

It may not be generally known that the First Series is entirely out of print, and commands prices very much in advance of the original subscription prices.

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### NOTICE.

With unusual satisfaction, we send out this double number, assuring ourself that it will be as widely welcomed and as satisfactorily, as the best of those which have preceded it.

— The article on *Salem Witchcraft and Cotton Mather*, by Mr. Upham, has been printed in a small edition, in independant form; and those who shall desire to obtain copies of it, at a dollar and a half, may address either the venerable author, Hon. CHARLES W. UPHAM, SALEM, MASS., or HENRY B. DAWSON, Morrisania, N. Y.

— We expect to send out, within a fortnight or so, another of the delinquent numbers, that for September, 1868, edited by William H. Whitmore, Esq., of Boston.

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### TO OUR READERS.

I.—This number perfects our volumes for 1869, and opens the way for the work of 1870, the first number for which year will follow this, very speedily.

II.—The number for September, 1868—one of the months which we were compelled to pass, unnoticed, by reason of severe sickness—is in the binders' hands and will be sent to the subscribers of that year, within a very few days. The number for October, edited by Captain WILLIAM F. GOODWIN, U. S. A., of Concord, N. H., will be put into the hands of the workmen, as soon as the "copy" reaches us; and from information which we have received concerning it, we have no doubt that it will be a most important contribution to the history of the United States, but especially to that of New Hampshire.

III.—We shall continue our list of Accounts which are *for Sale*, in the February number; and in that list will be found some which will be desirable by such as love to speculate in such property.

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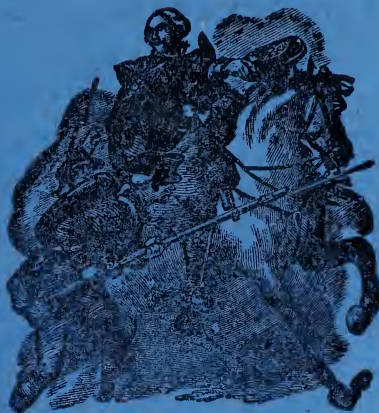
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